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Tros Tyrusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

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CHAPTERS FROM MY AUTOBIOGRAPHY.—XVII.*

BY MARK TWAIN.

PREFATORY NOTE.—Mr. Clemens began to write his autobiography many years ago, and he continues to add to it day by day. It was his original intention to permit no publication of his memoirs until after his death; but, after leaving "Pier No. 70," he concluded that a considerable portion might now suitably be given to the public. It is that portion, garnered from the quarter-million of words already written, which will appear in this REVIEW during the coming year. No part of the autobiography will be published in book form during the lifetime of the author.—EDITOR N. A. R.

From Susy's Biography of Me.

Sept. 9, '85.—Mamma is teaching Jean a little natural history and is making a little collection of insects for her. But mamma does not allow Jean to kill any insects she only collects those insects that are found dead. Mamma has told us all, particularly Jean, to bring her all the little dead insects that she finds. The other day as we were all sitting at supper Jean broke into the room and ran triumphantly up to Mamma and presented her with a plate full of dead flies. Mamma thanked Jean very enthusiastically although she with difficulty concealed her amusement. Just then Sour Mash entered the room and Jean believing her hungry asked Mamma for permission to give her the flies. Mamma laughingly consented and the flies almost immediately dissappeared.

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[*Monday, October 15, 1906.*] Sour Mash's presence indicates that this adventure occurred at Quarry Farm. Susy's Biography interests itself pretty exclusively with historical facts; where they happen is not a matter of much concern to her. When other historians refer to the Bunker Hill Monument they know it is not necessary to mention that that monument is in Boston. Susy recognizes that when she mentions Sour Mash it is not necessary to localize her. To Susy, Sour Mash is the Bunker Hill Monument of Quarry Farm.

Ordinary cats have some partiality for living flies, but none for dead ones; but Susy does not trouble herself to apologize for Sour Mash's eccentricities of taste. This Biography was for *us*, and Susy knew that nothing that Sour Mash might do could startle us or need explanation, we being aware that she was not an ordinary cat, but moving upon a plane far above the prejudices and superstitions which are law to common catdom.

Once in Hartford the flies were so numerous for a time, and so troublesome, that Mrs. Clemens conceived the idea of paying George* a bounty on all the flies he might kill. The children saw an opportunity here for the acquisition of sudden wealth. They supposed that their mother merely wanted to accumulate dead flies, for some æsthetic or scientific reason or other, and they judged that the more flies she could get the happier she would be; so they went into business with George on a commission. Straightway the dead flies began to arrive in such quantities that Mrs. Clemens was pleased beyond words with the success of her idea. Next, she was astonished that one house could furnish so many. She was paying an extravagantly high bounty, and it presently began to look as if by this addition to our expenses we were now probably living beyond our income. After a few days there was peace and comfort; not a fly was discoverable in the house; there wasn't a straggler left. Still, to Mrs. Clemens's surprise, the dead flies continued to arrive by the plateful, and the bounty expense was as crushing as ever. Then she made inquiry, and found that our innocent little rascals had established a Fly Trust, and had hired all the children in the neighborhood to collect flies on a cheap and unburdensome commission.

Mrs. Clemens's experience in this matter was a new one for

* The colored butler.

her, but the governments of the world had tried it, and wept over it, and discarded it, every half-century since man was created. Any Government could have told her that the best way to increase wolves in America, rabbits in Australia, and snakes in India, is to pay a bounty on their scalps. Then every patriot goes to raising them.

From Susy's Biography of Me.

Sept. 10, '85.—The other evening Clara and I brought down our new soap bubble water and we all blew soap bubbles. Papa blew his soap bubbles and filled them with tobacco smoke and as the light shone on them they took very beautiful opaline colors. Papa would hold them and then let us catch them in our hand and they felt delightful to the touch the mixture of the smoke and water had a singularly pleasant effect.

It is human life. We are blown upon the world; we float buoyantly upon the summer air a little while, complacently showing off our grace of form and our dainty iridescent colors; then we vanish with a little puff, leaving nothing behind but a memory—and sometimes not even that. I suppose that at those solemn times when we wake in the deeps of the night and reflect, there is not one of us who is not willing to confess that he is really only a soap-bubble, and as little worth the making.

I remember those days of twenty-one years ago, and a certain pathos clings about them. Susy, with her manifold young charms and her iridescent mind, was as lovely a bubble as any we made that day—and as transitory. She passed, as they passed, in her youth and beauty, and nothing of her is left but a heartbreak and a memory. That long-vanished day came vividly back to me a few weeks ago when, for the first time in twenty-one years, I found myself again amusing a child with smoke-charged soap-bubbles.

Susy's next date is November 29th, 1885, the eve of my fiftieth birthday. It seems a good while ago. I must have been rather (1885.) young for my age then, for I was trying to tame an old-fashioned bicycle nine feet high. It is to me almost unbelievable, at my present stage of life, that there have really been people willing to trust themselves upon a dizzy and unstable altitude like that, and that I was one of them. Twichell and I took lessons every day. He succeeded, and became a master of the art of riding that wild vehicle, but I had no gift in that direction and was never able to stay on mine long enough to get

any satisfactory view of the planet. Every time I tried to steal a look at a pretty girl, or any other kind of scenery, that single moment of inattention gave the bicycle the chance it had been waiting for, and I went over the front of it and struck the ground on my head or my back before I had time to realize that something was happening. I didn't always go over the front way; I had other ways, and practised them all; but no matter which way was chosen for me there was always one monotonous result—the bicycle skinned my leg and leaped up into the air and came down on top of me. Sometimes its wires were so sprung by this violent performance that it had the collapsed look of an umbrella that had had a misunderstanding with a cyclone. After each day's practice I arrived at home with my skin hanging in ribbons, from my knees down. I plastered the ribbons on where they belonged, and bound them there with handkerchiefs steeped in Pond's Extract, and was ready for more adventures next day. It was always a surprise to me that I had so much skin, and that it held out so well. There was always plenty, and I soon came to understand that the supply was going to remain sufficient for all my needs. It turned out that I had nine skins, in layers, one on top of the other like the leaves of a book, and some of the doctors said it was quite remarkable.

I was full of enthusiasm over this insane amusement. My teacher was a young German from the bicycle factory, a gentle, kindly, patient creature, with a pathetically grave face. He never smiled; he never made a remark; he always gathered me tenderly up when I plunged off, and helped me on again without a word. When he had been teaching me twice a day for three weeks I introduced a new gymnastic—one that he had never seen before—and so at last a compliment was wrung from him, a thing which I had been risking my life for days to achieve. He gathered me up and said mournfully: "Mr. Clemens, you can fall off a bicycle in more different ways than any person I ever saw before."

A boy's life is not all comedy; much of the tragic enters into it. The drunken tramp—mentioned in "Tom Sawyer" or (1849.) "Huck Finn"—who was burned up in the village jail, lay upon my conscience a hundred nights afterward and filled them with hideous dreams—dreams in which I saw his appealing face as I had seen it in the pathetic reality, pressed against the window-bars, with the red hell glowing behind him

—a face which seemed to say to me, “If you had not give me the matches, this would not have happened; you are responsible for my death.” I was *not* responsible for it, for I had meant him no harm, but only good, when I let him have the matches; but no matter, mine was a trained Presbyterian conscience, and knew but the one duty—to hunt and harry its slave upon all pretexts and on all occasions; particularly when there was no sense or reason in it. The tramp—who was to blame—suffered ten minutes; I, who was not to blame, suffered three months.

The shooting down of poor old Smarr in the main street* at noonday supplied me with some more dreams; and in them I always saw again the grotesque closing picture—the great family Bible spread open on the profane old man’s breast by some thoughtful idiot, and rising and sinking to the labored breathings, and adding the torture of its leaden weight to the dying struggles. We are curiously made. In all the throng of gaping and sympathetic onlookers there was not one with common sense enough to perceive that an anvil would have been in better taste there than the Bible, less open to sarcastic criticism, and swifter in its atrocious work. In my nightmares I gasped and struggled for breath under the crush of that vast book for many a night.

All within the space of a couple of years we had two or three other tragedies, and I had the ill-luck to be too near by on each occasion. There was the slave man who was struck down with a chunk of slag for some small offence; I saw him die. And the young California emigrant who was stabbed with a bowie knife by a drunken comrade: I saw the red life gush from his breast. And the case of the rowdy young Hyde brothers and their harmless old uncle: one of them held the old man down with his knees on his breast while the other one tried repeatedly to kill him with an Allen revolver which wouldn’t go off. I happened along just then, of course.

Then there was the case of the young California emigrant who got drunk and proposed to raid the “Welshman’s house” all alone one dark and threatening night.† This house stood half-way up Holliday’s Hill (“Cardiff” Hill), and its sole occupants were a poor but quite respectable widow and her young and blameless daughter. The invading ruffian woke the whole village with

* See “Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.” † Used in “Huck Finn,” I think.

his ribald yells and coarse challenges and obscenities. I went up there with a comrade—John Briggs, I think—to look and listen. The figure of the man was dimly visible; the women were on their porch, but not visible in the deep shadow of its roof, but we heard the elder woman's voice. She had loaded an old musket with slugs, and she warned the man that if he stayed where he was while she counted ten it would cost him his life. She began to count, slowly: he began to laugh. He stopped laughing at "six"; then through the deep stillness, in a steady voice, followed the rest of the tale: "seven . . . eight . . . nine"—a long pause, we holding our breath—"ten!" A red spout of flame gushed out into the night, and the man dropped, with his breast riddled to rags. Then the rain and the thunder burst loose and the waiting town swarmed up the hill in the glare of the lightning like an invasion of ants. Those people saw the rest; I had had my share and was satisfied. I went home to dream, and was not disappointed.

My teaching and training enabled me to see deeper into these tragedies than an ignorant person could have done. I knew what they were for. I tried to disguise it from myself, but down in the secret deeps of my heart I knew—and I *knew* that I knew. They were inventions of Providence to beguile me to a better life. It sounds curiously innocent and conceited, now, but to me there was nothing strange about it; it was quite in accordance with the thoughtful and judicious ways of Providence as I understood them. It would not have surprised me, nor even over-flattered me, if Providence had killed off that whole community in trying to save an asset like me. Educated as I had been, it would have seemed just the thing, and well worth the expense. *Why* Providence should take such an anxious interest in such a property—that idea never entered my head, and there was no one in that simple hamlet who would have dreamed of putting it there. For one thing, no one was equipped with it.

It is quite true I took all the tragedies to myself; and tallied them off, in turn as they happened, saying to myself in each case, with a sigh, "Another one gone—and on my account; this ought to bring me to repentance; His patience will not always endure." And yet privately I believed it would. That is, I believed it in the daytime; but not in the night. With the going down of the sun my faith failed, and the clammy fears gathered

about my heart. It was then that I repented. Those were awful nights, nights of despair, nights charged with the bitterness of death. After each tragedy I recognized the warning and repented; repented and begged; begged like a coward, begged like a dog; and not in the interest of those poor people who had been extinguished for my sake, but only in my own interest. It seems selfish, when I look back on it now.

My repentances were very real, very earnest; and after each tragedy they happened every night for a long time. But as a rule they could not stand the daylight. They faded out and shredded away and disappeared in the glad splendor of the sun. They were the creatures of fear and darkness, and they could not live out of their own place. The day gave me cheer and peace, and at night I repented again. In all my boyhood life I am not sure that I ever tried to lead a better life in the daytime—or wanted to. In my age I should never think of wishing to do such a thing. But in my age, as in my youth, night brings me many a deep remorse. I realize that from the cradle up I have been like the rest of the race—never quite sane in the night. When “Injun Joe” died.* . . . But never mind: in another chapter I have already described what a raging hell of repentance I passed through then. I believe that for months I was as pure as the driven snow. After dark.

It was back in those far-distant days—1848 or '9—that Jim Wolf came to us. He was from Shelbyville, a hamlet thirty or forty miles back in the country, and he brought all his native sweetnesss and gentlenesses and simplicities with him. He was approaching seventeen, a grave and slender lad, trustful, honest, a creature to love and cling to. And he was incredibly bashful.

It is to this kind that untoward things happen. My sister gave a “candy-pull” on a winter’s night. I was too young to be of the company, and Jim was too diffident. I was sent up to bed early, and Jim followed of his own motion. His room was in the new part of the house, and his window looked out on the roof of the L annex. That roof was six inches deep in snow, and the snow had an ice-crust upon it which was as slick as glass. Out of the comb of the roof projected a short chimney, a common resort for sentimental cats on moonlight nights—and this was a moonlight night. Down at the eaves, below the chimney, a canopy

* Used in “Tom Sawyer.”

of dead vines spread away to some posts, making a cozy shelter, and after an hour or two the rollicking crowd of young ladies and gentlemen grouped themselves in its shade, with their saucers of liquid and piping-hot candy disposed about them on the frozen ground to cool. There was joyous chaffing and joking and laughter—peal upon peal of it.

About this time a couple of old disreputable tom-cats got up on the chimney and started a heated argument about something; also about this time I gave up trying to get to sleep, and went visiting to Jim's room. He was awake and fuming about the cats and their intolerable yowling. I asked him, mockingly, why he didn't climb out and drive them away. He was nettled, and said over-boldly that for two cents he *would*.

It was a rash remark, and was probably repented of before it was fairly out of his mouth. But it was too late—he was committed. I knew him; and I knew he would rather break his neck than back down, if I egged him on judiciously.

"Oh, of course you would! Who's doubting it?"

It galled him, and he burst out, with sharp irritation—

"Maybe *you* doubt it!"

"I? Oh no, I shouldn't think of such a thing. You are always doing wonderful things. With your mouth."

He was in a passion, now. He snatched on his yarn socks and began to raise the window, saying in a voice unsteady with anger—

"*You* think I *dasn't*—*you* do! Think what you blame please—I don't care what you think. I'll show you!"

The window made him rage; it wouldn't stay up. I said—

"Never mind, I'll hold it."

Indeed, I would have done anything to help. I was only a boy, and was already in a radiant heaven of anticipation. He climbed carefully out, clung to the window-sill until his feet were safely placed, then began to pick his perilous way on all fours along the glassy comb, a foot and a hand on each side of it. I believe I enjoy it now as much as I did then: yet it is a good deal over fifty years ago. The frosty breeze flapped his short shirt about his lean legs; the crystal roof shone like polished marble in the intense glory of the moon; the unconscious cats sat erect upon the chimney, alertly watching each other, lashing their tails and pouring out their hollow grievances; and

slowly and cautiously Jim crept on, flapping as he went, the gay and frolicsome young creatures under the vine-canopy unaware, and outraging these solemnities with their misplaced laughter. Every time Jim slipped I had a hope; but always on he crept and disappointed it. At last he was within reaching distance. He paused, raised himself carefully up, measured his distance deliberately, then made a frantic grab at the nearest cat—and missed. Of course he lost his balance. His heels flew up, he struck on his back, and like a rocket he darted down the roof feet first, crashed through the dead vines and landed in a sitting posture in fourteen saucers of red-hot candy, in the midst of all that party—and dressed as *he* was: this lad who could not look a girl in the face with his clothes on. There was a wild scramble and a storm of shrieks, and Jim fled up the stairs, dripping broken crockery all the way.

The incident was ended. But I was not done with it yet, though I supposed I was. Eighteen or twenty years later I arrived in New York from California, and by that time I had failed in all my other undertakings and had stumbled into literature without intending it. This was early in 1867. I (1867.) was offered a large sum to write something for the "Sunday Mercury," and I answered with the tale of "Jim Wolf and the Cats." I also collected the money for it—twenty-five dollars. It seemed over-pay, but I did not say anything about that, for I was not so scrupulous then as I am now.

A year or two later "Jim Wolf and the Cats" appeared in a Tennessee paper in a new dress—as to spelling; spelling borrowed from Artemus Ward. The appropriator of the tale had a wide reputation in the West, and was exceedingly popular. Deservedly so, I think. He wrote some of the breeziest and funniest things I have ever read, and did his work with distinguished ease and fluency. His name has passed out of my memory.

A couple of years went by; then the original story—my own version—cropped up again and went floating around in the original spelling, and with my name to it. Soon first one paper and then another fell upon me vigorously for "stealing" Jim Wolf and the Cats from the Tennessee man. I got a merciless basting, but I did not mind it. It's all in the game. Besides, I had learned, a good while before that, that it is not wise to keep the fire going under a slander unless you can get some large

advantage out of keeping it alive. Few slanders can stand the wear of silence.

But I was not done with Jim and the Cats yet. In 1873 I was lecturing in London, in the Queen's Concert Rooms, Hanover Square, and was living at the Langham Hotel, (1873.) Portland Place. I had no domestic household, and no official household except George Dolby, lecture-agent, and Charles Warren Stoddard, the California poet, now (1900) Professor of English Literature in the Roman Catholic University, (1900.) Washington. Ostensibly Stoddard was my private secretary; in reality he was merely my comrade—I hired him in order to have his company. As secretary there was nothing for him to do except to scrap-book the daily reports of the great trial of the Tichborne Claimant for perjury. But he made a sufficient job out of that, for the reports filled six columns a day and he usually postponed the scrap-booking until Sunday; then he had 36 columns to cut out and paste in—a proper labor for Hercules. He did his work well, but if he had been older and feebler it would have killed him once a week. Without doubt he does his literary lectures well, but also without doubt he prepares them fifteen minutes before he is due on his platform and thus gets into them a freshness and sparkle which they might lack if they underwent the staling process of overstudy.

He was good company when he was awake. He was refined, sensitive, charming, gentle, generous, honest himself and unsuspicious of other people's honesty, and I think he was the purest male I have known, in mind and speech. George Dolby was something of a contrast to him, but the two were very friendly and sociable together, nevertheless. Dolby was large and ruddy, full of life and strength and spirits, a tireless and energetic talker, and always overflowing with good-nature and bursting with jollity. It was a choice and satisfactory menagerie, this pensive poet and this gladsome gorilla. An indelicate story was a sharp distress to Stoddard; Dolby told him twenty-five a day. Dolby always came home with us after the lecture, and entertained Stoddard till midnight. Me too. After he left, I walked the floor and talked, and Stoddard went to sleep on the sofa. I hired him for company.

Dolby had been agent for concerts, and theatres, and Charles Dickens and all sorts of shows and "attractions" for many years;

he had known the human being in many aspects, and he didn't much believe in him. But the poet did. The waifs and estrays found a friend in Stoddard: Dolby tried to persuade him that he was dispensing his charities unworthily, but he was never able to succeed.

One night a young American got access to Stoddard at the Concert Rooms and told him a moving tale. He said he was living on the Surrey side, and for some strange reason his remittances had failed to arrive from home; he had no money, he was out of employment, and friendless; his girl-wife and his new baby were actually suffering for food; for the love of heaven could he lend him a sovereign until his remittances should resume? Stoddard was deeply touched, and gave him a sovereign on my account. Dolby scoffed, but Stoddard stood his ground. Each told me his story later in the evening, and I backed Stoddard's judgment. Dolby said we were women in disguise, and not a sane kind of women, either.

The next week the young man came again. His wife was ill with the pleurisy, the baby had the bots, or something, I am not sure of the name of the disease; the doctor and the drugs had eaten up the money, the poor little family was starving. If Stoddard "in the kindness of his heart could only spare him another sovereign," etc., etc. Stoddard was much moved, and spared him a sovereign for me. Dolby was outraged. He spoke up and said to the customer—

"Now, young man, you are going to the hotel with us and state your case to the other member of the family. If you don't make him believe in you I sha'n't honor this poet's drafts in your interest any longer, for I don't believe in you myself."

The young man was quite willing. I found no fault in him. On the contrary, I believed in him at once, and was solicitous to heal the wounds inflicted by Dolby's too frank incredulity; therefore I did everything I could think of to cheer him up and entertain him and make him feel at home and comfortable. I spun many yarns; among others the tale of Jim Wolf and the Cats. Learning that he had done something in a small way in literature, I offered to try to find a market for him in that line. His face lighted joyfully at that, and he said that if I could only sell a small manuscript to Tom Hood's Annual for him it would be the happiest event of his sad life and he would hold me

in grateful remembrance always. That was a most pleasant night for three of us, but Dolby was disgusted and sarcastic.

Next week the baby died. Meantime I had spoken to Tom Hood and gained his sympathy. The young man had sent his manuscript to him, and the very day the child died the money for the MS. came—three guineas. The young man came with a poor little strip of crape around his arm and thanked me, and said that nothing could have been more timely than that money, and that his poor little wife was grateful beyond words for the service I had rendered. He wept, and in fact Stoddard and I wept with him, which was but natural. Also Dolby wept. At least he wiped his eyes and wrung out his handkerchief, and sobbed stertorously and made other exaggerated shows of grief. Stoddard and I were ashamed of Dolby, and tried to make the young man understand that he meant no harm, it was only his way. The young man said sadly that he was not minding it, his grief was too deep for other hurts; that he was only thinking of the funeral, and the heavy expenses which—

We cut that short and told him not to trouble about it, leave it all to us; send the bills to Mr. Dolby and—

“Yes,” said Dolby, with a mock tremor in his voice, “send them to me, and I will pay them. What, are you going? You must not go alone in your worn and broken condition; Mr. Stoddard and I will go with you. Come, Stoddard. We will comfort the bereaved mamma and get a lock of the baby’s hair.”

It was shocking. We were ashamed of him again, and said so. But he was not disturbed. He said—

“Oh, I know this kind, the woods are full of them. I’ll make this offer: if he will show me his family I will give him twenty pounds. Come!” The young man said he would not remain to be insulted; and he said good-night and took his hat. But Dolby said he would go with him, and stay by him until he found the family. Stoddard went along to soothe the young man and modify Dolby. They drove across the river and all over Southwark, but did not find the family. At last the young man confessed there wasn’t any.

The thing he sold to Tom Hood’s Annual was “Jim and the Cats.” And he did not put my name to it.

So that small tale was sold three times. I am selling it again, now. It is one of the best properties I have come across.

(To be Continued.) MARK TWAIN.

IRELAND.

BY GOLDWIN SMITH, D.C.L.

MR. GLADSTONE, in his new-born enthusiasm for Home Rule, went so far as to compare the Act of Union to the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. He had once spoken of the Act of Union and the Treaty of Commerce with France as the two great achievements of Pitt. But with his marvellous powers of explanation he would have found no difficulty in showing, not only that the two views were consistent, but that one of them logically led up to the other; just as he found no difficulty in reconciling his denunciation of Parnell as wading through rapine to dismemberment with his subsequent ratification of Parnell's policy and his alliance with its author. Mr. Gladstone was great and good, supremely so when he was pleading the cause of oppressed nationalities, as in the case of Italy and that of the subjects of Turkey. But if there are any who think that he was not liable to sudden impulses, that he was never carried away by the struggle for power, or that he was wholly incapable of self-delusion, they cannot have known the man.

When Mr. Gladstone brought forward his measure for Home Rule, he had been in Ireland only three weeks, and not at a good point of view. His speeches, though they were sure to be powerful, show no knowledge of the Irish people, no conception of the forces, political and social, which after separation would be likely to prevail, no forecast of the future. The orator is dealing with an abstraction. He does not even show acquaintance with the facts of Irish history, which is not less necessary to the legislator than it is to the historian. For the key to Irish character, in large measure, is Irish history. That there is such a thing as race character cannot be denied. Teuton and Celt undeniably have shown it. But of most that is called Celtic in Irish character seven centuries of unparalleled misfortune are the real cause.

The Norman conquest of England was complete, and gave birth to a feudal polity with an hereditary monarch at its head, the feudal code of law, and an aristocracy which, though at first alien and oppressive, became national and gave the nation the Great Charter. The Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland, as a private enterprise, though under royal and papal auspices, was incomplete, and produced, not a national polity, but a military colony or Pale. Far the greater part of the island continued to be held by the Irish tribes, with their native language and customs, their tribal form of government, and their tribal ownership of land. Between the tribes and the colony there went on from generation to generation incessant and most barbarous war. The nature of the country, with its forests, broad rivers, and bogs, was adverse to the Anglo-Norman men-at-arms. At the same time, it prevented a union of the tribes and a combination of their forces against the invaders.

The colony had the semblance of a feudal polity, with a baronial council as well as the feudal law and the feudal tenure of land. But the King, the key-stone of the feudal arch, was wanting. Cabal, disorders, and corruption reigned. The military power of the English monarchy was wasted on French fields. Richard II came over with an army which, under his incapable command, was frittered away. The passage of the Channel was serious in those days; and Wales, the point of transit, was wild. The colony was discredited and starved. A Scotch invasion under Edward, the brother of Robert Bruce, though repelled after a severe struggle by the Anglo-Normans of the Pale, had helped to wreck whatever rudiments of order there might be; and, by the middle of the fifteenth century, the Anglo-Norman domain in Ireland had been reduced to a narrow district round Dublin, defended by a ditch.

Meantime, tribal license had proved attractive. Laws had been found necessary to prevent Englishmen from degenerating into wild Irishry. By a process not clearly explained, Anglo-Norman chiefs of the Pale had become heads of septs, combining tribal with feudal sway and keeping in their pay bands of mercenaries called "gallowglass," something like the *bravi* of the great nobles in Italy. These chiefs, with their septs, are henceforth the native powers and the defenders of native Ireland against the conquest. The most powerful of them were the Geraldines and the Butlers.

Rivalry often led the Butlers, with their war-cry of "Butler-a-boo," to side with the English Government.

In the quarrel of the Roses, Dublin took the Yorkist side. This, when the Red Rose had triumphed under the first Tudor King, led to the passing of the Poynings Act, so called from the Deputy of the day, by which an end was put to the independence of the Dublin Parliament. It was enacted that all existing English laws should be in force in Ireland, and that no Parliament should be held in Ireland without the sanction of the King and Council, who should also be enabled to disallow statutes passed by the Irish houses. The Parliament of Ireland had been made by Edward I bicameral, like the Parliament of England.

Henry VII, and for a time his son, tried to govern Ireland, a costly and restive possession, through native chiefs captivated by titles of nobility and court favor. The policy failed. The Geraldine, under pretence of fighting for the monarchy, fought for his own ends. Recourse was had again to the sword, which thenceforth a succession of Deputies continued to wield in most barbarous and exterminating war. Prisoners of war were butchered without mercy, the country was laid waste, the cattle were destroyed, and famine stalked in the train of slaughter. But these "hostings," while they engendered desperate hatred, did little towards effecting a general and permanent conquest.

Now came the Reformation, and to enmity of race it added the enmity of religion. It extended not beyond the English colony, at the border of which it was arrested by difference of language as well as of race. The Churches had always been divided on that line, though their creeds and their allegiance to Rome had been the same. Catholic Ireland was now drawn into the league of the Catholic Powers of Europe and suffered as a weak and outlying member of the league was sure to do. The intrigue of the Jesuit was encountered by the Puritan sword, and the work of slaughter and devastation went on in a more deadly form than ever. The government of Elizabeth, or rather that of Burleigh, made a noble but vain effort to set on foot a policy of civilization, the monument of which is Trinity College. Under a succession of leaders, the Irish Catholics, as they may now be distinctly called, rose and maintained the struggle against a series of Deputies whom the English Government, straitened in its resources by the struggle on the Continent and danger at home,

could not supply with the means of decisive war. The last leaders of Irish independence, the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, surrendered or were scared into exile, and after a struggle of five centuries the conquest of Ireland was achieved. English law and administration were extended over the whole island; and, what was of paramount importance, the feudal rule superseded the tribal custom in regard to the ownership of land.

The Government, perhaps inspired by Bacon, was not, in intention at least, unkind. It sought to placate and civilize. It called a Parliament of all Ireland, which, though no doubt practically nominated by the Crown, was otherwise more like a national Parliament than any other that Ireland ever had. But it treated the vast estates on the feudal principle as personal property forfeited for treason, disregarding the rights of the tribesmen. A host of English and Scotch settlers poured in, possessed themselves of the lands by purchase or chicane, and formed in Ulster a sort of Protestant Pale.

When, under Charles I, trouble began in England, the dispossessed tribesmen of Ulster rose, massacred with circumstances of the most devilish cruelty thousands of the new proprietors and drove out the rest. The English Parliament, fired with fury, passed a sweeping Act of Confiscation and sold debentures on it to provide a force for the repression and punishment of the rebellion. But, England being engaged in civil war, Ireland was left to itself for eight years, during which the two parties, now distinguishable as Protestant and Catholic, waged internecine war and made the land a hell; the representative of Rome taking an active part, together with the native priesthood and giving the conflict a distinctly religious character.

At last came Cromwell. The storm of Drogheda has left a stain, as he seems to have felt, upon his name. But he restored peace and order, he governed powerfully and well. He united Ireland as well as Scotland to England, and had her represented in the Parliament of the Commonwealth, giving her thereby the inestimable benefit of free trade with England and exempting her shipping from the shackles of the Navigation Act. He used her as a field for reforms, from which prejudice debarred him in England. The Royalist Clarendon speaks rapturously of the progress which material improvement made under Cromwell's rule. The dispossession of Catholic landowners and their

transportation to Connaught were in pursuance of the Act of Confiscation under which the holders of debentures claimed. It had been proved with terrible force that the two sets of landowners could not live together.

At the Restoration the dispossessed put in their claim for restitution. But the new possessors, after a long controversy, held their ground, and Ulster remained a Protestant Pale. The union with England was broken, the immediate consequence being the loss of free trade with England and the commencement by the English Parliament of a course of Protectionist legislation which killed in succession the principal industries of Ireland.

Again, under James II, the Irish Catholics rose and were again at length put down. Protestantism, victorious and vengeful after a narrow escape from destruction, embodied its rage and fear in the Penal Code, which reduced to helotage, religious, political, and social, the Catholics; that is, five-sixths of the population. Nothing could be more detestable, unless it was the persecution of the unoffending Huguenots by the Catholic Government of France.

The state of the Irish peasantry in the period which followed and down to the date of the Union was miserable and degraded in the extreme. The Catholic landowners having been driven away by the Penal Code, the Catholic peasant was left without protection against the tyranny of the Protestant squires and squireens. He was ground down by the exactions of the middleman and the tithe proctor. His dwelling, his food and raiment were bestial. Such wretchedness has been seldom seen. The oppressed banded themselves together as Whiteboys for agrarian murder and outrage, and made night hideous with the moanings of houghed cattle.

When Scotland was united to England, the Irish Parliament yearned for a similar union. It, no doubt, English and Protestant as it was, felt the pressure of the English tariff. Its advances were repelled, English Protectionism, we may be sure, playing its part. Patriots then turned their thoughts to national independence and Parliamentary reform. A large proportion of the seats in Parliament were held by the owners or lessees of rotten boroughs, and government was organized corruption. National independence and Parliamentary reform had an eloquent champion in Grattan.

Nationalism found its opportunity when the hands of England were full with the war against the American colonies. It rose in arms and extorted legislative independence. The Poynings' Act and the Act of George III, confirming it, were repealed. There was then a trial of the polity which Home Rule would now restore, that of two Parliaments under one Crown. But the Irish Parliament, whatever might be Grattan's rapture, was very far from being national. It was a Parliament of Protestant Ascendancy from which four-fifths, at least, of the Irish nation were shut out. The Catholics were presently admitted to the electoral franchise, but not to seats in Parliament. An agitation for their admission to seats in Parliament was on foot when there came a general overturn. It is not likely that the Ascendancy would have consented to a concession which to it would have been suicide. England could not rob Ireland of her national Parliament, inasmuch as a Parliament really national Ireland never had.

For the peasant, trampled on, starved, degraded, miserable as ever, nothing was done by the "national" legislators. His case got no hearing when it came before them. His wretchedness was greater and his hatred of his oppressor was more intense than ever.

How did the union of the Parliaments under one Crown work? There was a serious quarrel about the tariff, ending in the rejection of Pitt's beneficial measure of free trade. There was a still more serious quarrel about the Regency. The quarrel about the Regency must apparently have led to disruption if George III had not recovered just in time. Grattan was true to the union, yet he could not help being drawn into the quarrel about the Regency.

Then came the French Revolution. The freethinkers of Belfast caught the flame and organized a nationalist and republican rebellion. Counting all rebellion their ally, they drew in a large body of the Catholic peasantry, who were agrarian, not political, rebels, with some of the priests as their leaders. There followed over a part of the island a civil war of devils, at the end of which people were afraid to eat pork lest it should have been fed on human flesh. Meantime, only the winds and waves saved Ireland from being conquered by Hoche.

The "national" Parliament of Ireland urged the most ruth-

less repression. About its last Act was one of indemnity for the illegal infliction of torture on suspected rebels. Grattan seceded early in the day.

Pitt was resolved on union. It had to be carried through an Irish Parliament of Ascendancy, full of members for nomination boroughs, and teeming with corrupt interests. This was done by means not pure, yet not more impure than the influences by which the measure was opposed. Cromwell had carried his Union by fiat, Pitt had not that power. There was, however, no money bribery, none at least of any serious amount. The large sums paid to members of the Irish Parliament were not bribes but indemnities voted to the owners of nomination boroughs, which were regarded and treated as personal property in those days. The same was done in a Reform Bill for England. The largest sum of all was paid to an opponent of the Union. There was a traffic in peerages and appointments which disgusted a man of honor like Cornwallis, but the consent of a powerful and selfish aristocracy to a vital measure had to be obtained. How far the Catholics were misled by Pitt's favorable attitude on the question of Catholic emancipation it is impossible to say; what is certain is that Pitt was sincere. When George III refused his assent, Pitt resigned. What more could he do? He could not depose the King.

In Dublin, the heart of nationalism and radicalism, the Union, Cornwallis tells us, was proclaimed without calling forth adverse demonstrations of any kind. In the general election to the United Parliament which followed, the "Annual Register" tells us, the Union was not an issue, and to have voted for it did no candidate any harm. The three great opponents of the Union in the Irish Parliament were Grattan, Plunkett and Foster. All three sat in the United Parliament; Plunkett formally recanted his opposition, Foster accepted office and a peerage under Pitt, and Grattan repudiated O'Connell.

In less than a generation Catholic emancipation was carried, a great English party combining with the Irish movement. Of Ascendancy nothing then remained but the State Church, which has since been abolished. Now, it seems, Irish industry is beginning to feel the financial pressure of its own priesthood.

Agitators never renounce agitation. From Catholic Emancipation O'Connell went on to Repeal of the Union. He dropped

it while there was a weak Whig Government, whose influence and patronage he could command. He took it up again when the strong Conservative Government of Peel came in; and, though he had the priesthood at his back, was totally overthrown. In 1848, the year of revolution, Smith O'Brien, with a brilliant staff of young enthusiasts, raised the Repeal banner, found the people utterly apathetic, and encountered a still more ignominious defeat. What the Irish peasant wanted was not political change, but material improvement of his condition, security in his holding and more bread. When Parnell combined the agrarian with the political movement the political movement gained a factitious life. Fenianism, mainly an American product, also helped to impart a political tinge.

If the peasant wanted anything in the political way, perhaps it was the presence of the King. No King of England paid a friendly visit to Ireland before George IV, who met with an enthusiastic reception, in which O'Connell took a leading part.

Ireland has more than her fair share of representation in the United Parliament, and everything in the United Kingdom and in the Empire is perfectly open to her sons.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF SOCIALISM.—II.

BY W. H. MALLOCK.

I SHOWED in the preceding article that the more thoughtful socialists of to-day have definitely abandoned, as thinkers, though not as members of the party of agitation, the doctrine of Karl Marx that labor produces all things; and have openly recognized the fact that the industrial ability of the few, directing the hands of the many, is essential to the augmentation and sustentation of the wealth of the modern world. And I ended by saying that, thus much having been admitted, the next question to consider was the means by which directive ability is able to enforce on the laborers its minute and coordinated injunctions.

This elaborate process, we shall find, is accomplished by means of capital, but is accomplished in a way which lies entirely outside both the nature of capital and its functions, as the philosophy of Marx conceives of them. Capital is traditionally divided into two kinds—fixed and circulating. Fixed capital now stands mainly for the elaborate machinery of to-day; and, according to Marx, capitalism means merely the monopoly of this—namely, the current implements of production—by persons who are non-producers. Circulating capital means a store of the consumable commodities produced, which the merchant or dealer buys and retails to the consumers at a profit, replacing the portion sold yesterday by a fresh supply to-day. But in neither of these forms does capital throw the least light on the question now before us, or on the primary secret of its efficiency as a factor in modern production. The kind of capital in which this secret lies is to be found in what we may call “wage-capital”; and this, like circulating capital, consists of a stock of consumable commodities, which are in the present case the daily necessities of

existence, held by one person and then passed on to others. But, instead of being sold to the public customer at a profit, they are dispensed by the holder to any number of laborers *on conditions*. Thus Karl Marx would be right if he said that such capital was a monopoly; but it is not a monopoly in the sense that the holder of these necessities consumed them, but only in the sense that his holding of them enabled him to control their distribution, and apportion them to the laborers in question on certain specified terms—the terms not being that the laborers shall exert their manual powers (for they would have to labor somehow, whether the capitalist employed them or no)—that they shall perform their tasks in accordance with the direction which the capitalist issues to them. It is only by means of directions of this kind that fixed capital, such as the machinery of modern times, has developed from the rude implements to the fabrication of which the undirected labor of the individual laborer was equal, into the huge engines and multiplied mechanisms of to-day, which embody the abstruse knowledge, the imagination, the energy and the enterprise of the strongest wills, and the keenest and most practical intellects that have ever been concentrated on production since civilization first began.

Some glimpse of this truth may be detected in the earlier economists, who had so far recognized the connection between capital and personal talent as to propose to call the latter by the name of “personal capital,” thus making it a kind of capital itself. But, though this is an improvement on the ordinary treatment of the subject, it merely shows how imperfect, at the best, the ideas prevailing amongst the earlier economists were. For to speak of directive ability as “personal capital” is to obscure its nature in the very act of recognizing its importance. It is to identify the coachman with the reins: the fact being that the latter are useful or useless only in accordance with the manner in which the coachman handles them.

Now, here again, though popular socialism denies the fact, the more thoughtful socialists of to-day are coming to admit, with greater or less clearness, that the facts of the situation are practically what I have just shown them to be. This recognition, indeed, is implied, if not actually formulated, in what they tell us whenever we ask them for any sketch of their constructive policy. For they do not propose that society, under the régime

of socialism, shall relapse into a condition in which each man works in isolation, or in family groups consisting of perhaps half a dozen persons. On the contrary, they maintain that labor will remain as rigidly organized as ever; but the necessary control or direction will be exercised, they say, by the state, and not by any private individuals. An illustration of what they mean, which since the days of Marx has been a favorite with them, is an institution like the state post-office. There, they say, we have organization of the highest kind, but we have no private capitalist. And this is no doubt true; but the question now before us is, What are the means by which the organizing authorities secure the obedience of those organized? The answer is obvious. The obedience of the organized is secured by means of wages—or a dealing out to the organized of the daily necessities of existence, which is made contingent on the requisite obedience being duly rendered. In short, the state organization of labor, as it exists to-day, in which we see an exemplar of the conditions which the socialists dream of as universal, secures the obedience of the laborer by precisely the same means as those which obtain in the factory of the ordinary private employer. It secures this obedience by wage-capital—that is to say, by wages, or the necessary means of existence, which are given to or withheld from the laborer, in accordance as obedience to orders is, or is not, rendered by him.

It so happens, however, that what socialists call “wagedom” has, from the beginning, been described by them as one of the chief burdens, one of the most degrading forms of oppression, from which socialism has promised to emancipate the vast majority of mankind; and many socialists have recently, in proportion as they have become more clear-sighted, learned to recognize that state employment, in the form in which it exists to-day, would, in respect of wages, and from the laborer’s point of view, secure no emancipation whatsoever, but would simply leave things as they are. The more logical and advanced amongst them have therefore, of late years, been busy in devising some scheme by which the wage system may be abolished not only in name but in reality, and which will, whilst the direction of labor shall still remain efficacious, achieve this end by means of some new and emancipating alternative.

And that some alternative to the wage system is not outside

the range of possibility is shown abundantly by the past history of mankind. Two systems, other than that of wages, by which labor may be organized and directed, were in actual operation at two different periods. One of these was the *corvée* system, which prevailed during the Middle Ages. Under the *corvée* system the peasant was the owner of the land he lived on, and supported himself as best he could by his own self-directed industry; but he was bound to place his labor, for so many hours a week, at the service of his feudal superior and do what that superior told him; and if any modern employer had similar feudal rights over a sufficient number of such peasant proprietors to-day, then, in theory, at least, the necessity for wage-capital would have disappeared. There is another system also by which the same result may be gained. It resembles the *corvée* system, but is harder and much more simple; and it continued in operation for an incomparably longer time. This is the system of slavery.

The proposal, therefore, of the socialists to find some real alternative to the wage system is not in itself chimerical; and we will now consider what the alternative is which the most thoughtful and intellectual of them have actually themselves formulated. The clearest statement with regard to this matter is to be found in a volume of essays, produced by a group of socialists in England, the leading spirit amongst whom is Mr. Sidney Webb. The volume in question has been republished in America; and to the American edition was appended a special preface, the object of which was to bring socialism up to date, and in this preface there is a discussion of the very problem now before us. The direction of labor, it is there admitted, under socialism just as under the present system, must be committed to the most able men—the men who, in virtue of their exceptional faculties, are, as it is there expressed, “the monopolists of business ability.” But, though these men must always be the arch-producers, the object of socialism is, the writer continues, to prevent them from being the monopolists of their own exceptional products. No scheme, says the writer, is in a true sense socialistic which will not “absolutely abolish all economic distinctions,” and do away with the “possibility of their ever arising again.” And how is this end to be accomplished? The writer answers as follows: The only “truly socialistic scheme is one which will abolish these distinctions by making an equal pro-

vision for all an incident and an infeasible condition of all citizenship, without any regard whatever to the relative specific services of different citizens. The rendering of such services, on the other hand, instead of being left to the option of the citizen, with the alternative of starvation (as it is under the wage system), would be required under one uniform law of civic duty, precisely like other forms of taxation or military service."

Such, then, is the most advanced socialistic programme—the programme of the men who, facing the logic of the situation, have set themselves to devise a real, and not a merely nominal, escape from the system which they denounce as "wagedom." And an escape from wagedom such a system would no doubt be; but an escape from wagedom into what? Little as these people realize the fact, it would be an escape into economic slavery. For the very essence of the position of the slave, as contrasted with that of the wage-paid laborer, in so far as the direction of his productive actions is concerned, is that he has not to work as he is bidden in order to gain a livelihood, but that, his livelihood being in any case assured to him, he has to work as he is bidden in order to avoid the lash or some similar form of punishment.

I do not call attention to this scheme of practical politics, put forward by the most educated of the socialistic thinkers in England, because I wish to represent this scheme as embodying the views or programme of educated socialists generally all over the world, either in respect of the method of industrial direction under socialism, or the precise scale of remuneration at which socialists ought to aim. I have drawn attention to it merely because, coming from the source from which it does come, it constitutes a remarkable acknowledgment of what capital, in its primary form of wage-capital, is. It illustrates the fact that capital is primarily an *instrument of direction*; that modern machinery, and other such improved appliances, are the results of such direction on the part of the most able minds; that this direction would have to be accomplished somehow, under a régime of state socialism no less than it is to-day; and that the only alternative to the wage system which the socialistic intellect can devise is precisely that ancient system which the civilized world has outgrown, which the spirit of modern democracy professes to regard with horror, and which certainly would, in comparison to the wage system, be ruinously clumsy and inefficient.

When the meaning of the proposals of Mr. Sidney Webb and his friends, though they are the only logical outcome of the socialistic promise to "emancipate the laborer from wagedom," are recognized for what they really are, the majority of socialists, whether educated or uneducated, would without doubt reject them; nor does it seem likely that they would press the impracticable claim that the remuneration of all labor should be reduced to an absolute level, irrespectively, as Mr. Webb would put it, of the value of "the specific services rendered by the individual citizen." Thus an American socialist, Mr. Yountz, of Cleveland—a man whose education and intelligence are evidently above the ordinary—wrote to me, in connection with one of my addresses at New York, declaring that socialists "objected to the wage system only in so far as it enables the director of labor to make a profit out of the workman"; but would leave the idlers without compunction to starve, "unless others chose to keep them alive, as they often do to-day." The only incident of wagedom, he says, to which socialists object is this: that, under it in its present form, "a man's wages do not indicate the sum total of the energy expended by him," a part being always kept back; and it is this part that socialism aims at obtaining for him. A similar view of the matter was expressed to me, in a still more emphatic way, by a young man who was evidently of high cultivation, and who told me that he was a socialist himself, and a preacher of socialism amongst the ordinary working-men. What rankled in his own mind, he said, so far as concerned himself—he being a clerk in some large house of business—was that he was always contributing by his work to the profits of those employing him an indefinitely larger amount than was represented by the salary paid him; and it was, he said, a feeling of precisely the same kind which was really the root of socialism as it exists among the laboring classes. And, no doubt, this account of the matter, even if not complete, expresses an important—perhaps the most important—part of the truth.

Here, then, we find ourselves confronted with a practical question on which a very large part of the socialistic reasoning of to-day, public and private, turns. If the employed classes of to-day, whatever may be the nature of their individual labors, feel that their wages do not represent the entire amount of wealth, measured in terms of money, which their labor has contributed

to the receipts of the firms or the persons employing them—or, in other words, that the men whose ability directs their labor have added to the receipts with which this ability may be justly credited some portion which is really due to the labor which this ability directs, we are brought face to face with the problem of how to discriminate between what amount is due to the one factor and what amount is due to the other. This is a problem on which I have not yet touched; and it is one which has opened to the intellectual socialists a means by which they have attempted to recover something of the ground which they have lost by their admission that the ability of the able few is a factor in production even greater than the manual labor of the many.

For the fact still remains that, though labor, when directed by ability, may produce ten times as much as the labor of the same number of men would be able to produce when their labor was directed by themselves only, yet ability, with no labor to direct, would produce nothing at all.

Such being indubitably the case, it is open to the socialists to argue—and they have availed themselves abundantly of the privilege—that, labor being always essential to the production of any wealth whatsoever, it is impossible to place any limit, short of the total product, to what labor may justly claim. At all events, the claim of labor is represented as being justly one which is capable of being extended indeterminately beyond what labor at present gets. And this kind of argument is very far from being peculiar to the socialists. It has been formulated—though not with a view to the special matter now before us—by no less considerable a reasoner than John Stuart Mill himself; and it occupies a prominent place in the opening chapters of his treatise on the Principle of Political Economy.

If any agency, says Mill, such as labor, is so absolutely essential to the production of a given result, such as so much economic wealth, that without the labor this wealth would not be produced at all, some other agency, equally necessary, may play some part in the process; but the parts which they play, respectively, or the fractions of the total amount which can be ascribed respectively to each, “are indefinite and incommensurable.” “When two conditions,” says Mill, “are equally necessary for producing the effect at all, it is meaningless to say that so much is produced by the one and so much by the other. It is like

attempting to decide which of the factors, five or six, contributes most to the production of thirty." Mill himself brings this argument forward with special reference to the Physiocrats, and the question which their doctrines suggested of whether nature did more to help labor in one industry than another; and Mill's immediate meaning was that, if we take the products of any farm, it is absurd to ask which produced most of them—the fields or the farm laborers.

Now, if there were only one farm in the world, and if every acre of this, when the same labor was applied to it, would always yield the same amount of produce—let us say one loaf—Mill's assertion would no doubt be true. The actual state of the case is, however, very different. Acres vary very greatly in quality; and, if we take four acres of different degrees of fertility, and suppose them all to be cultivated by the same amount of labor, and if we symbolize the result of the cultivation of the least fertile as one loaf, the product of the cultivation of the acres of superior fertility will be—let us say—two loaves, three loaves, and four loaves, respectively. Here the labor being in each of the four cases the same, and the additional loaves resulting in three of the cases only, it is obvious that the difference between the larger outputs and the least are not due to the labor, but to certain natural qualities which are present in the three superior acres, and are not present in the first. In other words, although in producing the loaves, or, as Mill would have called it, "*the effect*," the parts played respectively by land and labor are indefinitely incommensurable—precisely as Mill says they are—so long as land and "*the effect*" all remain the same, the parts played respectively by the two concomitant causes become immediately definite and measurable when the effect begins to vary, and one of the causes, and only one of them, begins to vary also.

The same observation is applicable to the production of wealth generally, and the quantities of it which are referable to manual labor, on the one hand, and the various kinds of ability by which labor is directed, on the other.

If, man for man, the industrial population of a country always produced annually the same total output or wealth, if relatively to its population the country never grew richer, and if labor and the directors of labor followed always the same routine, then, the two causes being unvarying and the effect unvarying also, it would

be, as Mill contends, meaningless to say that either one of these necessary and unvarying causes contributed more or less to the unvarying effect than the other. But the principal fact of the modern world which, in this connection, the economist has to consider is not what Mill calls "*the effect*," or an output of wealth which remains year by year, relatively to the number of the persons who contribute to its production, the same. It is a series of different effects, or amounts, which, relatively to the producers, are continually varying, and have indeed been generally on the increase for a hundred and fifty years. Now, since, during this period, the mere labor or individual dexterity of any thousand men has become in no way different from what it was four or five generations ago, whereas ability, or the faculties by which labor is directed, has continually been elaborating its methods and increasing the intensity of its operations, it is obviously not labor, a constant, but ability, the only variable, that has caused or produced the difference between the larger sum and the less.

Thus, if only one man in the world was able to play the organ, and if only one man was able to blow the bellows, and if a performance on the organ was sufficiently pleasing to the public to produce a revenue of a thousand dollars a day, it would be impossible to say who contributed most to these earnings, the musician himself or the bellows-blower. But, if a second musician took the place of the first, and the earnings, in consequence of his far superior genius, immediately rose from one thousand dollars to two, we could at once say that the second thousand dollars, at all events, were earned by the musician, and were not earned by the bellows-blower. In the same way, if there were only one shipyard in the world, and if this always contained the same five hundred workmen, working under the unvarying directions given them by the same master, and if it always took these five hundred and one men twelve months to build a vessel of a certain class, we could not divide the vessel into two parts and say that the direction of the master produced one part and the labor of his men produced the rest. But, if a new master-builder for one year took the place of the old, and if the same workmen, together with this new master, produced during this year not one vessel but two; and, further, if, in the year following, the new master disappeared and the old master came back again, and a year's work once more resulted in the production of one vessel

only, we should be able to say, as to the year during which the two vessels were constructed, that the second vessel, whatever might be the case with the first, was due wholly to the ability of the master by whom the labor of the workmen was directed.

There still remains, however, to be considered the contention already alluded to—namely, that labor, whatever happens, continues to be the prime essential; that if labor refused to exert itself ability could produce nothing, and that labor therefore may be credited with the whole of the product always, except perhaps the insignificant fraction which the director of labor could have produced had he worked as a laborer himself.

Now, this kind of reasoning has a certain superficial plausibility; but it is a plausibility which disappears as soon as we give our attention to a fact which lies at the bottom of all practical reasoning whatsoever. All practical reasoning with regard to effects and causes is in its nature hypothetical. It can be reduced to a statement that, if such and such conditions are present, such and such consequences will result; or that, if existing conditions are altered in some specified way, the result will exhibit a specified and corresponding difference. Thus we argue that a stone, if our hands cease to hold it, will drop, or that a kettle of cold water, if we put it on the fire, will boil, and will cease to boil if we take it off. But, if such reasoning is to have any practical value, one thing is always essential to it—namely, that the supposed conditions or alteration of conditions shall be at least approximately possible. No practical conclusions could be drawn, for example, as to our stone if we indulged in the supposition that the law of gravitation was suspended, and argued that the stone would in that case remain stationary if we ceased to hold it. Nor could any practical conclusion be drawn with regard to our kettle if we indulged in the supposition that fire might cease to give out heat. It is no less evident that no practical conclusions could be drawn as to the needs of labor by indulging in the supposition that the laborer could live and thrive without eating.

And now let us see what follows from this last obvious fact. Since no food is procurable without labor of some sort, a population the majority of which does not require to labor is just as impossible as a population that does not require to eat. No population as a whole can ever refuse to labor, excepting for an occasional day or two, unless it also ceases to exist. To argue,

therefore, from what would happen if labor ceased to exert itself is as meaningless as to argue from what would happen if the law of gravitation were suspended. But, though it is meaningless to suppose a population which refuses to labor, populations may, and actually do, exist which have not developed any men of exceptional directive ability, or which have not submitted their labor to such men's systematic guidance; and thus we are reasoning in a strictly practical way when we calculate what labor would produce were there no ability to direct it; but we are reasoning to no practical purpose at all when we consider what ability would produce were there no labor for it to direct. The laborers, or the vast majority of them, would have to labor, in any case, were there any able men to direct their labor or no. The sole practical alternatives which in the present case can be conceived or reasoned from are average men laboring under the guidance of the talents of exceptional men, and average men laboring as best they can by themselves.

In calculating, therefore, the portions of the wealth produced to-day which are due, respectively, to ability and manual labor, ability must be held to produce, in the most practical sense of the word, as much of the product as exceeds what was produced by the laborers before the ability was in operation, or as much as would cease to be produced if its operations were withdrawn or paralyzed.

An illustration of this fact is afforded us by the case of the Jesuits in Paraguay, who succeeded in teaching the natives many mechanical arts—amongst others that of watch-making, thereby greatly increasing the value of the industrial output. Subsequently, owing to political causes, the Jesuits had to quit the country, and the native laborers sank back into barbarism. Their labor became as barren as it had been before; and the temporary enhancement of the efficiency of Paraguayan production showed, by its subsequent shrinkage, to what it was really due—not to the laborers themselves, but to the ability of the men who directed them.

And now let us turn to facts which are nearer to our own times, and apply to them the same method of calculation. Let us take production in England, as it was at the close of the eighteenth century, and compare it as it was about the year 1880, thus dealing with a period covered by the lifetime of one

man. If the total income of the country at the earlier of these two dates had been equally divided amongst everybody, each wage-earning family would have received about 300 dollars annually. At the later date, the amount which was actually distributed amongst the wage-earners gave to each laboring family an average income of more than 400 dollars. Thus, in the year 1880, each laborer in England—if we still speak in terms of averages—was in the possession of considerably greater wealth than could possibly have come to him if, during the lifetime of his father or grandfather, the entire wealth of the rich—all their capital and their land included—had been taken from their possessors and made over to the manual laborers in perpetuity. Now, the enormous increase in wealth production, which has rendered this result possible, is obviously not due to any change in manual labor itself; for this, in point of mere muscular force and dexterity, has not been changed since the days of the Greeks and Romans. The only change that has occurred in the human agencies of production has been the increasing concentration, on the details of the industrial process, of science, of invention, of executive power, and of imagination—in other words, of the faculties which make up directive ability. And what is shown by the facts which have just now been alluded to is not merely the proportion of the national income which, in a progressive country like England, the ability of the few produces, as distinguished from the labor of the many. These facts show that, contrary to the supposition of the socialists, the wealth of the man of ability is so far from consisting, even partially, of amounts really due to labor, because labor produced them, that a large and increasing portion of what the laborer on an average receives is derived from the products of the ability of the able man; so that labor, as a whole, if we measure it by what it actually produces, has already been long receiving not less than it produces, but more.

I have mentioned the case of England at the two dates in question because the investigations of a variety of statisticians have resulted in estimates which are, at all events, approximately correct. But the case of England is nothing more than a type of the course of events in all similarly organized countries, and is notably the case in America. In America, indeed, we are able to make comparisons to which England can supply no counterpart; for in America there have been made a large number of

experiments in industrial production on the principles of consistent socialism. Communities have been started from which private capitalism has been eliminated, and in which such ability as was attainable claimed no reward superior to that of ordinary labor. The majority of these communities, though made up of picked men, have not had a lifetime of more than two years. Some of them, however, have endured for a very much longer time, and thus give us a practical illustration of what labor can really do. One of these communities, after an existence of upwards of forty years, came to an end not very long ago, because the members became increasingly conscious of their own productive inefficiency, and such possessions and such capital as had been accumulated were divided amongst the members in so many equal shares. The share which came thus to each was only 1,300 dollars. A skilled mechanic, working under the directors of labor at Pittsburg, would be able to accumulate more, in the course of four or five years, than labor working by itself could accumulate in nearly half a century.

W. H. MALLOCK.

(To be Continued.)

FINANCIAL LEGISLATION.

BY GEORGE E. ROBERTS, DIRECTOR OF THE MINT.

THE limitations of our National banking system and the objectionable features of the Government's fiscal system have been conspicuously displayed in recent weeks. With a panicky money-market here, conditions abroad have been such that no help could be had there, and our banks of issue have been powerless to give any relief. As the Government's revenues have been exceeding its expenditures to the extent of several million dollars a month, the Treasury was automatically locking up money at that rate until Secretary Cortelyou, in the exercise of a wise discretion, counteracted its operations by increasing deposits in banks. In other words, he intervened to avert the mischief which the regular Treasury operations, uncorrected, would have caused. The provisions of law under which the Secretary is obliged to act to do this are so vague and imperfect as to impose most undesirable responsibilities upon him and barely permit of successful administration.

The financial legislation passed by Congress at the late session is not likely to change materially the relations of the Treasury to the money-market or the practice of the National banks in the issue and retirement of their notes. The provision allowing the Secretary of the Treasury to deposit customs receipts in National banks wipes out a bookkeeping distinction between customs revenues and receipts from other sources. The distinction originated during the suspension of specie payments, when gold only was receivable for customs and was required to be held in the Treasury to meet payments upon the public debt. No reason for segregating these funds now exists. So long, however, as the Sub-Treasury system is maintained it is to be presumed that the Treasury will keep only its surplus in banks, and the surplus

never equals the internal revenue receipts, which have always been available for deposit. To place all the Treasury collections in banks and make the current disbursements from the banks is perhaps allowable under the law, but the money-market would gain but little in available funds over the amount of the surplus, and the troublesome detail of security would be considerably more vexatious.

The provision which enlarges from \$3,000,000 to \$9,000,000 the amount of notes which a National bank may retire in one month is designed to promote elasticity in bank circulation. Under a system of note issues such as the countries of Europe generally have, a tight money-market will draw out new issues and a relaxation of demand will retire them, but our system is too clumsy and unresponsive for such automatic action. With us a bank desiring to increase its issues must deposit Government bonds at the Treasury and order notes printed, which will take four to six months of time. Heretofore, when it desired to retire circulation it had to file notice of its intention and await its turn until at the rate of \$3,000,000 a month its application was reached. The amendment now made seeks to encourage the taking out of temporary circulation by facilitating its retirement. A bond-secured circulation is, however, hopelessly unresponsive to business needs, because it is influenced more by the price of bonds than by current interest rates. An issue of notes upon security of this kind does not ordinarily increase a bank's supply of cash. The bonds being worth a premium, it will lose more cash in providing the security than it gets as the result of the transaction. The only way a bank can increase its cash resources under the note-issuing privilege is by borrowing the bonds. Our law has only one end in view, and that is security. To accomplish this a National bank is required to make an investment entirely outside the field of commercial banking, and its note issues are so related to the market price of bonds that the true function of such issues, which is to effect an economy in the handling of the country's exchanges, is entirely lost sight of.

The provision of the Aldrich act which authorizes the re-issue of United States notes in ones, twos and fives, and of gold certificates in tens, is an extension of the policy, inaugurated by the act of March 14th, 1900, of reducing the Government credit notes to small bills. Under the act of 1900 the amount of silver

certificates in ones, twos and fives has increased from \$181,386,093 on February 28th, 1900, to \$446,746,069 on February 28th, 1907, and at the last date the total of outstanding silver certificates in denominations above ten dollars was only \$25,226,931. These certificates have been thus scattered and engaged in the retail trade and can never again be a menace to the Treasury. The Aldrich act will dispose of the legal-tender notes in the same way. Eventually all the Government's credit notes may be reduced to the one-dollar size, and by restricting the legal-tender power of that denomination to payments of, say, \$100, the Secretary of the Treasury may be authorized to issue and redeem them to satisfy all demands, as in the case of the subsidiary coins. Then the \$150,000,000 reserve fund in gold and the entire reserve of silver coin can be dispensed with and become general assets of the Treasury. The aggregate value of these two funds, counting the silver at its bullion value, would be \$400,000,000 to \$500,000,000. Thus we may easily grow out of two great problems which have complicated our politics, to wit: how to dispose of the greenbacks, and what to do with the overvalued silver dollar.

The main problems connected with our monetary and fiscal systems are not disposed of by the Aldrich act. We still have no resource in a financial emergency except the importation of gold. We still have the cumbersome Sub-Treasury system (except as modified by the Secretary's authority to make deposits in banks) likened by Daniel Webster to the fiscal system of Darius, King of Persia. We still take our chances that the Secretary of the Treasury, whoever in the future he may be, will voluntarily correct the mischievous effects of the Independent Treasury by judicious use of the banks. We still compel the Secretary to bear the responsibility of selecting the banks in which deposits shall be made, and of determining how much each bank shall have and what the security shall be, although these duties inevitably involve him in the most disagreeable kind of criticism a public official is called upon to endure. Seven years ago there were about 250 depositories; now there are 1,225, and with 6,411 National banks in the country the task of distribution has only begun. It is just getting to be known that public deposits are to be had by energetic solicitation, and Senators and Congressmen in all parts of the country are under pressure to help secure

these favors. This pressure comes from an influential class of their constituents, and the Secretary of the Treasury is directly subjected to it by a provision of the Aldrich act, instructing him to "distribute the deposits herein provided for equitably as far as possible between the different States and sections." Under this mandate there is no reason why every National bank may not claim a share. Besides the profit from the deposits the prestige of being selected as a National depository makes the designation desirable, and if one bank in a neighborhood is able to advertise this mark of confidence its competitors all want to be placed on an equality with it. The task of arranging such a distribution, and looking after the security, if the scarcity of Government bonds requires the acceptance of other securities, is an intolerable if not impossible one. Imagine the situation when it becomes necessary to reduce deposits and the Secretary must select the banks to be dropped!

The operations of the Treasury are growing in magnitude every year, and the difficulties inherent in present methods become correspondingly greater every year. Receipts and disbursements are each approaching \$1,000,000,000 a year. If this vast sum flowed through the Treasury in a steady stream, its management would be a comparatively simple matter; but the greater its volume the greater are the possible fluctuations and possible differences between receipts and disbursements, and the consequent difficulties in managing the surplus.

The people of nearly every other important commercial country of the world have worked these problems out to their satisfaction, and it is a significant fact that they have all come to practically the same system. The French have entrusted to the Bank of France, a semi-official institution, with a capital of 182,500,000 francs, these functions, which they have deemed it impracticable for the Minister of Finance to discharge; and the management of French finance has been the admiration of the world. The Germans are as hard-headed in business affairs as any people in the world, and they have entrusted these functions to the Imperial Bank of Germany, with a capital of 180,000,000 marks, of which the Chancellor of the Empire is the official head. The Japanese are recognized as thorough in whatever they undertake. They copied our system of national banks in 1872, providing circulating notes based on deposits of Government

bonds; but they have since established the Bank of Japan, modelled after the Imperial Bank of Germany, and made it the only bank of issue and the agency through which the Government conducts its fiscal operations. Russia, Austria - Hungary, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands and all other European countries manage their fiscal affairs in a similar manner. The services of the Bank of England to the British Government are well understood, but its system of note issues is generally recognized as inferior to that of the Imperial Bank of Germany. These great semi-official institutions, by which other Governments correlate their Treasuries to the business world, are performing their functions satisfactorily. Why may we not profit by their experience?

Whenever a great central banking institution is proposed for the United States, the common response is that we tried it once, and hence it is useless to make another effort. It is said that such an institution is an appropriate agency for a monarchy, but out of place in a republic—that it would be controlled by Wall Street or drawn into politics, and that it would be antagonistic to our system of independent banks.

To the first argument, the answer is that the task of handling the Treasury finances is not necessarily different under a republic from what it is under an empire. It is quite as injurious to business in a republic to have large sums withdrawn from circulation and locked up in a Treasury vault as it would be in an empire, and even more difficult for the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States to distribute this money in bank deposits than it would be for the Minister of Finance of Russia to do it. Furthermore, the tendency to organization and centralization in industry and finance is not peculiar to monarchies, but in the degree in which it gives higher efficiency it is quite inevitable in republics, and the question is not whether there shall be centralization in banking, but whether it shall be directed and controlled by the Government. Unification and centralization are going on in financial circles now, and to an extent perhaps not fully appreciated. The great banks of New York, with their connections, are more powerful relatively now than they would be with a central banking institution dominated by the Government and organized as outlined below.

It is apparent, however, that a central bank for the United States would have to be organized now on a somewhat different

plan from the old United States Bank or any of the foreign banks. Our existing banking institutions, State and National, should not and need not be antagonized or interfered with. On the contrary, they should be used as integral factors in the new system. The central institution should be a bank for bankers only, and its stock should be placed entirely with the National and State banks of the country. Suppose the new institution to have a capital of, say, \$50,000,000, the shares to be apportioned to State and National banks on the basis of their capital. Let this institution take over all the funds of the Treasury, except the \$150,000,000 reserve and the coin held against certificates. Give it authority to issue notes to the amount of, say, \$100,000,000, and more under the tax provision of the Imperial Bank of Germany. Establish a branch office in every city where there is now a Sub-Treasury and in other important centres—at least one in each State. Turn over the functions of the Sub-Treasuries to this institution, and have it handle the receipts and disbursements as the central banks abroad do for their Governments. Confine its lending operations to re-discounts of short-time paper for its own stockholders.

Such a bank must be so organized that control cannot pass to a few, or to one locality, and the Treasury Department should be able to control its general policy. There should be such a division of authority that, while the Government might shape the general policy, the details of management, the placing of loans, the selection of employees, etc., would be in the hands of officials representing the stockholders. Such a division of authority between the State and the stockholders is not experimental. It is a feature of the two greatest banking institutions of the world, the Bank of France and the Imperial Bank of Germany. A brief sketch of the organization and relations to the Government of these two institutions will be instructive in this connection.

The capital of the Bank of France is paid in by private shareholders, who are represented in the management by a Board of Regents, of fifteen members, of whom three must be Treasury officials, and by three Censors. The former correspond to an ordinary board of directors. The Censors are, as the name would indicate, inspectors or auditors. They are independent of the official staff appointed to watch over the execution of the laws and regulations and give an account of such supervision to the

stockholders. The executive officers of the Bank are a Governor and two assistants called Under-Governors, all of whom are appointed by the President of France. No paper can be discounted unless approved by the Governor and also by a Discount Committee of the Regents. The Bank is required by law to have at least one branch in every Department of France. The Director of each branch is appointed by the President of the Republic from among three, whose names are submitted by the Governor of the Bank. Each Director is assisted by an Administration Council composed of six to twelve members, who are appointed by the Governor from a list of double the number presented by the Board of Regents. There are also three Censors for each branch, chosen directly by the Regents. The executive staff of the Bank, among whom are a Secretary-General, Comptroller-General and Chief Cashier, is appointed by the Governor. The Bank, at the last renewal of its charter, which occurred in 1897, in return for its privileges agreed to loan the Republic 180,000,000 francs for the term of the Charter, without interest, to pay a tax on its productive circulation equal to one-eighth of one per cent. of the discount rate, and, whenever the discount is above five per cent., to pay three-fourths of the excess into the public Treasury. The present legal limit of the Bank's circulation is 5,800,000,000 francs, but the limit is constantly being raised.

The capital of the Imperial Bank of Germany, like that of the Bank of France, is all supplied by private shareholders. The authority of the Government is exercised by a Board of Directors, appointed by the Emperor, at the head of which is the Chancellor, or Prime Minister, of the Empire. His acting representative is the responsible manager of the Bank. None of these officers may own stock in the Bank. The stockholders are represented by a Central Committee of fifteen members, which assembles at least once a month. This committee reviews the conduct of the Bank, makes recommendations and looks after the interests of the shareholders generally. The continuous and special oversight in the interest of the shareholders is exercised by a special committee of three, chosen from the Central Committee, and known as Deputies. These Deputies are authorized to attend all meetings of the Imperial Board, with advisory votes, and are expected to be present during business hours and take cognizance of the routine business, inspect the books, audit the accounts, have knowl-

edge of the cash, etc. The profits of the Bank are divided between the shareholders and the Imperial Treasury as follows: First, three and one-half per cent. to the shareholders; of all additional profits, one-quarter to shareholders and three-quarters to the Treasury. There is no legal limitation upon the note circulation of the Bank, except the provision that one-third of its circulation must be covered by coin and bullion, and that a tax of five per cent. must be paid upon all issues above a certain limit, which has been raised from time to time.

These institutions provide the machinery through which the Treasury Departments of France and Germany perform their appropriate functions with relation to the public funds and the supervision of the circulating medium. They are properly dual in management, because on the one side they have official responsibilities, while on the other they enter directly into the business life of these countries. Through them, the Governments come into closer and more practical relations with the business world than they could in any other way. The scheme is in no sense an experiment. In both countries it is an unquestioned success. The fact that the plan has been almost universally copied affords the strongest possible endorsement of it. The influence of the shareholders, who furnish the capital, is naturally for a practical and efficient administration, while the authority of the state is exercised under a sense of responsibility to the whole country and subordinates the idea of profit to public service. This combination of private interest and public authority affords the system of checks and balances which should accompany all grants of power.

A central bank for this country which served only as a connecting link between the Treasury and existing State and National banks would not hold the commanding position of the two institutions described, but the general plan upon which they are organized suggests how most of the objections to such an institution could be met. Suppose its stock to be held by National and State banks in proportion to their capitalization; allow the stockholders to select a Board of Directors, similar to the Board of Regents of the Bank of France, but let them be elected by territorial districts, so that every part of the country would be represented in proportion to its holdings; create an executive board of, say, five, of which the Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller of the Currency and the Treasurer of the United States

would be three, the other two to be chosen by the Directors, the executive board to determine the general policy of the Bank; let the executive officers be named by the Secretary of the Treasury from a list submitted by the Board of Directors; require the bank to have at least one office in every State, and let the stockholders within a defined territory tributary to each branch select an advisory board for that office, and submit a list of names from which the manager should be appointed; let a corps of inspectors or auditors be appointed, in part by the Secretary of the Treasury, and in part by the Board of Directors, to examine all offices at frequent intervals.

Could such an institution become an offensive monopoly or fall under the control of any locality? Would the danger of its being drawn into politics be greater than the danger of the Treasury being drawn into politics under the present system? Through its branches the funds belonging to the Treasury which it was desirable to have returned to circulation could be placed by loan in any part of the country, and wherever placed the profits would belong to all the stockholders subject to any division with the Treasury that might be provided for. The loans should be rediscounts, restricted to short-time paper arising from the movement of staple commodities to market, and being constantly liquidated.

Through the funds under its control and the note-issuing power given it, the central institution would be able to come to the aid of any bank in the system, provided such bank was worthy of assistance. No sound banking institution in the system need ever fail after the central bank was established. The weakness of our banking system to-day is in the isolation of the individual units. When a real crisis comes, the situation is likely to be aggravated by the efforts of individual banks to strengthen themselves, and by the failure of the unprepared. An effort is made in the cities to remedy this isolation by cooperation through the clearing-house associations, and the benefits of closer relations in time of stress have been experienced repeatedly. The central institution would be a bond of union for both State and National systems, and would virtually place the resources of the Government behind them whenever the public welfare was concerned. The existing banks would not be disturbed, but they would be federated for certain purposes. If the profits of the central institution were

divided with the Treasury, after the plan of the Imperial Bank of Germany, the returns upon the stock would not be large, but the security afforded to every bank in the system would make it an object for each to take its quota.

Finally, the note-issuing power vested in the central bank would give this country a degree of independence of conditions abroad which it does not now have. For weeks lately, the price of foreign exchange has been such that gold importations could have been made with profit; but they have not been made, although money was badly needed in New York, because the withdrawal of gold from foreign markets would create a disturbance which might react disastrously in New York. Six months ago, notice was virtually served on New York bankers that the taking of gold from London at that time would be regarded as an unfriendly act. An untoward event abroad which would create a demand for ready money might at any time cause the return of such quantities of American securities as to occasion gold exports from New York, and there is no assurance that such demands will consult our convenience. They might fall imperatively upon a situation already strained to the limit. During the last two years there has existed the possibility of a collapse of Russian securities which would force liquidation in every market of Europe. This country needs the machinery by which its credit could be used in such an emergency and its industrial interests shielded from the blow. With the notes of such an institution to temporarily take the place of gold in the domestic exchanges, these international demands could be met and the situation adjusted to them. The note circulation, with its elastic possibilities, would be a buffer or cushion to ease the shock. The difference between ability to satisfy all legitimate needs, at even a high rate of interest, and inability to meet such demands at all, is the difference between gradual adjustment and industrial collapse.

GEORGE E. ROBERTS.

A GREAT NEW YORK JOURNALIST.

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

WE have had great New York journalists enough and to spare in the past, not to speak of the present, and it will not perhaps surprise the reader to realize that, in spite of their greatness, they were not New-Yorkers, though they were certainly journalists, leaving each a vivid and sometimes a profound impress on their time and place. Not to go so far back as James Watson Webb, there was James Gordon Bennett, who was Scotch, and his antithesis Horace Greeley, who was of the Scotch-Irish stock settled in Londonderry, New Hampshire. A little before either was William Cullen Bryant, the poet, from the Massachusetts hill-country, and much later there was Charles A. Dana, of New Hampshire and then of that transcendental air about Boston, crystallized for a shining hour in the community of Brook Farm. George William Curtis, who, though never the head of a powerful daily New York newspaper, was a great journalist in the highest sense, was again from New England, and again from Brook Farm. Henry J. Raymond was born on an up-State farm, and came to the metropolis the graduate of a small Vermont college. Edwin Lawrence Godkin, with whom the list must close, if we are not to deal with the great journalists who are still living, was of Irish birth and Irish and English breeding, and of a temperament equally representative of his mingled Irish and English descent. He was so far from being a New-Yorker in origin or in education that he was a fully mature Queen's College, Belfast, man, a student of law in Lincoln's Inn, and much experienced in journalistic life as a writer for the London press, and as the Crimean correspondent of the London "News," before he began journalist here in 1857, as a writer on the "New York Times."

It is not my purpose to rehearse, or even slightly sketch, the story of his life, which Mr. Rollo Ogden* has told so well in parts, and in part has allowed to tell itself so well in the two volumes which have lately appeared. The work, always done with taste, with temperance, with sympathy by the author of the biography, has had efficient help from the subject, for nothing fell from Godkin's pen which was not characteristically forcible, characteristically transparent, characteristically pungent. His style always had atmosphere, and this atmosphere was always invigorating for most readers, even when it was irritating to some. It had savor, too, and was never so dilute with daily effusion as not to taste of a mind full of Celtic juices, cleared by English culture. The sort of man he was appeared in whatever he wrote, and his biographer is wisely sparing of the comment to which a less obvious and a less outright subject must have tempted him. Almost from the beginning, therefore, the great journalist tells his own story in the selection which the biographer judiciously makes from his correspondence, from letters alike open whether addressed to personal friends or impersonal readers. From the beginning they take hold on the imagination and invite it to realize the writer as he was in life and through life.

Naturally, the passages which embody his youth to us are the most attractive, though he did not change in quality, but only grew firmer and harder with advancing years. The young journalist, ardent for the cause of freedom to which he was constant at first in Ireland, then in the struggling peoples of the Continent, and then in the land of his ideal here, the land largely of his disillusion, but never wholly of his disappointment, has the charm of a fresh talent in those admirable letters to the London "News" from the seat of the Crimean War which made him known to the English world. They evince the power of observation and inference which he showed directly afterwards when he came to America and began the scrutiny of moral causes so soon to eventuate in a war far outreaching in consequence that of any war precipitated by European diplomacy. He had felt so strongly for the oppressed nationalities that he had come to the help of Hungary in a sketch of her history when that seemed

* "Life and Letters of Edwin Lawrence Godkin." Edited by Rollo Ogden. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1907.

to have ended as a separate history; and when he began his travels through the Southern States in the later eighteen-fifties, he showed the same genuine, unsentimentalized feeling for the far more wretched and pitiable race which he found enslaved there. Every word of what he wrote concerning the semi-barbaric conditions in the South is of value. The rude aristocracy which romance has rehabilitated in the likeness of a splendid patriariate since the war destroyed slavery, he lets us see as it really was, bragging, bullying, drinking, shooting, spitting, and yet possessed of a political force and a native intellectual vigor, as well as a dauntless courage and a military genius, which made it one of the most interesting anomalies of history. He shows us the poor whites in their squalor and the black slaves in their misery, and he strips from the civilization founded on the subjection of both the glamour of its pseudo-hospitality and pseudo-chivalry. The most poignant passages of his Southern letters are those which shed their clear light upon the constant necessity that slavery had of blighting fresh regions; and hardly anywhere else is there such a realistic picture of the incident suffering as he paints of a planter's family making its way from the older to the newer country, and of the hopeless slaves who must bear the heaviest burden of the pilgrimage without a ray of light in the horizons before them, and with no incentive but the lash. Of his transit of a Mississippi swamp he writes:

"I fell in with an emigrant party on their way to Texas. Their mules had sunk in the mud . . . the wagons were already embedded as far as the axles. The women of the party, lightly clad in cotton, had walked for miles, knee-deep in water, through the brake, exposed to the pitiless pelting of the storm, and were now crouching, forlorn and woe-begone, under the shelter of a tree. . . . The men were making feeble attempts to light a fire. . . . 'Colonel,' said one of them as I rode past, 'this is the gate of hell, ain't it?' . . . The hardships the negroes go through who are attached to these emigrant parties baffle description. . . . They trudge on foot all day through mud and thicket without rest or respite. . . . Thousands of miles are traversed by these weary wayfarers without their knowing or caring why, urged on by the whip and in the full assurance that no change of place can bring any change to them. . . . Hard work, coarse food, merciless floggings, are all that await them, and all they can look to. I have never passed them,—staggering along in the rear of the wagons at the close of a long day's march, the weakest furthest in the rear, the strongest already utterly spent, without wondering how Christendom, which eight centuries ago

rose in arms for a sentiment, can look so calmly on at so foul and monstrous a wrong as this American slavery."

He bore faithful witness against the essential atrocity of the system which the South would have destroyed the Union to perpetuate; yet his study of the South was as wholly without prejudice as it remained without rancor. When the war had ended all that, and the tragi-comedy of reconstruction began, the South had no juster friend in the North than he who had seen it with such unsparing eyes.

On coming back to New York at the end of his travels in 1857, he prepared himself for admission to the bar, but he continued his correspondence for the London "News," and he slowly but inevitably began to identify himself with the journalism of the city where he had cast his lot. He was at all times much more able to do justice to alien temperaments and personalities than people who knew him only in the long fight he waged with civic abuses, and witnessed his unsparing use of ridicule, sarcasm and invective with his opponents, could well imagine. He, for instance, early admired in the New York "Tribune" the qualities in that great newspaper which the occasional defect of them in its founder could not neutralize, and the characterization of Horace Greeley himself which he has left is a masterpiece of criticism, as generous as it is just. He could not be called a dispassionate observer of men; he was a very impassioned observer; but with his profound and essential belief in the perfectibility of society, he had the correlative wish to be fair to its imperfect particles. It might be said of him, as Heine said of himself, that he loved his enemies, but not until they were dead; yet he was never, even in their lifetimes, without a tenderness for his enemies, or for what was quaint, for what was grotesque in them, for what was human; they appealed to his kindness, if only through his rich sense of humor. If he was unable at the same time to spare them, it was because his conscience, erring or unerring, forbade him to spare them.

A closer knowledge of him than the knowledge his biographer has shared with all, began for me with our personal acquaintance in the first year of "The Nation," when he had already achieved a high place in New York journalism. He had then definitely relinquished the law, and had been for some years a writer of leaders in the "New York Times," where I came upon his traces

when I also aspired to write for the "Times." I believe he had not quite ceased to write there when I began to offer literary papers to him as the editor of "The Nation." He was one of several editors to whom I was then offering such papers, and one day he asked me what my aggregate gains from them came to; then he struck an average in his proposal for my entire literary output, and the next day I came down to the office of the "Nation," where every day for three months after I wrote at a desk in his room, and in his constant companionship. This was one of the most charming passages of a life which I sometimes think has been unduly favored in that way, for we were not so far apart in age that we could not meet on the common ground of young manhood, and we were of a like temperament in the willingness to laugh and make laugh. The world was not so serious then but we could find something amusing in each day's events, and we shared our pleasure in these as we went over the morning's papers respectively, and came on the suggestions for our day's work.

Often before I had found mine his back was turned, and he was busy with the weightier topic which had engaged him before I had settled upon the social or psychological interest which I thought I could turn to account. His journalistic instinct was pretty promptly shown in estimating my powers, such as they were, and in presently appointing their use in a special department to which they were confined as long as I was connected with "The Nation." If something peculiarly fit for it struck us, we talked it over together, and he did not mind turning away from his own manuscript, and listening to what I had written, if the subject had offered any chance for fun. Then his laugh, his Irish laugh, hailed my luck with it, or his honest English misgiving expressed itself in a criticism which I had to own just. At the end of our day, we sometimes walked up-town together, talking through the roar of the Broadway omnibuses of the many things which interest men in their earlier thirties and their later twenties, and when we parted I always carried with me a heightened impulse and a freshened incentive for the work of the morrow.

I give my experience of him, which is none the less a kindly memory, because I know that it was different in effect from the experience of some others. When, in March, I went to take up

the literary life in Boston, which in one form or other kept me there for twenty-five years, I began to get my genial comrade of the mornings' talk, the mornings' work, more in perspective, and to see him, as the admirable men about me saw him, for the national force into which he was developing. "The Nation" had been founded, in a sort, as the especial organ of the freedmen, if that is not stating it too loosely; but it soon outgrew that limit and became the transcendent influence for honest politics, which it continued until its distinctive individuality was lost by its devolution into the weekly edition of "The Evening Post." But for at least ten years it was the exponent of those who wished our political life to throw off its unprincipled boyishness, and assume the responsibilities and ideals of maturity. It made for dignity as well as purity, and in the dismal reconstruction darkness for something like enlightened patience and circumspection. It is no secret that it hurt and disappointed many of its friends, and it hurt some whom it did not disappoint. It can now do no harm to say that Lowell sometimes winced under "The Nation's" criticisms of his literature, while he held steadfastly to its politics. He and the friends who were next him did justice to what they believed the immense and exceptional service which "The Nation" rendered in maintaining the principles of good government and of public morals in general. They believed that the editor did more to influence public opinion and to give right direction to it for many years than any other man. He raised, they believed, the general level of editorial writing throughout the United States; but I myself heard him do justice to services of others in this cause, specifically to those of Mr. Whitelaw Reid in refusing all part in the personalities which had tended to puerilize New York journalism before his time. But these strong and pure friends of his maintained that in the combination of intellectual power, moral integrity and courage, trained intelligence, knowledge of mankind, devotion to public ends, capacity of clear statement and of well-reasoned argument, he had a solitary preeminence; and that in comparison with these qualities, his defects were inconsiderable.

I do not say that they were mistaken, but only that, from my own knowledge of our journalism, I had found the qualities for which he was unquestionably distinguished less infrequent than they might have believed. What he undoubtedly did was to

assemble and array these qualities in a make-up, under a generalship of singular ability and initiative, against the opposing influences. There were other good men, in and about Boston, especially some survivors of the old, impassioned anti-slavery times, who accused "The Nation" of faltering in the cause to which it had been, as they conceived, originally dedicated. These were, perhaps, such as had been wounded in their favorite opinions, or preferences, or prejudices, but they were also just and truthful persons in certain cases. Whatever they were, they were united with its believers in confessing the power of the new journal: an English liberal journal, on the American terms, with a strong infusion of Irish wit and fight. Whether we liked it or not, or trusted it or not, we looked eagerly for it every week, and read it, and repeated its sayings with a faith in their importance and finality which still survives in Cambridge. Very likely it survives in the pride and affection of other intellectual centres, and very likely "The Nation" might still be the power of old days if it had continued singly or solely to engage the energies of its founder.

No other publication became so nearly the "organ" of the universities. But the time had come for the editor to take that leading place in New York journalism which only a leading daily newspaper offers the man capable of holding it. "The Evening Post" became Godkin's primary interest, and "The Nation" became his secondary interest. The editorials of the "Post" were reproduced in "The Nation," and most of its literary matter, though I believe it was not quite a mere weekly edition of the "Post," but had some features and properties of its own. Yet, somehow, it slipped more into the background, and, somehow, the "Post" came more into the foreground; one may say this without impeaching its continuing excellence. Oddly enough, however, unless I am misreading history, or mistaking the situation, the editor, with an increasing local force, lost something of his national influence, while he gained international recognition. He dealt as strenuously, as faithfully, as ever with national politics, but in this field he grew more critical and conservative, while in foreign matters he held the advanced position of English Liberalism, beyond which, perhaps, he never passed even in his ideals. At the same time, he became so deeply, so intensely, interested in the questions of

municipal government, or misgovernment, more strictly speaking, that while read and trusted at home and abroad for his views of international affairs, he was perhaps less remembered in connection with our general politics than he had been. It would not do to say that he lost his following in these, but it will do to say, I think, that his struggle with the atrocious, the indecent misgovernment of the metropolis was what chiefly centred people's interest upon him. For a long series of years he cried aloud and spared not; his burning wit, his crushing invective, his biting sarcasm, his amusing irony, his pitiless logic, were all devoted to the extermination of the rascality by nature and the rascals by name who misruled that hapless city, where they indeed afterwards changed their name but not their nature.

He wore himself out in the pursuit of them, but he did not wear them out, at least in their succession, as any one may realize who looks at the insolent neglect of our squalid streets, or knows the corruption of our police, or hears the tales of open or hidden graft in our administration, or sees the efforts for civic reform baffled on every hand. Reform, here, does not reform; it scarcely arrests; if a gentleman is chosen mayor, honest men seem no better off than before. The story, as concerns Godkin, has its immense pathos. It is an inexpressible pity that so much power for good should apparently go for so little, and that evil should remain where it was before, qualitatively as strong, and quantitatively greater, than it was before the long struggle with it began. But in this fight he became not only a great New York journalist, but distinctively the greatest, since he was more singly devoted to civic affairs than any other great New York journalist ever was.

The people tired of the fight before their champion tired, it came to be said; and when it came to be said, it came to be thought that the new "Evening Post" was always "finding fault," always "scolding." It came to be said, and it came to be thought, that the editor was a pessimist. But nothing, I conceive, could be more fantastically mistaken as a notion of his nature or his character. If pessimism means anything—and to most people who use the word I do not suppose it means anything—it means despair of the prevalence of good through a divine government of the universe, or through the conscious endeavor of humanity for the right. Pessimism, if such a thing

ever really exists, accepts the worst of all possible worlds as final, and cynically ignores what makes for good inside or outside of us, smiling at the illusion of anything different as a soap-bubble Utopia. But this was not the mood of a man who never rested, while his strength lasted, in his struggle with evil. He believed in the existence of incarnate rascality, of devilry positive and active night and day, but he did not the less keep up his sleepless fight with it. At the same time, he ardently trusted, with the whole force of his generous Celtic nature, with the whole weight of his solid Saxon mind, in the possibility of overcoming this rascality, this devilry, and he gave himself, heart and soul, but without alloy of sentimentality, to its extirpation. I do not know, but I think it possible, that he might sometimes have said, after he was obliged by sickness and weakness to lay down his arms, that he had fought a losing fight, but I do not believe he ever thought that, with time enough and health enough, he could not have made it a winning fight. He must have seen some evidences, partial and transient indeed, of success; he had witnessed from time to time the flight of certain rascals, and he could well have hoped for the exile of rascality. He might have laughed in kindly self-derision at the succession of other rascals to the crown of rascality, but some day, far or near, he believed that round and top of sovereignty would roll in the dust.

His attitude towards America came to be misunderstood, through those who confused it with his hatred of American rascality. Because he cried out on this so incessantly, that it was supposed that he did not believe either in our perfection or our perfectibility; but he did believe in the last though not in the first, and no honest man, not a fool, can pretend to believe in our perfection. He was accused of being foreign-born, and he was undeniably so; he was accused of impatriotism, both as to the land of his birth and the land of his adoption; but nothing could be more false. He never ceased to be a true Irishman, in his love of Ireland's right to self-rule, and he never ceased to be a true American in his love of America's ruling by right alone. He abhorred the jingo ideal of our aggrandizement by battle-ship; he held that, before we sought to become a world-power, we were the greatest as well as safest power in the world because of our moral preeminence, our lofty ideals of justice, our devotion to humanity. In the minor matters of our social character, of

the fineness and goodness that too often lurked beneath our unpleasant surfaces, no one has ever made a franker, bolder, truer representation to the English criticism than he has done in several of his admirable letters. He did understand us, he did believe in us, for he knew not only what we were, but what we were capable of becoming.

When the shadow of war threatened us, when the clouds that our rain-makers had beaten up rolled and gathered over us, he wrote certain things in his journal which seemed shockingly out of taste to those readers who like to pretend that a good war is not hideous. He had seen war, and he had not forgotten how it looked, and how it looked he told his readers, so that they could not fail to see with his eyes that war literally meant men with their skulls burst open, their heads shot off, their limbs scattered, their entrails torn out, their unspeakable agony, whether they lived or died; that war was burning towns and trampled fields, with women and children blown to pieces in the blazing streets or houses, or starving amidst the wasted harvests. He set these things down in plain words, with a simple force of truth such as Vereschagin did not surpass in his awful canvases; and no doubt he increased the popular apprehension of his pessimism. But, all the while, his essential optimism forbade him to believe that the worst could come; he could not really imagine that the Americans, if it could in any wise be shunned or escaped, would plunge into that hell. On the very brink of the catastrophe, I met him once, and we talked together, sadly enough as to the fact in the abstract, and as to the probable effect it would have on our national life; but at last he broke away from the dismal forecast, and with a laugh that came from a heart of faith in humanity, in America, he ended our gloomy parley with the words, "Well, there isn't going to be any war!" Within a week one of our cruisers had seized a wretched Spanish ship-captain's trading-vessel in the Gulf, and the newspapers had told how the poor man had cried over the destruction of his little fortune, and of his livelihood; and then there had come news of the first American blood spilt in a quarrel out of which we had refused to find a peaceful issue. The prophet was not a very good prophet, but as a pessimist he was surely not of a rounded perfection.

W. D. HOWELLS.

TEMPORARY INDUSTRIAL FELLOWSHIPS.

BY ROBERT KENNEDY DUNCAN, PROFESSOR OF INDUSTRIAL CHEMISTRY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS.

THAT all industries have problems of a scientific nature may readily be discovered by simply inquiring of any manufacturer whatever. In these days, he will not only admit that he has these problems, but he is apt to complain, even bitterly, that he cannot find the men to solve them, and, moreover, that their continued lack of solution means, imminently, loss or failure to his individual instance of the industry. In the past few decades, while these problems were present, ever and always, they were masked, or, at any rate, their importance was masked, by the wealth of raw materials that lay everywhere at hand; by an aggressive tariff, that concealed from the manufacturer the practical presence of the problems; and by a certain facility in what may not unfairly be called business intrigue, which enabled him to supplement the waste in his factory by combinations for the elimination of competition; finally, the needs of the population have been so open-mouthed and hungry that the cruel edge of competition lay long unsharpened.

Now, however, in all industries, conditions are radically changing. The unexampled and wasteful production of the country bids fair to result in overproduction; in the practice of business intrigue each manufacturer has sharpened the face of his rival to a razor-edge; the wealth of raw materials has in large measure been aggregated into the holdings of a few men, who release these products to the manufacturer only at an onerous and distressful rate; the tariff, high as it is, is still unable to exclude many articles of foreign manufacture made under the intelligent supervision of modern science; and, for we live in parlous times, the tariff, itself, on its present high pinnacle lies in unstable equi-

librium. The steady growth in the introduction of articles of foreign manufacture made with the aid of modern science is no mere silliness of the imagination. To one who, like the writer, has spent a year in Europe in the continued investigation of the extent to which science is applied to modern industry, the situation could only be characterized adequately through utterance that would be sensational. The Germany of the days prior to the Prussian conquest has passed away and the new Germany is a Germany of workshops; and workshops, too, in which, in the intelligent application of means to ends, which constitutes the scientific method, in the eagerness to harness new knowledge to their service, and in a willingness to spend money in intelligent experimentation, there is demonstrated a condition of almost perfect functioning. In France, also, though not with the same method, but in a spirit as eager and intelligent, there is the same turning over into sensible scientific conduct of the traditional industries and the same activity in the establishment of new ones. In Italy, too, long deemed a land of languorous ineptitude, the scientific spirit has stirred into active being a multitude of new industries. Even in England, there is abroad in the land the spirit of applied science.

Nowhere else, however, is there in evidence the same system of coordination and cooperation in industry as there is in Germany. The universities are coordinated with the industries, and so are the banks and the great steamship companies; all of them constituting a system of cooperation so observable that it forces the conclusion that it is not the unconscious outcome of the German character, but the result, rather, of an active and conscious plan.

Apposite to this statement, and indeed typical, is the case of a German university professor who discovered a new process. His first step was to present it to the experts of one of the great factories concerned; his second was to present it to the Deutsche Bank, which employed its own experts to report on the validity and practicability of the process. As a result, the professor with his discovery, the Deutsche Bank with its funds, and the company with its immense facilities for investigating the discovery on a large scale, formed a little company of three for the exploitation of the process. How impossible would be such an arrangement in this country!

Thus it is in Europe; but what about America? It is no

mistake to say that American manufacture is a chaos of confusion and waste. It is no mistake, either, to say that the American manufacturer now knows it. This confusion and waste, it should be said, is chemical, not mechanical. Along the lines of mechanical contrivances America need acknowledge no peer. But mechanical contrivances are but a small part of the operations of modern industry. Since every manufacturer deals with the modification of substance, and substance is the business of chemistry, every manufacturer is just exactly to that extent chemical. That this fundamental truth has not, in the past, been recognized is due largely to the fact that the manufacturers of the last generation were, generally speaking, men endowed with great natural abilities but of small education—men who, starting as factory “hands,” worked themselves up through the grades of foreman and superintendent to managerships and presidencies. To such men, science and the scientific method meant literally nothing; it was outside their ken, and they had all the impatience and disdain of the “practical man” for what they called the “theoretical fellow.” With the growth of the combinations of capital, however, and with the coming of a schooled generation of business men, matters have assumed a different aspect. Naturally enough, the large organizations of capital have been the first to appreciate the working value of the leaven of new knowledge, and it is in marked degree due to this appreciation that they have successfully differentiated their factory processes from those of small companies or individual manufacturers. The small manufacturer, failing in the stress of competition, often ascribes to business intrigue and combination a competitive success that actually belongs to modern chemistry. There is, as a matter of fact, a singular difference to-day between the factory practice of different companies in any one industry. This is for the reason that the larger companies, while employing expert scientific advice with huge resulting economies, keep their improved processes strictly to themselves, for, obviously, in applied science, it does not pay to tell. The result is a situation that to the smaller manufacturer grows more and more intolerable.

There is a question that has come to the writer out of every quarter of the English-speaking lands, and from trust organizations and small manufacturers alike: “How can we utilize modern knowledge?”

This question, the writer believes, has found its answer in a practical form in a new relation which he has suggested and initiated between the University of Kansas and the people of the country. It lies in giving the manufacturer the privilege of founding in the University a Temporary Industrial Fellowship for the investigation of a specific problem, the solution of which would mutually and materially benefit both the manufacturer himself and the public.

The consistency and propriety of this aid are seen in the accepted dictum that the University stands for the whole good of man—for the *uplift* of man. The absolute function of the University is not only the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men, but of *useful* knowledge. It must be remembered that it is only through useful knowledge that the people have gained the material blessings of our new civilization. Furthermore, it must be remembered that every useful agent in our new civilization is the product of an industry, and that it is only through the industries that these new products of civilization can go to the people. New mechanisms—such as the telegraph, the telephone, the electric light, the X-ray bulb—new medicines, new dyes, new steels, new and improved products that surround us on every side come to us only through the industries. People confuse the blessings of the products of industry with the mixed blessings of the exploiters of industry. Every discovery utilizable by industry is a thread in the fabric of a future and more gracious civilization. The exploiters of industry, on the contrary, are a phenomenon belonging of necessity only to our age. Future men may, and doubtless will, modify and control their powers or altogether eliminate them; but, in the industry which they exploit, there lies the whole hope of the betterment of the world. For science, waste-abhorring, will introduce such economies; and science, the spirit of intelligence, will discover such new processes and agents and powers that man, in the far future, but inevitable, readjustment, will find through science the chance to live. Consequently, the University may with entire propriety lend itself to the increase of useful knowledge, all the more since it forwards this useful knowledge by simply affording the manufacturer the opportunity of helping himself.

That the University can, actually and practically, forward the progress of industry is seen in the consideration of two facts.

First, is the application of new knowledge: the problems that may be solved by the layman in science, even though that layman be a foreman in the factory, have practically disappeared—problems having obvious and apparent answers have all been solved. Again, owing to the continuous acceleration of modern knowledge, the field of science, so long as it is not compared with that which still remains to be discovered, is prodigious in extent—and it is only in the universities that such knowledge is practised and known. It is this knowledge, born and bred in the universities, that is creating industrial revolutions. It may be said on this point that the industries have in their employ their own chemists and other men of science, but such a statement would be barely a partial truth. It is true that the large trust organizations do employ one or two men of science, and the success of these organizations—that is, their real, and not adventitious, success—rests upon the service of these men. As for the smaller manufacturers, however, they employ practically none; their “chemists” should be quotation-marked to mean laboratory boys, trained only to do one testing operation over and over again. Even those men of unquestionable scientific training that are at present employed by the factories are by the very fact of that employment incapable of solving its problems. As one large company recently informed us, such men “cannot see over their own fence,” they “cannot see the wood for the trees,” they “are killed by their own routine.” To take a specific case: A chemist employed by a glass-factory may, sensibly and accurately, analyze the furnace-gas and the soda and lime and sand used in the making of glass, but he could not possibly determine the science of glass-making; that kind of a service was rendered by professors from the University of Jena. The fact is that, in these days, the really important problems can only be solved by the rendering of aid from outside—by men attacking the problem with a perfectly open mind and armed with a wide range of new facts apparently unrelated but potentially applicable. We see this in the actual facts of the case—that it is from the large universities of the world that industry has received in recent years its most valuable gifts. It is well within the mark to say that, during the last ten years, three-fourths of the discoveries of industrial importance have emanated either from the universities or from men whose knowledge was obtained therein.

But the beneficence of the University extends not only to the solution of an industrial problem, but, also, to the furnishing of men. That "good men" are scarce is, of course, a truism; but it is terribly apposite in these days. The modern manufacturer advisedly economizes in everything but salaries, and the very considerable salaries paid to good men is ample evidence of their rarity. Now, the purlieus of adolescent "good men" are the laboratories of the University. There it is that men are "tried out," and there it is, too, that men are known better than they know themselves. When, therefore, the University accepts from a manufacturer the foundation of an industrial fellowship, it not only provides an expert intense attempt to solve a problem by the application of the newest of new knowledge, but, as well, it provides for that industry a "good man," whom the industry would do well to cherish, or, at any rate, the best man available.

The character of these Fellowships is best demonstrated by a specific case such as we give below:

The A. B. Industrial Fellowship.

For the purpose of promoting the increase of useful knowledge, the University of Kansas accepts from *The A. B. Company, of Chicago,** the foundation of a Temporary Industrial Fellowship to be known as *The A. B. Fellowship.*

It is mutually agreed and understood that the conditions governing this Fellowship shall be as follows:

The exclusive purpose of this Fellowship is *The discovery of Improvements in the Chemistry of Laundering*, to the furtherance of which the holder of this Fellowship shall give his whole time and attention.

The Fellow shall be appointed by the Chancellor of the University, the Director of the Chemical Department and the Professor of Industrial Chemistry; he shall be a member of the University and shall pay all regular fees, including laboratory fees; he shall work under the advice and direction of the Professor of Industrial Chemistry, and he shall forward periodically, through the Professor of Industrial Chemistry, reports of the progress of his work to *The A. B. Company.*

For the support of this Fellowship, which shall extend through a period of *Two Years* from the date of appointment of the Fellow, *The A. B. Company* agree to pay *Five Hundred Dollars* per year, payable annually to the University on the *First of March*. This sum shall be paid by the University in monthly instalments to the holder of the Fellowship.

Any and all discoveries made by the Fellow during the tenure of his Fellowship shall become the property of *The A. B. Company* subject,

* The written parts of the agreement are printed in italics.

however, to the payment by them to the Fellow of one-tenth of the net proceeds arising from such discoveries, it being understood that the Fellow shall be regarded as the inventor. At or before the expiration of the Fellowship, the business services of the Fellow may be secured by *The A. B. Company* for a term of *Three Years* on condition that the terms of such services are satisfactory to both parties at interest.

It is also understood and agreed that, on the expiration of the Fellowship, the holder thereof shall have completed a comprehensive monograph on *The Chemistry of Laundering* containing both what he and others have been able to discover. A copy of this monograph shall be forwarded to *The A. B. Company*, and a copy shall be signed and placed in the archives of the University until the expiration of three years from that date, when the University shall be at liberty to publish it for the use and benefit of the people.

It will be seen that this Fellowship affects three different parties: The Industry, the University standing for the people, and the Fellow appointed.

As for the Industry: The A. B. Company is concerned with the manufacture of Launderers' materials. This Company believes that the Laundry business, while along mechanical lines it may be considered to have reached a condition of what might be called terminal perfection, along chemical lines is conducted on a basis of almost mediæval ignorance; that it has been developed upon the slenderest knowledge of the material of cotton and linen textiles; and that it is practised with a joyous disregard of the whole body of modern chemical knowledge. It believes that the chemical methods of the present-day laundry can not only be changed, but radically changed; and it also believes that this change must be initiated from the outside—that its own chemists cannot solve its problems. Consequently, the Company has appreciated the opportunity of founding in this progressive University in the West a Temporary Fellowship for the solution of this one specific problem, for it sees that in combining the "inside" knowledge and big facilities of its factories with the special knowledge and trained action of the University and its Fellow, there lies a sane practical chance of a happy solution. It is willing to offer the Fellow appointed not merely the yearly \$500 which constitutes the stipend of his Fellowship, but, in addition, one-tenth of the value of all that he can discover, as well as, ultimately, a permanent position with the Company on a mutually satisfactory basis—one-tenth, because a tax of a tithe upon a successful innovation in factory practice can never be

burdensome, and a permanent position, because, if the Fellow succeeds, the Company must have him, and, whether or not, it always needs "good men."

The University, listening, as becomes a State University, with its ear to the ground, and unlike those institutions that are concerned only with their own self-perpetuation, has heard the murmurs of the people. Indeed, who has not? For, as a matter known by everybody and freely yet regretfully acknowledged by laundry men themselves, the course of the shirt to the laundry is one of swift and progressive disintegration. Since the people of this country pay a laundry bill of nearly twenty-five million dollars a week, and, in addition, vastly more than this in replacing fabrics which the laundry destroys, the solution of this problem is of unquestionable importance to their welfare. The University, therefore, in behalf of the people, is willing to extend its advice and facilities to the industry concerned, but—and in this "but" there lies the whole function of the University—it insists that the knowledge obtained within its gates should in a reasonable time become the common property of man. This is conserved by the agreement that, before the expiration of the Fellowship, the Fellow shall have completed a comprehensive monograph fairly exploiting all that he and others before him have succeeded in discovering. This monograph, after giving the Company three years' advantage, the University will publish. This does not mean that the Fellow and the Company are prohibited from taking out, at any time, patents on discoveries with industrial likelihood; but patents generally convey but a small proportion of the knowledge requisite for working them; and so, through this monograph, the means of using these patents after their expiration, and of improving them before their expiration, will be conserved to the people.

As for the Fellow appointed to the task, he pits his youth and strength and training and creative ability against a problem which the Company, with its inner knowledge of the conditions of the business, believes to be solvable. He is eager enough to attempt his devoir, because, while guaranteed a sum adequate to support him and sufficient time to make his achievement, he is guaranteed also a fair share of the spoils should he succeed. It is a game in which he has a reasonable chance of winning anything from zero to a million, and he is assured of the "square

deal." What more can be desired by a young man at the threshold of his activity, even if it means that he must leave the "nook merely monastic" of a professor in embryo for a life of industrial alarms and strenuous war? In addition, he has in the monograph which he writes the opportunity of proving himself a supreme authority in this limited but important field; he has, if he wins, an assured position by which he may take a notable part in what in these days is the preferred work of the world, the doing of real things, the turning of knowledge into useful ends; and then, too, his work may all be carried on in strictest accordance with the science in which he has been bred.

Finally, a rereading of this agreement will show that it is essentially one of trust. The University stands sponsor to this arrangement, because, in any particular instance in which the foundation of a Fellowship is accepted, it will first convince itself of the integrity of all concerned. For that reason, the foregoing agreement, for example, has been drawn in a broad and liberal spirit, and it thus stands to the young men in the University as a demonstration that opportunity waits not only upon training and ability, but, first and foremost, upon a reputation for absolute integrity.

Everywhere throughout America, wherever there is the smoke of a factory chimney, there are unsolved, exasperating, vitally important manufacturing problems—problems in glass, porcelain, starch, tanning, paints, drugs, meats, iron, oil, metallurgical products—problems wherever man deals with substance. It seems clear that these problems can best be answered by combining the practical knowledge and the large facilities of the factory with the new and special knowledge of the universities, and by making this combination through young men who will find therein success and opportunity.

A Temporary Industrial Fellowship does this; it affords a young man every incentive to lay his hands on the vast body of correlated knowledge called Science, and to make it subserve the practical needs of the human race.

ROBERT KENNEDY DUNCAN.

STATE INSURANCE.

BY ERVING WINSLOW.

LIFE-INSURANCE is a striking instance of that devolution in quasi-public enterprises which has been observable of late in so many directions. The *laissez-faire* method, in view of such conditions, has few advocates to-day. The question which men are asking everywhere is how an evolution can be promoted towards better conditions from the low estate to which life-insurance has fallen. In Italy, the disgust with life-insurance matters has actually gone so far as to lead to the return in the Cassa Providenti Italiani to the crude and unscientific method of annual division among the insured lives of the whole receipts of the year.

The dismal tale of lapsed policies, excessive premiums, deferred and tontine payments, overpaid agents, deceptive schemes, costly advertising and canvassing, extravagant salaries, enormous profits and rake-offs by the management and its friends has been spread before the eyes of the public. It seems improbable that the life-insurance companies can regain confidence with thoughtful men through any of the remedial half-measures which it has been proposed to embody in legislation. In the first place, it has become evident that the efforts which have been made, under such influential auspices—with so much labor and expense—in consequence of the recent exposures, to exclude from the management the persons responsible for the evils disclosed, have not succeeded in overcoming the mechanism by which these persons retain their power of control. Again, there are obvious signs that a period of agitation for reform, fomented by the business enterprise of a certain class of publications to a hysterical intensity, is to be succeeded by the usual apathetic reaction. In fact, it is highly probable that at this day the funds of the great insurance companies are more absolutely pooled in the hands of a group of

"*haute finance*" than ever before, and are absolutely available for their schemes of selfish and oppressive promotion. As a corrective for this state of things, we have the threat of national control, a remedy which is perhaps worse than the disease, under the extraordinary claim that the regulation of interstate commerce confers such power upon the general Government. The application of this remedy is indeed checked for the moment by the prohibition of the courts, but the decisions of the courts have been so harshly criticised by a coordinate department of government that it seems extremely probable that a way may be successfully made to override or to reverse their decision.

Is it not a time for the exercise of that "generous rivalry" among the States in this matter to which Mr. Root incites them, as the only means of avoiding that centralization which he assumes to be inevitable in cases of necessity when the States individually cannot or will not act? So far, at least, it is unquestionable that the life-insurance companies are creatures of State law, controlled by the legislatures of the States in which they operate, and transacting their affairs beyond the limits of these States only on sufferance of the local governments. In Massachusetts, the first State to attempt to regulate life-insurance by government supervision half a century ago, a bill has been introduced—recognizing the failure of that supervision to be effectual—to assume life-insurance as a State undertaking. The doctrine of State rights may have been invoked elsewhere to give State protection to predatory wealth and to secure it from national interference, but Massachusetts is not that kind of a State, and many of her citizens believe that she can conduct these vital concerns under the eyes of her own people, untrammelled by the speculators of Wall Street or the politicians of Washington.

The bill provides for the establishment of an unpaid board of citizens, to be appointed by the Governor, to act with the Insurance Commissioner as a board of trustees or managers of a State system of life-insurance and annuities, with the use of funds of the Commonwealth as a working capital until the plan has reached a settled basis. The plan is simplicity itself, and leaves opportunity for its expansion in details as the full development of the idea is made so as to cover industrial insurance. The present session of the Massachusetts Legislature may not see

the adoption of the measure, for, besides the various regulations for the control of the insurance business, two special schemes are urged, one for what is called Counter Insurance in favor of a new company applying for an enacting authority, and another for an attachment of life-insurance to the savings-banks, promoted by a so-called League, working through the press and in the State House with large funds. Of course, all the arguments offered in favor of these plans drawn from the disastrous experience of life-insurance can be urged and are urged in favor of the State system.

In spite of the efforts that have been made in behalf of the savings-bank plan, the general disfavor with which it has been received has not failed to find expression, notably from former Governor Long of Massachusetts, who has recently presented a few of the objections to it with clarity and eloquence. It seems incredible that many officers of these institutions will look favorably upon this very doubtful annex to their excellent work. Admirable as is their general history, we must not forget that officials of the savings-banks have been tempted and have fallen through their alliance with national banking institutions and otherwise, and they will not desire to expose themselves to farther temptations nor to undertake an alliance foreign to their purpose and involving an entirely new set of machinery. As for the depositors in the savings-banks, if a referendum could be submitted to them, it could hardly be doubted that an enormous majority would deplore any such complication with the ideal and with the practice of savings institutions.

Concerning the proposed Counter Insurance—that is to say, insurance offered at the counter without any canvass or solicitation—it is interesting to note that, while what are called industrial insurance and cooperative companies have had enormous success in England, a record of the postal savings-banks, which furnish substantially counter insurance, reveals the following record of failure:

In 1899 there were insured in the P.O. Banks 827 persons carrying insurance of	£43,723
In 1900 there were insured in the P.O. Banks 677 persons carrying insurance of	35,512
In 1901 there were insured in the P.O. Banks 920 persons carrying insurance of	44,296
In 1902 there were insured in the P.O. Banks 720 persons carrying insurance of	34,646

In 1903 there were insured in the P.O. Banks 592 persons carrying insurance of£31,413

Of course, the expense of industrial insurance is greatly increased by the employment of collectors or canvassers; but, under proper management and supervision, some such system has a highly eleemosynary character. One of the most valued features of the work of organized charity associations is the house-to-house visiting for collection of small regular deposits for the savings-banks or for voluntary benefit funds, and it is probable that those who are insured can afford to pay and will be willing to pay for a proper method of thus handling their affairs. In the "Insurance Press" of January 30th, Mr. Frederick L. Hoffman, in a long argument in favor of the industrial insurance companies, has summed up with great effect the arguments derived from experience in America and in England, with an elaborate statistical presentation, of the need of individual collections of insurance premiums.

Thus it would undoubtedly be found wise and desirable in the State system to collect and canvass for the industrial or wage-earners' insurance in which small premiums are paid at short intervals, while those who desire insurance for themselves would seek the opportunity for obtaining it at a rate which would be proportionately lower in this class of insurance as the expense of agencies and solicitors is eliminated. Apart from the graft of the insurance companies, their competition has brought about a condition of things in which, as usual, consolidation looms up as the only remedy, and the alternative of public control is obviously suggested.

While Great Britain proper as yet affords no examples of state insurance, we find it developed in her colonies, where English progress is vindicating itself more distinctly than at home, and it is well established in various forms in France, Belgium and Italy, the necessities of the situation and the control required by the state having, apparently, naturally led on to nationalizing systems of insurance. The Bank of France, providing for pensions or annuities, has met great success in collective insurance in which firms insure their employees, including almost all the railways and larger mining companies and many other large industrial concerns. The system in Belgium is very similar to that in France. In Italy, the employer can even insure his civil re-

sponsibility by making a somewhat larger payment in taking out collective insurance for his employees. In New Zealand, the state life-insurance company, according to available statistics, wrote about forty per cent. of the whole number of policies written. In December, 1904, there were outstanding 110,227 policies, representing £27,074,171. Overdue policies are automatically kept alive as long as the surrendered value is sufficient to pay a quarter's premium. Since the first establishment of the department, nearly £10,000,000 have been returned to the insured in dividends, and the success of the plan has long passed beyond the sphere of experiment.

Should we be alarmed in establishing such a system by the mere bogie of a name? In nothing would it contravene the principles of self-help and self-reliance. It would, indeed, prevent the need of that kind of help which we find it impossible to obtain and of that reliance which we find it impossible to give when we are brought up against the private administration of insurance interests. The stock company has often proved to be a chartered despoiler and the mutual company a hypocritical plunderer. It is as impossible for the individual policyholder to reach one as to reach the other; and perhaps the mutual company is the more dangerous, as it offers a form of control while holding the substance as firmly as the stock company, as recent experience has shown.

State insurance offers a security which cannot be obtained through any private corporation, even though enormous accumulations have been made by excessive premiums and deceptive plans of the private companies. The disastrous days of the failure of insurance companies in 1873 must not be forgotten. No matter how excellent the names of the founders of private corporations, they may be succeeded by the careless, the incompetent or the dishonest. The Government institution makes no profits. It offers facilities to employers who can insure their operatives without going to the expense of themselves conducting an actuarial system. It leaves the employers and employees absolutely free to make arrangements between themselves as they may think fit, while the employees' receipts are not conditional upon remaining in the service of a particular employer or dependent upon his financial ability.

The State institution, of course, would be entirely self-support-

ing. Conducted under the civil-service rules, it should be economical and efficient; and, finally, it appeals to men of standing and weight in the community to give that kind of supervision which they have given with so much skill and devotion to the savings-banks since their foundation. It may be stated as a very just and confident belief that some method of public insurance will sooner or later be adopted in the United States. It is, perhaps, to be determined very soon whether it shall be done promptly and wisely by individual States, or whether it must come through yet more disastrous experiences of failure, dishonor and robbery, and perhaps by the seizure of the sovereign powers of the States by some usurpation of the general Government.

ERVING WINSLOW.

THE PEOPLE AS LEGISLATORS.

BY C. W. FULTON, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM OREGON.

THE State government of Oregon more nearly approaches a pure democracy than does that of any other State of the Union. This is due to the amendment to its Constitution adopted by vote of the people in 1902, and known as the "Initiative and Referendum Amendment."

Under this provision, the "power to propose laws and amendments to the Constitution and to enact or reject the same at the polls, independent of the legislative assembly," is reserved to the people. It is provided that eight per cent. of the legal voters may, by petition filed with the Secretary of State, propose any measure desired. It is required that the petition shall include the full text of the law, and be filed not less than four months prior to the election at which the proposed law is to be voted upon. If approved by a majority of the votes cast, the measure immediately becomes a law and is not subject to the Governor's veto. Such is the initiative.

The referendum may be applied to any law enacted by the legislature, except such as are "necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety." It may be ordered by a petition signed by five per cent. of the voters, or by the legislature itself. When ordered, the measure to which it is directed does not become a law until it has been approved by a majority of the votes cast thereon.

Thus it will be seen that, excepting such constitutional limitations as are imposed on the legislative power and apply to the legislature as well, there is no limit whatever to the right or power of the people to legislate by direct enactment independently of the legislature, and but slight limit to their power to veto laws enacted by the legislative assembly.

The first exercise of the power to initiate and enact legislation by the people was at the June election in 1904, when, by a vote of more than three to one, they enacted the direct primary law, whereby all nominations of candidates for public office, excepting school-district offices, and municipal offices in towns of less than two thousand inhabitants, are required to be made by direct vote of the people. The primary election is held and conducted almost entirely under the general election laws and, practically, in the same manner as are the regular elections, the exceptions being only such as are rendered necessary by reason of the relation of political parties thereto. The purpose being that the members of each political organization shall nominate the candidates of their respective parties; a voter is required, if he desires to participate, to cause to be entered in the registration book, at the time he registers as a voter, the name of the political party of which he is a member. A separate ballot-box is provided for the voters of each party, but the primary election is held at the same time and place for all parties, and presided over by one set of judges, who are, as well, the judges appointed to preside at the general election next ensuing.

An important and interesting feature of the direct primary law is that it expressly provides for the nomination of candidates for United States Senator. Provision is made for placing on the official ballot to be used at the election following the primary the names of all nominees, including names of nominees for Senator. It is also provided that a candidate seeking a nomination for the legislature may file in a designated office one of two statements. One of these statements is in the following terms: "I will, during my term of office, always vote for that candidate for United States Senator in Congress who has received the highest number of the people's votes for that position at the general election next preceding the election of a Senator in Congress, without regard to my individual preference." This is known as "Statement No. 1." Statement No. 2 is: "During my term of office, I shall consider the vote of the people for United States Senator in Congress as nothing more than a recommendation, which I shall be at liberty to wholly disregard if the reason for so doing seems to me to be sufficient." If a candidate shall decline to sign either statement, his name must, nevertheless, if petitioned for, be placed on the nomination-ballot.

The first nominating election under this law occurred in April, 1906, to nominate candidates to be voted for at the general election to be held in June of that year. A Senator in Congress was to be chosen by the legislature then to be elected. A very considerable majority of the candidates for the legislature signed Statement No. 1, and when the legislature was elected it was found that signers of that statement constituted a clear majority on joint ballot. The result was that a United States Senator from Oregon was, for the first time in many years, elected on the first ballot. It was, indeed, a most welcome change, for so bitter had been the factional differences in the Republican ranks in Oregon during the preceding twenty years that people had ceased to expect an election of a Senator to occur before the last ballot on the last night of the session; and it was always possible that there would be no election, as indeed was the case in two instances. In fact, I am confident that the bitter and long-drawn-out contests that had become the unbroken custom in Senatorial elections in Oregon contributed more than all else to arouse the people to take the matter into their own hands. Of course, the people know that the legislature cannot constitutionally be required to elect to the Senate the candidate in favor of whom they declare, but they also know that few members will care to jeopardize their political future by declining so to do. Furthermore, if a candidate for the legislature signs Statement No. 1, he is, in case of election, bound by an obligation as solemn as his oath of office to conform to it, and it is quite apparent that a candidate who signs that Statement will always occupy a much stronger position before the voters than one who declines to sign it. Consequently, we may reasonably expect that every legislature will be composed of members of whom a majority were elected on that pledge. Hence it may be said with perfect accuracy that, in Oregon, United States Senators are elected directly by the people. It is the only State in which that is done. In some others, nominations are made directly by party voters, but in no other, to my knowledge, is the nominee required to go before the people for election. At the last session of the legislature, an attempt was made to amend Statement No. 1 so that the legislative candidate's pledge would be to vote for such member of his own party as should receive the highest vote in the primary, but the amendment was not adopted.

The serious objections to the old method of electing Senators were (1) the opportunity afforded for the corrupt use of money, and (2) the extent to which a long Senatorial contest interfered with legislative work. Under the new plan, neither of these objectional features will ever again attend the election of a Senator by an Oregon legislature. True, there is always the danger that an attempt may be made to capture the nomination and the popular vote by the lavish use of money; but such an attempt is not only more easily guarded against, but is less likely to materially influence the result, than when made on so small a body as a legislature, with so much time as usually intervenes between the election of the members and the convening of the legislature to perfect and execute plans.

The direct primary, with its many advantages, is not, however, entirely without its disadvantages. I speak of the direct primary for nomination of candidates as we have it, where it is preceded neither by a convention nor by any other representative body to suggest candidates, promulgate a declaration of party principles and promote party organization. In my judgment, the holding of such a convention in advance of the primary would be a distinct improvement and would in no wise militate against or interfere with the principles or purposes of the law. There is nothing in our primary law prohibiting such course, and I think it will eventually be adopted.

Without a preliminary convention, a poor man, particularly if he is not widely acquainted throughout the State, stands slight show of nomination for a State office, however great his merits. For, if unacquainted, he can only bring his name and merits to the attention of the voters through the newspapers and by meeting personally the voters, all of which means the expenditure of money. On the other hand, one who has money to spend may subsidize newspapers, employ workers at the polls, hire carriages to bring out the voters and thereby secure a nomination over an opponent in every respect better qualified for the office. Quite true, the influence of money cannot be entirely avoided by any system; but I believe it would be less potent were a convention held in advance of the primary election. Another objection to proceeding without the discriminating judgment and advisory influence of a convention is the danger that all nominations will go to the centres of population. Where a plurality of votes nomi-

nates, one residing in a small town or a rural district has but a very remote chance of securing a nomination, however superior his qualifications. I am of the opinion, therefore, that our law should be amended so as to place a limit on the amount that a candidate may expend in his campaign for a nomination and as well for his election, after he has received the nomination. It is also my conviction that a convention, in advance of the primary election, should be held for the purpose, among other things, of recommending to the voters a list of candidates. It might be well to recommend, in some cases, possibly in all, two or more candidates for the same office, the voters to decide which should receive the nomination. Of course, the recommendations of the convention would not preclude any person from having his name placed on the primary ticket by petition, which is the method provided by law. In most instances, the recommendations of the convention would be ratified by the voters. The advantages of the convention would be a reasonably fair distribution of candidates geographically, a careful preliminary consideration and weighing of the merits of the several candidates by the delegates, a declaration of party principles and organization for the campaign. At the same time, knowledge of the fact that the recommendations of the convention, to be of avail, must receive the endorsement of the party voters would ensure the most careful and conscientious work on the part of the members of the convention.

Limitation of the amount a candidate may expend in his campaign for the nomination and also for election is of supreme importance to the preservation of the direct primary, in my judgment. It is a matter of common report in Oregon that the two campaigns in 1906 — namely, the one for the nomination, the other for the election—cost most of the successful candidates for State offices as much as their salaries will amount to for two years, while many who were not successful were seriously crippled financially, and I have never heard it charged that any money was employed corruptly. A continuance of conditions permitting such expenditures will operate in the future to bar from the contest some of the best qualified and most desirable men for the positions. Much of the expense now seemingly unavoidable in the campaign of a comparatively unknown candidate for a nomination would be rendered unnecessary by a convention

such as I have suggested. Even though not widely acquainted throughout the State, his friends, knowing his qualifications, might so present them to the convention as to secure its endorsement, and that of itself would bring him prominently before the public and would largely operate as a guaranty of his fitness. It will be asked, however, "if a convention is to be held to name candidates, why send them before the people at all?" It is not proposed to clothe the convention with power to nominate, but simply with advisory power, the members of the party to finally determine who the candidates shall be. I strongly favor the retention of that feature. It insures earnest effort on the part of the convention or advisory body to select and recommend candidates whose character and qualifications will be approved by the party voters; besides, it affords an opportunity to all who are dissatisfied with the action of the convention to appeal directly to the voters, and finally it reserves to the party voters at all times the actual selection of their candidates.

During the short period of time in which the initiative and referendum amendment has been a part of our Constitution, the people have manifested a very lively disposition to exercise their power thereunder. They have, however, evidenced a conservatism and discriminating judgment both in legislating and in reviewing the work of the legislature which demonstrate that such powers may be vested in them with perfect safety to all interests.

Aside from the direct primary law, the most important enactment under the initiative is the local option law, which was proposed by petition and approved by a large majority of votes cast thereon, and thereby became a law.

The general appropriation bill enacted by the legislature at the January session in 1905 was, by petition, held up under the referendum, and referred to the voters and passed on by them at the June election in 1906. By a very decisive majority, the action of the legislature was approved.

So far there has been no attempt to enact unusual or extreme legislation on any subject under the initiative. On the contrary, our experience thus far tends to indicate that, as legislators, the people are fully as conservative and considerate of private and corporate rights as are their representatives in legislative assemblies.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY JAMES HUNEKER, ALVAN F. SANBORN, CLAYTON HAMILTON
AND H. W. BOYNTON.

A CRITIC OF THE SEVEN ARTS.*

WALTER PATER wrote the following in the "Guardian," 1887, about "An Introduction to the Study of Browning": "We find in Mr. Symons the thoughtful and practised, yet enthusiastic, student in literature—in intellectual problems; always quiet and sane, praising Mr. Browning with tact, with a real refinement and grace, saying well many things which every competent reader of the great poet must feel to be true; devoting to the subject he loves a critical gift so considerable as make us wish for a work from his hands of larger scope." Arthur Symons, the critic in question, was only twenty-two years of age when Pater said these things of him, things both truthful and prophetic, for he has since written books of larger scope; and, notwithstanding the appearance of numerous studies of Browning, his introduction remains the best commentary upon that poet's works.

Symons is an amateur of the Seven Arts. Browning, himself, said as much. He loves the fine arts, and he relates his love in that slow, elaborate prose of his, though never submerging his ideas in the richness of his diction—as some of

* "An Introduction to the Study of Browning." By Arthur Symons. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

"Cities." By Arthur Symons. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

"Spiritual Adventures." By Arthur Symons. London: Archibald Constable & Co.

"The Fool of the World, and Other Poems." By Arthur Symons. London: William Heinemann.

"Studies in the Seven Arts." By Arthur Symons. London: Constable & Co.

"Poems in Prose." Translated from Baudelaire, by Arthur Symons. London: Elkin Mathews.

his critics would have us believe. Symons is first the critic; his mastery of a supple and harmonious style but adds to our general enjoyment of his work. We may not always agree with his judgment; there is no particular reason why we should; but we cannot fail to admire their presentation, the simplicity of his methods of exposition, the marshalling of his arguments, or the persuasive glow which suffuses his appreciation of masterpieces. Mr. Symons never argues, never raises his voice. His theory of criticism, like Renan's, is that it should be a valuation of forces, not an examination with marks and prizes. In the vast and shrill concert of contemporary literary polemics, the voice of Arthur Symons is the "still small" one. It is easily distinguishable because of the purity and sweetness of its *timbre*, like that of some rich-toned violin. His books of verse and criticism are much read to-day; they will bulk largely in the critical consciousness of the future. His lucidity, above all the temper he brings to bear upon his work, lend his writing a quality of distinction.

Little need to praise anew the study of Browning. It was reprinted by general request. I happen to possess a first edition, and its ragged appearance is proof that it has been studied by many friends, and always reluctantly returned. The American edition of "Cities" also became a necessity, for the book is of a rare charm. It has won words of praise from so fastidious a critic as Mr. Howells, and, while it is a variation on the Stendhal theme—of whose cosmopolitanism Maurice Barrès is a latter-day exponent—yet Mr. Symons's note is his own; not to state the obvious fact that he writes exquisitely, and that Stendhal did not. Rome, Venice, Naples, Seville, Prague, Moscow, Budapest, Belgrade, Sofia and Constantinople are traversed and exposed for us by a temperament at once subtle and impressionistic. To write something new about the Venice of Canaletto, Guardi, Whistler, Ruskin, Barrès and d'Annunzio is in itself a feat. There is no hint of that abominable verbal chemistry called "word painting"; yet the picture arises to the level of your eyes, and the soul of the landscape is evoked. Indeed, "Evocations" might have been a better title than "Cities."

We are not here particularly concerned with Mr. Symons as a poet. His achievements in verse have aroused both the ire and the ardor of English critics. He has been admired. He has

been abused. In these things he does not differ from any young man of individual gifts. He has voice, vision, temperament. He is supersubtle, wayward, disdainful and other-worldly. His is not the ambition to conduct the orchestra; only a particular happy handling of one of its choirs is his—let us say the wood-wind; the native wood-note wild we may not hear from him; but, unless we greatly err, this poet of London nights and sights is in spiritual evolution. His soul is more responsive to the undertones of Nature, to the faint music of humanity. "The Fool of the World" is an exercise in Morality writing. It is sincere and effective, as far as a rehabilitation of such a form can be. But there is no mistaking the temper of the forms which comprise the rest of the book. They strike sharply upon eye and ear. Their range is wide, their workmanship admirable. And their final appeal, after sound and vision have been flooded, is the appeal intellectual. An idea lies at the bottom of each of these finely chased cups offered by the poet. Poison, too, is not absent, the venom of love and life and death. One may, without greatly straining the intelligence, see that Mr. Symons is a poet who occasionally writes criticism. Doubtless if he had his way he would never pen anything but verse.

In "Spiritual Adventures" we catch new glimpses of his spirit, ever curious of the rare, ever intolerant of mediocrity. These prose arabesques contain some of his most imaginative inventions. There is Esther Kahn, the English Jewess, who has hitherto failed to carry her audiences with her in the theatre—because she has not loved? No; but because, after loving, she was tortured by desertion. Jealousy, hatred were the springs that lent wings to her art. In Christian Trevalga we have a melomaniac intelligible to those who have peered over the thither side of music and descried its potentialities for fantasy, despair, madness. Christian is own brother to several of Pater's young men—Sebastian van Storck, Duke Carl, even of Denys—in at least one trait. He is a man for whom the visible world is tone. He is become an ear. His soul shudders at the impact of daily life because his soul only hears; the progress of a mania, a spiritual mania, is delicately indicated. Robert Schumann heard one tone that at last drove him into the river and the madhouse. Trevalga *sees* a Chopin étude as boiling gray smoke on the open top of his piano. "Forever in the trapeze of sound" before the public his nerves had been

eaten away by sound. There are dream-pictures of Venice and the dissections of various souls; but the masterpiece of the series—to my notion—is called “The Death of Peter Waydelin,” being the sordid story of an artist’s life. Peter paints as other men eat or drink. It is instinctive. He is so enamored of form and color that he sets out to limn the world. Only, he must live before he paints life. And life slays him. It recalls one of Toulouse-Lautrec’s pictures. Painting, sculpture, architecture, music, handicraft, the stage (drama, acting, pantomime, scenery, costume, lighting) and—separate from these—dancing. This scheme of Mr. Symons is catholic enough; he awards the interpreter equal palms with the creator—one is impossible without the other. It smites the ear, this assertion that acting is a fine art. It has been the fashion of late years to decry the mimic arts. Here they are given their due. Like Mallarmé, Symons loves the Ballet form. His essays on Rodin, Gustave Moreau, Watts, Whistler—full of personal reminiscences—cathedrals, Beethoven, the ideas of Richard Wagner, Richard Strauss, a new art of the stage, a symbolist farce, the painting of the nineteenth century, are individually interesting; the study of Duse is fascinating. He also considers the decay of craftsmanship in England. Naturally, the present writer does not subscribe to Symons’s views of Strauss and his music. Nor can he admire the cavalier treatment to which Symons recently subjected Ibsen as poet and dramatist in one of the English quarterlies. Criticism of music is, setting aside musical training and aptitudes, largely a matter of individual likes and dislikes. I may not like Brahms; but I must not abuse Brahms until I study him. Mr. Symons does not like Richard Strauss, though he has heard him. Perhaps the novelty of the musical idiom has no meaning for him. I do not accept his judgment as final. Strauss may be cerebral, but the composer of the tone-poems and *Salomé*—a creation of that most precious quality in music, ecstasy, an extraordinary contribution to music-drama, certainly a new blazoning in the path of music—must be given as profound study as was given the work of Wagner. And the appreciation of Richard Wagner was not created in a day. As for Ibsen, one may see in Mr. Symons’s attitude the not unnatural exasperation of the poet for whom form counts as well as content. Ibsen the poet is still *terra incognita* to us. He has not

been adequately translated. As the Swedish-American writer Edwin Björkman truly says: "The Englished Ibsen is an Ibsen with the color absent. Plot and thought cannot be killed, but of the lustre, of the sheen as of shifting silks, not a trace is to be found." Can Ibsen be translated—we mean the early poems and dramas? Mr. Herford accomplished almost a miracle with "Brand," and the insurmountable difficulties of "Peer Gynt" have been assailed by William Archer, who acknowledges his partial failure. Mr. Symons, as a translator of the difficult Baudelaire (the first since Stuart Merrill's in "Pastels in Prose") must feel that Ibsen, except in the original, has not been accorded his poetic due. I fancy it is the lyric flatness of the themes in the social dramas that repels the poet in Symons. He is a romantic—therefore a "suspect" in this thrice-dusty domain of sociology. Mr. Symons might easily say: Let the Shaws bury the Ibsens; for me, a Pegasus, not a pulpit!

If I confess that I like the poet as much as the critic in the critical work of Arthur Symons, it will not offend him, though it may convey an opposite meaning to the one intended. He has personality, charm, erudition, and I hope that he will write more poetry. What better luck can one wish him? After all, isn't criticism a dusty duty? Mr. Henry James put the case squarely—a critic *hors ligne* himself—when, in dealing with Ivan Turgenev, he said: "He—Turgenev—gave me the impression of thinking of criticism as most serious workers think of it—that it is the amusement, the exercise, the subsistence of the critic (and, so far as this goes, of immense use); but that though it may often concern other readers, it does not much concern the artist himself."

Which jewel of verity I respectfully submit to Mr. Symons, framed with my vague words of praise and censure.

JAMES HUNEKER.

"THE QUEST."*

DR. FREDERICK VAN EEDEN is a personage of the most varied talents, interests and activities. He is one of the leading nerve specialists of Holland, and, as such, has published many monographs on subjects connected with psycho-therapeutics, psychical

* "The Quest." By Frederick van Eeden. Translation from the Dutch by L. W. C. Boston: John W. Luce & Company.

research, hypnotism and spiritism. He is the author of numerous essays upon literature and art. He is a sociologist, or rather, a social philosopher, who has formulated the results of his studies in volumes of which the best known probably is "The Happy World." He is a dramatist who has produced several comedies which have proved playable, and at least one tragedy. He is a novelist, one of whose novels known in English as "The Deeps of Deliverance," has been denominated "the confessions of a *fin de siècle* Augustine." He is a poet, both lyric and didactic. He is also a journalist; he established "The Pioneer," which is devoted to the practical solution of the social problem, and helped to establish "The New Guide," which is the recognized organ of the younger writers of Holland. Finally, he is a practical social reformer; the founder of Walden, an interesting communistic colony in which he toils in the fields *à la* Tolstoi, and of "The Society for the Collective Possession of Land," which now has half a dozen settlements and several thousand members.

In 1903 van Noppen, after characterizing Dr. van Eeden as "the most distinguished of modern Dutch writers," said: "Van Eeden, Kloos, van Deyssel and Verwey . . . attempted to found a new literature. . . . To this revolutionary movement Holland owes several remarkable poems, and also some novels of no mean significance. Among these, the productions of van Eeden are easily the most popular. Kloos, it is true, far surpasses him in the sonnet. Verwey is more virile and dramatic, while van Deyssel is his master in criticism; but van Eeden is universal, and that lifts him above comparison with his Dutch contemporaries."

Dr. van Eeden has been much read and admired in Germany, where many of the critics proclaim him "easily the first" of the representatives of the modern spirit in "the low countries."

"The Quest," which was published in its completed form* in Germany (for political reasons), has been lauded, in both Germany and Holland, as it falls to the lot of few books to be lauded in a generation. It has been characterized as "a masterpiece with which nothing in the whole literature of the world can be compared"; as "the most universal novel ever written," etc., etc. It has been pronounced "as interesting as the best of Tolstoi, as

* "The Quest" consists of three parts, the first of which appeared as far back as 1885.

subtle as Maeterlinck, as profound as Shakespeare." It has been called "a new Pilgrim's Progress," "a new Bible" even.

It is a delight to record such ecstatic enthusiasm. It would be a greater delight to share it. But, alas! It is not given to all of us to taste these unadulterated joys.

The plot of "The Quest," shorn of all accessories and reduced to its simplest terms, is as follows:

A little Dutch boy, Johannes, makes the acquaintance of the fairy Windekind and flies away with him to fairyland. Windekind introduces him to Wistik, a goblin, who is a tireless seeker after knowledge. Johannes soon leaves Windekind to search for knowledge. In the course of his search he falls under the domination of the manikin, Pluizer, who reveals to him all the miseries and horrors of human life, even taking him, with an earthworm for guide, through the rotting coffins of a cemetery. He witnesses his father's death, and then fights and vanquishes Pluizer, who is about to use a dissecting-knife upon the body. Windekind reappears and calls to Johannes to follow him across the sea into the sunset. Johannes is about to do so, when a strange being comes to him calmly walking on the waters. This being (the Christ) gradually assumes the form of one Markus Vis, an itinerant scissors-grinder. Johannes lives and works for a while with Markus, and, through him, becomes very friendly with a little circus girl named Marjon. He is discovered one day, however, by his aunt Seréna, a forehanded woman renowned for her piety, who persuades him to live with her. Wistik revisits Johannes and takes him on a one-night excursion to Phrygia, where he introduces him to Pan. Markus is arrested for talking back in church to Aunt Seréna's dominie, but is released and disappears. Then Johannes, having wearied of his comfortable humdrum existence with his aunt, leaves her and returns to his little circus friend Marjon. Marjon disguises herself as a boy, and the pair set out together in quest of Markus. They visit Germany, supporting themselves there by singing songs of their own composition in the cafés. Wistik takes Johannes on another excursion, this time to witness the burial of Pan. At this ceremony Johannes finds Markus. Johannes is befriended by an English countess, who invites him to visit her in England. Flattered by the invitation, he forsakes his companion Marjon and the newly found Markus. Boylike, he soon conceives for the countess

an unrequited passion. The latter, during a sojourn at a Dutch watering-place (where Marjon, who is fiercely jealous, serves her for a short time as maid), becomes a convert to Catholicism, and urges Johannes to end his quest by connecting himself with that Church. While the two are at mass, Markus appears at the altar, denounces the priest and smashes the big crucifix. Markus is committed to an insane asylum, from which, however, he is soon released. Johannes leaves the countess and rejoins Markus and Marjon. Markus interrupts the ceremony of the Queen's marriage with a denunciatory harangue. He is seized by the police, is mauled *en route* to the station-house by a mob, and dies in a hospital of his wounds. Johannes and Marjon marry, resolved to devote their lives to continuing the work of Markus.

"The Quest" has many beautiful, moving and profound pages. It abounds in clever, caustic satire. It is instinct with an unaffected love of Nature, its sympathetic descriptions of the dunes and dikes of Holland being as fine, probably, as anything that has ever been done in this line. It contains genre pictures of Dutch village life, and of the ways of strolling mountebanks, which partake somewhat of the spirit of the old Dutch painters. The underground excursion of Johannes among the putrefying corpses attains the very acme of the horrible. The reckless fight of this same Johannes for the dead body of his father is thrilling to the point of positive pain. The portrayal of the anguish of Nature over the death of Pan is grandiose in the original, good sense of the word. The anathematizing by Markus, from the steps of the high altar, of the priest who is about to officiate there is genuinely and powerfully dramatic. Finally, the murder of Markus by an enraged populace is an admirable presentation of the psychology of the mob.

Unfortunately, these sterling qualities of "The Quest" are practically nullified by an all too obvious straining after encyclopædic comprehensiveness and completeness. The work is marred by a lamentable absence of that sense of proportion without which an ambitious literary undertaking, whatever other qualities it may possess, cannot be really great. Weary wastes of long-drawn-out commonplace separate the brilliant and beautiful passages. Pages of puerile, pottering, pedantic dialogue that might have stepped out of a Rollo book discourage the interest. The result is a work diffuse and discursive—not to say sprawling—and obscure.

Into "The Quest," which he has been twenty years in bringing to completion, Dr van Eeden has crammed most of his thoughts about most of the multifarious subjects which have interested him during this long period. It contains a good deal of Pantheism, a good deal of non-resistant Anarchism, a dash of Spiritism, and, by way of social prophecy, a stilted, unengaging Utopia. It reeks with allegories, parables, apologues, dreams, visions, telepathic manifestations and trances. Some of its characters are wholly human, others wholly superhuman, and still others alternately human and superhuman. Altogether it is a bizarre and bewildering collocation of the normal and the abnormal, the natural and the miraculous, the real and the ideal.

A mixture of this sort may possess a savory unity for the peoples of certain countries, as does the fearfully and wonderfully made *bouillabaisse* for the Marseillais; but it is very much to be doubted whether the United States is one of these countries. However little Latin we may be in most other respects, we Americans are unequivocally Latin in this that we can develop little enthusiasm for that literature of deliberate and wilful obscurity which they have labelled in Paris "the fog of the North."

"The Quest," therefore, is scarcely calculated to create a cult for Dutch letters in this country. And if Dr. van Eeden and the new school of which he is the acknowledged head are really all that their admirers claim them to be, it is greatly to be regretted that we should be forced to judge him and it by a work which is so distinctly antipathetic to our national temperament.

ALVAN F. SANBORN.

"RALPH WALDO EMERSON."*

THE brief monograph on Emerson which Professor George Edward Woodberry has contributed to the English Men of Letters Series is more serviceable to the student than any previous biography or criticism, because it expounds Emerson from the inside out instead of from the outside in. Biographers and critics hitherto have rambled all around the circumference of Emerson, with eyes lured wondering toward his shining centre;

* "Ralph Waldo Emerson." By George Edward Woodberry. English Men of Letters Series. New York and London: The Macmillan Company. 1907.

but Professor Woodberry pierces to the centre of the poet's mind and thence looks forth with thought that radiates. His biography is not a record of works and days; it is not a pleasant assemblage of personalities; it is the natural history of a great mind, the exposition of a beautiful soul. Only four pages are used to summarize the events of seventeen years, from the close of the Civil War to Emerson's death in 1882: the method of this biography is not narrative but expository. Rare indeed in literature is the understanding of one mind by another; yet in this book the understanding seems complete. We are taken into the mind of Emerson; we live in it, and feel it grow, and with it yearn into expression. Emerson's thought has never before been so clearly and completely exhibited; and therefore this brief critical biography supplants all its predecessors in the field.

It supplants them all, in spite of the fact that it is abstract, whereas Cabot's (for example) is concrete, and impersonal, whereas Holmes's (for example) is personal. The understanding of Emerson's mind that we derive from it, abstract and impersonal though it be, explains to us for the first time many things. It explains that inability of Emerson's to sympathize with other modes of thinking than his own which kept him isolate, in spite of his amiability and his determined and continued effort to engage in the workaday concerns of his fellow townsmen. It explains why Emerson, although he was the very incarnation of New England Transcendentalism, remained perforce aloof from the practical reforms attempted by his fellow Transcendentalists. It explains his incapacity for ordinary human friendship, his lack of reverence for historical authority, and his underestimate of art and science. It explains that essential subjectivity of Emerson's poems which, more than his defective utterance in verse, has kept them illegible to the casual man. It explains for the first time adequately how (as Matthew Arnold said, less truthfully, of Shakespeare) "self-schooled, self-scanned, self-honored, self-secure, he walked on earth unguessed at."

Professor Woodberry does not analyze; he synthesizes. He patterns order out of the chaos of Emerson's multitudinous imaginings. He accomplishes what Emerson himself despaired of: he reveals a system—clear, compact, and in most ways self-consistent—beneath the darts and indirections of the poet's moral mind. Emerson's message is here for the first time formulated.

Starting from the poet's central intuition—"I am; therefore God is"—the critic, with Cartesian clearness, expounds the interrelation of his dominant ideas and pursues them to their practicalization in his stimulating counsels. The mental feat of this accomplishment is a marvel of constructive criticism.

The only defect of Professor Woodberry's critical constructiveness is a corollary of its excellence. Herein the law of compensation shows itself inexorable. Emerson's mind was unusual in this: it was great *because of* its lack of system,—not *in spite of* it. It was not a reasonable mind; it was intuitional. Its workings were Hebraic, not Hellenic. Reduce his thoughts to order, and you disrobe him of his shining vestments. A first-rate Hebrew prophet becomes a second-rate Greek philosopher. When Matthew Arnold lectured in America, he said of Emerson: "He is the friend and aider of those who would live in the spirit. All the points in thinking which are necessary for this purpose he takes; but he does not combine them into a system, or present them as a regular philosophy. Combined into a system by a man with the requisite talent for this kind of thing, they would be less useful than as Emerson gives them to us; and the man with the talent so to systemize them would be less impressive than Emerson." These words set forth the only adverse criticism that may be advanced against Professor Woodberry's truly admirable study.

If it seem too subtly paradoxical to suggest that a greater service might have been rendered to readers of Emerson by a critic who did not understand him so completely, the writer of this review can offer only the excuse that he agrees with Emerson that in contemplating spiritual truths abandonment and ecstasy of mind are wiser than the sweet reasonableness that Matthew Arnold was wont to praise. Professor Woodberry's study is a triumph of sweet reasonableness; but it is planned without abandonment and executed without ecstasy. "I own," the critic says, "that I have little intellectual sympathy with him in any way." Sympathy is the only thing that is lacking in this reasoned synthesis of Emerson's ejaculations; but, in the presence of a great mind, sympathy is more to be desired than understanding.

"Many things," said Sir Thomas Browne, "are true in divinity which are neither inducible by reason nor confirmable by sense." Many of the radiant thoughts of Emerson are not in-

ducible by reason. To formulate his message is to rob him of his truth. The intellect alone cannot comprehend the mysteries of the spirit,—or what's religion for? Emerson's message was not philosophical, but religious. Professor Woodberry's biography is not religious, but philosophical. By all means let us be grateful for a study so satisfying to the intellect. Let us use it as a chart of the heavens wherein the thoughts of Emerson are set as stars. Let us not forget that it is the stars themselves that have the only real existence and that the cosmography upon whose threads we string them is merely a figment of abstraction.

CLAYTON HAMILTON.

“ABELARD AND HELOISE.”*

WE have heard a good deal of late concerning a general revival of interest in poetic plays which is supposed to be taking place, or about to take place. It cannot be denied that the signs of some such movement have multiplied rapidly during the past year or two. Never have actual attempts to present such plays been so largely encouraged by American theatregoers. The box-office is no longer so emphatic in its verdict against poetry; and the box-office is in the nature of things the court of last appeal. The twenty per cent. of playgoers whom Mr. Gosse some time ago postulated as not disposed to take their theatre simply as a dose of morphia or a glass of champagne, really seems inclined to assert itself. Only a few poetic plays in English have actually been produced so far, and they have not set the world on fire. But they have been worth hearing, and they have been heard with a readiness which speaks well for the future. It means, for one thing, the decline of the closet drama, that melancholy refuge of defeated heroics. The drama is for the stage. Even if you are of those who had rather read a play than see it presented, your interest in it turns upon its actable quality. You simply prefer to be your own stage-manager, your own actor or group of actors, your own scene-painter and property man; and to produce plays for yourself upon the complaisant boards of your own mind. If the play is not fit to be acted the chances are you read it as poetry, not as drama, unless, as sometimes happens, your closet play fills for you a kind of left-handed dramatic function by sug-

* “Abelard and Heloise.” By Ridgely Torrence. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

gesting the true play which it is not. It would be a deplorable thing if so tenuous a relation between English poetry and the stage were to prove their sole relation.

Mr. Ridgley Torrence's "El Dorado," published some years ago, was a play of somewhat dubious type. My own impression was that in spite of its numerous settings (certain to trouble a modern manager with his elaborate methods) the thing was actable. It seemed to me to have a true dramatic vigor of conception and execution: a fine romantic theme, a steadily progressing acting and comparatively few touches of poetry for poetry's sake. This is to say that I found much true poetry in it, since verse had obviously not been chosen as vehicle, but had presented itself as the natural means of expression. The resulting blank verse was of singular merit, not less remarkable for its freedom from Shakespeare and other echoes than for its individual force. Even its most lyrical passages have a breathless intensity which seems to hasten rather than impede the action:

"Her eyes blind me. Her breath bereaves my lips.
Her hands have made mine feeble in her presence.
Her silences have drenched me with all music.
The faintest, tenderest stirring of her voice
Makes mute my own. Her hair has made this desert
A shadowed place alive with bloom. Her brow
Has awed me like some symbol of the sky.—

"The images of seas of fire and snow
Pent in the colors of her blood and flesh,
Drown me." . . .

Poetry like this is not a promise, but an achievement. The dramatic unction of the whole performance led one to feel that it was a true product of inspiration, that it had written itself through Mr. Torrence. Of his "Abelard and Heloise," but now published, this is hardly to be felt. Reluctantly, very reluctantly, I must admit that it seems to me in nearly every respect inferior to its forerunner.

It is evident, to be sure, that it has been written with an eye to stage production. There is a single setting for each of its four acts, and details of practical "business" have been carefully studied. So far as form is concerned the play might be easily presentable. We may speak of it, therefore, as a thing acted, not written. For a heroic drama which takes place before us on a

stage, real or imaginary, the theme is impossible. The Cenci motive is infinitely more eligible, for the tragic figure of the unhappy Beatrice is unmarred by any tinge of pathos. The unmitigated horror of her fate has its own dramatic dignity. The Abelard-Heloise legend, on the other hand, is ruined for dramatic purposes by the character of the catastrophe.

The Tristram-Yseult motive has always seemed to me unfit for treatment as a tragic theme; when the lovers become irresponsible through the adventitious means of a love potion, I cease to be interested in them save as objects of pity. Still, they are human, they are capable of becoming responsible once more. When Abelard ceases to be a man and becomes a thing, I see the pathos of the situation, especially from Heloise's point of view; but so far as tragic interest is concerned he has simply ceased to exist. The element of bathos is, in the end, more strongly felt than the element of pathos. Brutal as the fact may be, it is a fact that since the world began the eunuch has been a thing of scorn even more than a thing of pity.

The first act of the play moves heavily or, at best, with an artificial lightness. The machinery by means of which the desired speaker is brought into the centre of the stage at the convenient moment is unfortunately obvious; and the apparatus of grisettes, students, burghers and other talking supernumeraries creaks somewhat in the working. The intrigue between Abelard, Master of the School of Nôtre Dame, and Heloise, niece of the Canon of Nôtre Dame, is discovered. In the second act Heloise has been remanded to her uncle's villa at Corbeil. Abelard, by his father's death, has become a wealthy noble. He determines to give up his scholarly ambition and marry Heloise. She, believing that he owes himself to the world, refuses, since marriage would debar him from the high preferment which he has a right to expect. The uncle, after ascertaining the amount of Abelard's wealth, urges her to marry him, but she is firm. Abelard sets out for Paris. Fulbert, the Canon, is at this point left alone with three of his henchmen.

FULBERT. Lost! Sixty thousand guilders and the name!

He suddenly beckons to his three henchmen.

Approach!

He points to Abelard's retreating figure.

Mark that pale pestilence going there,

For this disease is all of his infection.

With frantic questioning.

The cure?

A HENCHMAN, *insidiously*. When a man's life is tedious to you,
Then end it.

FULBERT. Faugh! That's Mercy's sedative.

He muses, then with fiendish cunning suddenly looks up.
I have it! Ah! The man—but not the life!

He draws the men closer and they whisper together.

And with that the play ends for me, as a play, with a very strong act, which is approached in quality by nothing that comes before or after. There remains the pathos of Heloise's loveless after-life, the unquenched womanhood of her continually crying out for the cold presence of her former lover. In interpreting this single character and situation Mr. Torrence does all that may be hoped for. But the cause and character of her bereavement remain in the end adventitious and unheroic.

Nor can it be said that the poet's style has changed for the better. There is a general air of strain; his metaphors frequently pall before he is done with them, and his metre has a way of being so free as to be crabbed. I am by no means a stickler for the decasyllabic line. For speaking purposes there is much to be said for short lines, and for lines in which a pause takes the place of a syllable. But my ear does revolt at such measures as this, which Mr. Stephen Phillips has made popular:

“Plato out of the air

Will brighten. And royal doom-red Babylon

Rise in the twilight out of a dove's throat.

In a heaved sea-wave you shall see blue Tyre

Built and destroyed again.”

I cling to the notion that proper English blank verse is iambic, not dactylic, and that a perversion of accent such as “out of a dove's throat” ought to be very rarely practised. When it comes to:

“Ah, I am not that dark river itself”—

I find difficulty in recognizing any sort of metre whatever. Yet there are noble lines to be found, and not a few of them; as in one of Abelard's final speeches to Heloise:

“A little longer your unquiet soul

Will swim through its rough dreams, until at last

It beaches on the dawn and finds its path.”

H. W. BOYNTON.

WORLD-POLITICS.

BERLIN: ST. PETERSBURG.

BERLIN, *April, 1907.*

THE few weeks of the session which preceded the Easter adjournment did not afford the new Reichstag many practical opportunities of giving a taste of its quality. Prince von Bülow's majority, composed of Conservatives, Liberals and Radicals, is theoretically master of the situation. The Centre, however, with a representation of 110 members out of 397, is sufficiently conscious of its strength and unanimity to be able to offer an effective opposition by merely assuming an attitude of passive resistance. The presence of this compact organization is not only inconvenient, but also extremely disquieting, to the Government, since it constitutes a permanent temptation to the weaker vessels among the majority to threaten defection unless their party claims are duly recognized. Thus upon several occasions the Radicals, whose fifty seats enable them to act as the tongue of the balance of parties in the House, have detached themselves from their Conservative and Liberal allies in order to throw their votes into the scale of opposition. No vital issues, it is true, have so far been involved; but the attitude of the Radicals is none the less significant, since it shows that they are prepared to pursue their own way, undeterred by considerations of Government policy. Even now it is evident that the controversial problems of legislation which await solution in the autumn are causing the Imperial Chancellor to view the future with considerable concern. The Radicals are seemingly impressed with the importance of the position which they occupy, and they have not been slow to formulate demands the fulfilment of which they consider to be due to their altered circumstances. The Conservatives, to whom the Radicals in many instances owe their success at the polls,

are naturally disinclined to encourage or support them in pressing their claims upon the notice of the Government. The left wing of the Conservative party, which aspires to be the connecting link between the Right and the non-Socialist Left, endeavors as far as possible to exert a moderating influence, but so far the efforts of the Free-Conservatives have met with little or no reward. The views on economic policy which are held by the Agrarian Conservatives are diametrically opposed to the principles which the Radicals have hitherto professed, and there seems but slight prospect of a profitable or even possible reconciliation of these widely differing points of view. Political compromises are notoriously unsatisfying, and there is no reason to believe that either the Radicals or the Conservatives would derive any permanent advantage from a complete or partial abandonment of material principles.

The debates have been conducted in much the same spirit in which the recent election campaign was fought, and the attitude of the various parties towards the Centre is distinguished by the same animosity which led to the *Bloc* vote of December 13th. The Radicals and the National Liberals, and in a less degree the Conservatives, are animated by a common desire to isolate the Centre, although the Radicals have shown that upon occasion they are capable of giving play to their political ambitions, irrespective of considerations of Parliamentary tactics. The Conservatives again are far too much in sympathy with the principles and traditions of the Centre to display uncompromising hostility towards a party which is still entitled to be regarded as an essential pillar of the existing order of society. In the face of this open and covert opposition, the Centre remains impassive. This waiting attitude on the part of the Centre may be fraught with some curious results. How long it will be able to play the part of the spectator depends, in large measure, upon the extent to which Prince von Bülow may be induced to give effect to his programme of social reform. Indications have already been afforded of a readiness on the part of the Centre to emerge from its reserve with proposals of its own. This, of course, is an inevitable concession to the democratic elements in its composition. Upon these occasions, the *Bloc* majority has hitherto been at pains to secure the rejection of the Centre's proposals, or to force upon the Government social schemes even

more "liberal" than those advanced by the Opposition. In those quarters in which too far-reaching developments in the sphere of social legislation are deprecated, the Parliamentary situation arouses manifold anxieties. The dissensions with which the Government *Bloc* has to contend in its own ranks are reflected, in a less acute degree, in the attitude of the various sections of the Centre among themselves; but, in the latter case, the difficulty of maintaining an unbroken front is not allowed to become so apparent. In reality the competition of the parties resolves itself into the attempts of two *Blocs* to impair each other's cohesion and stability. The Centre, however, is kept together by traditional bonds, which, in the case of the Government majority, are either entirely absent, or, if present, are supplied by purely adventitious considerations of expediency.

As a Parliamentary factor, the Social Democracy, in consequence of its heavy defeat at the elections, has become an almost negligible quantity. No party can afford to lose fifty per cent. of its seats in the national assembly without incurring a serious loss of prestige, not only in the country, but also among its own members. Divisions and dissensions are rife between the Revisionist and the Revolutionary wings of the Socialists, and the tactics of the party leaders are freely criticised. The controversy has been kept within strictly academic limits and its issue must for a long time remain undecided. It would, therefore, be going too far to say, or even to expect, that the day is at hand when the Revisionists will cast about for means of taking a positive and recognized share in the work of legislation. Whether the aspirations which are attributed to them, of becoming the extreme left wing of the Radical party, are capable of realization depends entirely upon the following which they are able to command. At present there are no signs of anything approaching a split in the ranks of the Social Democracy, and there is no doubt that Herr Bebel has intervened between the opposing factions with his usual authority. Those who profess to derive consolation from the fact that the Parliamentary representation of the Social Democracy has been very materially reduced appear to forget that the actual number of votes polled for the party at the elections showed a considerable increase. Thoughtful observers are disturbed by the reflection that, in process of time, this large body of electors may feel that its interests are not being adequately

represented, and in order to ventilate the grievances of the laboring masses may resort to the dreaded, if two-edged, weapon of the general strike. This consideration is undoubtedly present in the minds of many social reformers, but it is at least questionable whether indirect pressure of this kind furnishes the best incentive for promoting the cause which they profess to have at heart.

Complicated as the relations between the parties in the Empire are, the issue becomes positively confused when it is remembered that, in Prussia, the premier state of the federation, Prince von Bülow, who is at once Imperial Chancellor and Prussian Minister-President, is endeavoring to conduct his policy with the assistance of the Centre which he has excommunicated in the Reichstag. This dualism, however, is merely one of the side aspects of the situation, although it is perfectly capable of assuming an important shape in one or other of Prince von Bülow's spheres of activity. In all matters affecting the Army and Navy, and the Colonies, as well as in foreign policy, the Government is sanguine that the *Bloc* majority will prove trustworthy. There are, however, a number of questions in the domain of social and economic policy, the discussion of which is likely to impose a severe strain upon the loyalty of the *Bloc*. These questions, moreover, are far more serious from the Government point of view than purely patriotic issues, however "national" they may be, since the Centre is by no means opposed in principle to supporting demands for strengthening the defences of the Empire, but has merely vindicated the right of Parliamentary criticism.

The most urgent of the controversial questions is undoubtedly the reform of the Bourse Law of 1896. This law is essentially a class measure, and owes its enactment chiefly to the interested agitation of the Agrarians. Its most important provisions are those which restrict or altogether prohibit transactions in differences. The appointment of a State Commissary for the Bourse under the Act represents one of the most characteristic expressions of the doctrines of State Socialism which were so much in vogue in Germany during the last decade or two of the nineteenth century. A further innovation introduced by the Act was the institution of a Bourse register, in which the names of all those who transact stock business on 'Change have to be entered. The object of these restrictions was to prevent gambling

speculations especially on the part of officers and officials. The net result of these restrictions, however, has been to compel German capital to seek a field for its activity abroad, to the detriment of the home market. In a country like Germany, where lotteries are promoted and encouraged by the State, purely paternal regulations of this kind in the case of one of the most important organs of the national economy savor strongly of the grotesque. The measure has always been regarded as a one-sided concession to Agrarian prejudices against purely commercial and industrial interests. Repeated but unavailing efforts have been made by successive Reichstags to mitigate the evils of this systematic restriction. The defective power of resistance which the Bourse exhibited in the face of the recent great crisis on the American railway-market in March has revived the agitation. The migration of German capital to foreign countries in search of profitable investments has reduced the Bourse to a position of dependence upon international constellations. It has, moreover, repeatedly been observed that the inherent weakness of the Berlin Bourse has in its turn given a fresh impetus to downward movements in Wall Street, while the Bourse laws, which have been responsible for the instability of the market, have at the same time been the primary cause of the high Bank rate in Germany. And so the vicious circle has been completed. In this connection attention may be drawn to the steady process of amalgamation which has been in progress in the German banking world, and the imminent disappearance of the smaller banking institutions, with results which have not been altogether beneficent in their influence upon the money-market. Universal as the scarcity and tightness of money have undoubtedly become, it is certain that Germany, with her disorganized finances, her lavish investments abroad and her restrictive Bourse legislation, has not only been responsible for her own financial difficulties, but has also contributed in large measure to the present condition of the international money-market.

Nearly all parties in Germany are agreed that a strong Bourse is a vital necessity from the political and military point of view, as well as upon purely economic grounds. But no two sections of opinion can be found to coincide when it comes to discussing the scope of the proposed reforms. The increased strength of the Agrarian element in the new Reichstag is not calculated to ren-

der the Conservatives more inclined to entertain any proposals for the unconditional repeal of the present restrictions upon Bourse business. Nevertheless, it is conceivable that they may be willing to cooperate in the work of revising the Bourse laws if the clauses in restraint of speculative operations in corn and mill products are left untouched. The German Agricultural Council has already expressed itself in this sense, and Prince von Bülow, while laying stress upon the necessity for a strong and healthy Bourse, has intimated his fundamental sympathy with the attitude of the Agrarians. The lines upon which an eventual compromise between the Conservatives and the Liberals may ultimately be effected are by no means assured. The Conservatives will certainly not consent to the abolition of the Bourse register, although it is suggested that they may so far modify their attitude as to acquiesce in transactions in differences, provided that in the case of non-professional speculators who are not on the register a security is deposited for settlement purposes, beyond the amount of which the creditor in the transaction cannot recover. Some expedient of this kind would satisfy the Agrarians, but whether it would prevent the outflow of capital from Germany is, to say the least, questionable. Authoritative critics, however, are inclined provisionally to accept a compromise of this kind in order as far as possible to give Prince von Bülow his chance of "mating the Conservative with the Liberal spirit." Nevertheless, even this compromise is still far from being acceptable to both parties, and a long time must elapse before the issue of the conflict between the two opposing interests has been determined. Meanwhile, the official Bourse commissary has been sent on a mission to the various foreign capitals in order to study local conditions and to gather material for the proposed amendment of the Bourse laws.

The sphere of social policy is also one in which there continues to be a profound divergence between the Conservative and the Liberal view. German industrialists are becoming seriously disturbed at what they consider to be the hasty and ill-considered manner in which social legislation is being developed. Thus the Associated Industrialists of the Cologne District, in their recent report, warned German industry to be on its guard against what they described as "hypersocial" legislation, and expressed the apprehension that the new Reichstag was even more likely to

indulge in an exaggerated social policy than its predecessor. With the parties and the Government vying with each other in their efforts to gain popular favor, the outlook for industry, from the employers' point of view, is considered depressing, since social reforms are almost invariably introduced at their expense. In their opinion the situation is further aggravated by the fact that the Prussian Government has set the example of introducing a nine-hour day, and regular holidays at full wages, for workmen in the service of the State. The result, it is contended, is that private employers of labor have been placed at a disadvantage, since they have to reckon with competition not only at home but also in foreign countries, where these advanced social views have not yet asserted themselves. Apart from this fact, moreover, the whole character and purpose of private industrial enterprise is different from the nature and objects of State undertakings. These considerations are urged in favor of a more gradual process of social legislation upon the ground that many of the compulsory measures which are being enforced in the guise of so-called reforms would ultimately evolve themselves out of the natural order of things. Above all, it is objected that Germany ought to await social developments in other rival countries before handicapping herself by irrevocable commitments in this sphere.

The Central Association of German Industrials, as well as a number of local chambers of commerce, have repeatedly made representations to the Government and to municipal authorities on the subject of granting concessions to their servants which private employers of labor are not yet prepared to accord. These efforts have so far proved unavailing. Indeed, the Imperial Chancellor lately approached the Central Association with a view to securing its support for his own social policy on Conservative-Liberal lines. One of the first social political measures of the new era is likely to be the enforcement of a universal ten-hour working-day for women instead of that of eleven hours now prevailing. In the South-German cotton and textile trade this reform has already been introduced. In the Cologne district the *maximum* ten-hour day, exclusive of meal-times, is also in operation, and it is generally regarded as being far more compatible with social and industrial requirements than the nine-hour day which obtains in the State railway workshops. The process of industrialization in a State, it is argued, produces its

own reforms in its own good time, and it is pointed out that the demand for labor is the regulating factor both in the reduction of the working hours and in the increase of wages. Increased industrial activity of itself entails a continuous improvement in the conditions of labor.

These questions of social policy, together with other kindred problems, such as that of framing a law which will give scope to employers' associations without unduly strengthening the position of labor-unions, present difficulties which will severely tax the loyalty of the various members of the *Bloc* to each other and to the Government. The insurrection in Southwest Africa has long been at an end, and the "national" issues upon which, with a loud flourish of trumpets, the Reichstag was dissolved last December, stand revealed as a mere farce. The fortuitous combination of Conservatives, Liberals and Radicals, which was used by the Government with the avowed object of teaching the Centre party a lesson, has served its purpose. The question is whether these strange bedfellows, who have been brought together by Prince von Bülow's professed desire to "mate the Conservative with the Liberal spirit," will be able to maintain an unbroken front against the strongest party in the Reichstag, which contains in its ranks some of the most practical of German politicians. Experience so far has shown that the Radicals are a totally untrustworthy quantity. When it suits their purpose to assert themselves against the Government they cheerfully go over to the enemy. And, if the Conservatives decline to cooperate in a purely Radical policy, Prince von Bülow's programme of social reform, vague as it is, stands a chance of proving the still-born offspring of an unnatural alliance. On the other hand, if the *Bloc* makes a practice of trying to outbid the Centre in its social proposals, the Government may find itself forced into a position from which retirement will be difficult.

ST. PETERSBURG, April, 1907.

MEDIAEVAL schoolmen had an axiom to the effect that causes operate in accordance with their nature. And of the present Duma this is manifestly true. The second Russian Parliament consists of a very mixed crowd of ill-assorted individuals, most of whom are themselves sorely in need of elementary instruction, yet who, taken together, are supposed to give light and guidance

to a nation of 150 millions and to change for the better the institutions of the country. Troglodites gathered together to restore an old Gothic Church, would have a much easier task. Like the wedding guests in the Gospel, they are men picked up in the highways and byways who are become legislators in spite of themselves, and might just as well have become astronomers or physicians. There are Russians and Germans, Esthonians and Letts, Poles and Lithuanians, Georgians, Armenians, Tartars, Bashkirs and Ruthenians, all loving their own language and respecting their own traditions. If we classified them by creeds we should find Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Orthodox Christians, Old Believers, Stundists, Mohammedans, Buddhists and Jews. And these are but a few of the divisions. Political shades give rise to more. Many of the deputies, for instance, are men with a past of which they are proud: some have been in prison, others in Siberia, many under police supervision or banished from their native provinces, while a few were exiles abroad; in a word, they and the *régime*, which is also represented in the Duma, have been at daggers' ends too long to regard each other with any feelings but bitter hatred or supreme contempt.

Forty-three per cent. of the deputies are quite uneducated men, who might perhaps make laws for a tiny State like the Republic of San Marino, but are utterly unfitted to legislate for a vast nation like Russia, during one of the most terrible crises that any community has ever undergone. Indeed, they are incapable even of forming an idea of the task set them. Many of them look upon the universe as Homer's contemporaries might have contemplated it, while others could have lived without feeling strange in the days when Christianity was first recommended to Prince Vladimir on the ground of the sweet singing that forms part of its liturgy. It is noteworthy that the larger the percentage of educated members in a party, the more moderate are its views and the more parliamentary its behavior. Thus in the "Octoberist" group, whose programme is identical with that which the Tsar himself enounced in the Charter of October, 1905, not less than 59 per cent. of the members received instruction either at universities or at other high schools. The "Cadets"—as the Constitutional Democrats are called—come next in the matter of schooling and moderation. They were once, last year, on the point of being summoned by the Tsar and commanded to form

a Cabinet. Of the "Cadet" deputies, 45 per cent. have passed through the higher educational establishments, some of them being professors, lawyers, journalists, ex-bureaucrats. More to the Left still stand the deputies of the Labor party, of whom 55 per cent. have no claim to be regarded as educated, and the Social Democrats, of whom just one-half lack intermediate school instruction.

A couple of days ago one of the peasant deputies complained to a journalist in the Duma that he could not make head or tail of the whole business. "We came here to get land," he said, scratching his head in token of despair, "but we are tripped up wherever we turn. Each of us has received mountains of printed documents. Among them are the Finance Minister's estimates, the second half of which contains two thousand pages." "Do you read them?" "Not I. How could I? Why, in three years I could not flounder through all that; and besides, I don't understand anything about it." "Then, why, pray, did they elect you instead of somebody capable of understanding?" "Well, you see, this is how the elections were made. At first we didn't know whom to choose. Then, just before the voting-day, the police made a raid on some of the villagers' houses, seeking for revolvers or bombs. Well, that was enough. Our people elected the men who were suspected by the police."

Now, even if this scratch assembly were willing to prescribe for the ills of the Russian Empire, it could not carry out its intention, because it is not intellectually and morally equipped for the task. Over five hundred individuals, mostly uneducated men, of violent prejudices, sluggish minds and wholly inexperienced in public affairs, cannot be expected, even with the best will in the world, to bring into harmony the conflicting interests of the many nationalities, religions, climates, of which the vast Russian Empire is made up. "Nobody can give what he does not possess," is an adage of the mediæval schoolmen, which is certainly applicable to this case. Then how hopeless the effort to get these political tigers and lambs, wolves, sheep and shepherds, sharks, rhinoceroses, hawks and sparrows to combine and work for an object of which only a few have any understanding, and which even they generally misunderstand!

But the bulk of the deputies themselves are determined not to undertake the task. Like the Irishman who described himself

as sober enough to know that he was not sober, they are quite qualified to see that they are not qualified. And what is more, they would not, even if they could, set their hands to the work. On the contrary, they are bent on doing everything in their power to thwart any efforts that may be made in that direction. And in a matter of this kind it is superlatively true that where there's a will there's a way.

Like most Parliaments, the Duma, despite its thirty-three different parties, may be roughly split up into three sections: the more or less moderate Centre, the conservative Right and the radical Left. Each of these is in turn divisible into groups and fractions, which may, under certain conditions, again fall apart, but for all practical purposes they may be treated as indivisible units. The kernel of the centre is made up of about a hundred Constitutional Democrats, who will probably form the governmental party of the future, but are in opposition to-day. They are mostly enlightened, ambitious men who, while they can count upon no powerful following in the country, have turned the court and government against them by coquetting with revolutionists and truckling to Social Democrats. Putting their trust neither in the princes nor the people, they seek to make up by parliamentary strategy for what they lack in number. They live on their wits, and are therefore not thriving. But they attract the votes now of the Left, now of the Right, and are able at times to wield a powerful influence on the course of the debates. It was thus that they had their own man, M. Golovin, chosen speaker of the House as the result of a compromise by which they gave seven other posts, including those of vice-presidents and secretary, to various fractions of the Left, entirely excluding those of the Right, whose members constitute one-fifth of the Duma. It was ingenious, unjust and successful.

But the "Cadets," who are opportunists, have a political programme which, however, they are quite ready to modify when necessary. Their specific for the present ills of Russia may be summarized thus: "Our programme modified by circumstance and carried out exclusively by ourselves. Men and measures are indispensable, but especially men. And we alone know the magic word." Land expropriation is one of the remedies prescribed by the Cadets and anathematized by the Court.

The "Octoberists" are less radical and much less numerous

than the Constitutional Democrats. Their programme is peaceful development on the lines traced by the Tsar in his Ukase of the 30th October; their chief weakness lies in their lack of organization in the Duma and in the country, and it is intensified by their irresolution, and by their lack of faith in their aims, in themselves, in anything. A third party, which is also looked upon as part of the centre, is composed of the thirty-four Poles, whose ideal is autonomy, whose discipline is exemplary, and whose tactics reveal a degree of political training which is unexampled in Russia.

The Right, like the other two sections, is a composite entity. Part of its members feel drawn towards the Government and willing to uphold M. Stolypin's line of policy, while another part is resolved to frustrate that policy by every means in its power. The latter are reactionaries, who deplore the line of action which led to the granting of a constitution by the Tsar, and place the salvation of the country in a frank return to the autocratic *régime*, quickened perhaps with an infusion of the modern spirit of progress. Among those reactionaries are the anti-Semites of the type of Krushevan and Purishkevitch, who sum up all the hostile forces that encircle and threaten the Russian people in the one word "Jews." Every national catastrophe, every partial calamity, war and famine, trade stagnation and industrial strikes are all the handiwork of the Jews. And these reactionaries have a strong following in the land. It would be strange, indeed, were it otherwise among a population which is still mediæval in superstition and Boeotian in intellectual enlightenment. Foreigners can hardly realize the mental and moral condition of the Russian masses.

The fractions of the United Left are implacable enemies of the Government and the *régime*. Between the two there can be neither peace nor truce. Some among them perhaps would be contented with the peaceful establishment of a democratic republic, but the others want very much more, and are further convinced that nothing worth having can be obtained without violence and bloodshed. The nationalization of land, of capital and machinery, the abolition of the death penalty, and a number of other equally far-reaching changes in the social and political framework of Russia are among the aims of these reformers. Now they are well aware that they can carry these

measures only by force, well organized and actually employed. At the last Duma they imagined that they were already strong enough at least to terrify the Government and force it to evacuate the outworks of the fortress. But when the decree of dissolution was carried out without provoking a rising or even a protest in the provinces, it became evident that they had made a gross miscalculation. This time, therefore, they are aware of their weakness and resolved to run no risks. Their plan is to organize the masses against the Government, and their method consists in spreading subversive doctrines from the tribune of the Duma. Therefore they hold that the existence of the Duma must not be endangered by any such outbreaks of indignation as wrought the destruction of the first Russian Parliament. That is the view taken by the social revolutionists and the Social Democrats; in a word, by all the fractions of the United Left. And everything that has taken place in the Duma since the first sitting was held becomes intelligible and reasonable when interpreted in the light of those tactics.

The first Duma tried to storm the citadel of the Monarchists, the second is resolved to lay siege to it patiently. Ministers were peremptorily summoned to resign by the first batch of deputies; they are being cleverly pressed into the service of the revolution by the second batch. And hitherto they have lent a helping hand right willingly. Indeed, an onlooker, unacquainted with Russian affairs, would be tempted to set down the Tsar's ministers as lukewarm fellow workers of the revolutionists—they offer them such excellent openings and favorable opportunities, and they fall in so readily with the plans of their enemies. And all this is done so cheerfully and deliberately that one is sometimes disposed to assume that the Ministers know what they are about, and have in reserve some magic spell which in the nick of time will change the enemies into friends and helpmates.

Over a month has now elapsed since the Duma first met, but as yet not a bill has been passed or approved, and only the budget has been discussed. But, then, the work of organizing the masses has moved apace, and even the troops are showing signs of the changes which persevering propaganda can effect. The Generals are alarmed and powerless. They see disaffection gnawing the vitals of the army, but they may not do anything against the malady. Countless leaflets and inflammatory appeals—in the

form of speeches delivered in the Duma by inviolable deputies—have been distributed broadcast over the land, and the peasantry, whose respect for the printed word borders on idolatry, is being drawn further and further away from the cause of monarchism and order. If the Duma were not sitting this food of disaffection would be forbidden by the police, but now the very Government helps to distribute it impartially. If that process were continued for a twelvemonth the dynasty which could not, as things now stand, survive the death or deposition of Nicolai Alexandrovitch, would be swept into the limbo of the past, and with it all the traditions, achievements and failures of the monarchical régime. And the Tsar's Ministers are working hard to prolong the life of the Duma, which is toiling for that. Even as it is, the revolutionists have advanced their cause perceptibly, and certain of the reactionary changes which the Tsar's Government might have effected without provoking serious troubles after the dissolution of the first Duma have now become impossible.

Every question hitherto raised by the Opposition and discussed by the Duma has been carefully selected with an eye to the opportunity it offers for inflammatory speeches and to the ease with which it may be used as a text without necessitating any such decision as would render a dissolution necessary. After the Premier's official announcement, for example, the first topic debated was whether the Duma should despatch deputies to the provinces to ascertain whether the public corn granaries, which are kept for the purpose of feeding the peasantry in famine years, were full, and if not, why not. But the real object of this proposal was to enable the deputies under cover of inviolability, to travel from place to place preaching rebellion at the public expense. The Constitutional Democrats, whose self-imposed duty it is to keep the balance between the extremes, then proposed not to send commissioners, but to form a committee to study the documents bearing on the subject. And M. Stolypin closed with the suggestion right joyfully. His friends applauded warmly, and his press claimed that he had won a signal victory over the Left. And to some extent that apparent victory has implanted in the Premier's mind the conviction that besides being an orator he is also a parliamentary leader, and can find a *modus vivendi* which will enable him to work with the Duma for the well-being of the nation.

The next topic mooted in the Duma turned upon the military field tribunals, which deal death to murderers with a degree of uncertainty that is truly demoralizing. It was a splendid theme for declamation, and the revolutionary deputies made the most of it. Examples of unfairness, of crying injustice, were given in abundance. But as usual there were true and false. For nothing that is asserted in the Duma or published in the newspapers can be accepted unless confirmed by independent evidence. For example, the Socialist leader, Alexinsky, narrated a case which caused a certain sensation among his hearers. Two Letts in the Baltic Provinces, Kelle and Janson by name, were tried by the field tribunal in January and acquitted, but were kept in prison until March and then shot. That was one tale; the other was just as sensational. And the Russian public still believes them both. As a matter of fact, they are false. The two Letts were not tried in January, but their trial was postponed then. Neither were they shot in March or at any time. They are still alive and in prison. That, however, is but a characteristic detail. Another equally characteristic detail was the challenge thrown by the Prime Minister to the Duma to condemn publicly and solemnly all political assassination, whether as an end or a means. But it was left unanswered. The Duma will not condemn political assassination. And the men who thundered against the death penalty as immoral, inhuman and intolerable, refused to raise their voices against the cruel murders of thousands of citizens who care nothing for politics and crave only for a life of peaceful activity. The main point throughout this debate was the facility which it offered for appeals made to the revolutionary elements of the nation over the heads of the deputies.

How to find work for the unemployed was the next riddle propounded to the Chamber. Some members asked that the State should bind itself to pay every operative who has nothing to do one-half his wages while out of work. Others made other proposals hardly more practical. The Premier pointed out that wanton strikes were at the bottom of much of the misery that now prevails in the Empire, and he instanced the crews of the Caspian steamers who have refused to go back to work until their employers accede to a number of demands, some of which are preposterous. For example, seamen shall be allowed to rest from work of all kind on Sundays and holy days—of which Russia

has more than her share—even when the steamers are sailing! But nobody paid attention to M. Stolypin's warning that these and similar strikes would work the ruin of Russian trade and industry. For that entire discussion, as well as the debates on the agrarian question, had but one object, to enable the revolutionary members to inspire their followers in the country.

As the key-word of the aims of the Duma is notoriously the organization of the masses in the provinces against the Government, it is worthy of remark that the Premier should be constantly on the alert for every fresh device by which he may save the Parliament from destruction. His solicitude is touching, almost tragical. For M. Stolypin is a man without guile, whose word is an adequate exponent of his intentions, and whose intentions emanate from patriotic considerations. On his part there can be no question of mental reservation. All the more amazing is the line of action he is pursuing. The dispassionate onlooker cannot but feel that while the Duma is demonstrating its unwillingness to legislate, the Cabinet is proving its incapacity for governing the nation.

The centre of gravity is therefore in the country. And the country is moving towards revolution and anarchy uninterruptedly. The students of high schools have proclaimed publicly that, imitating the tactics of the Duma, they will strive to keep the universities open as revolutionary centres and sanctuaries, beyond the threshold of which the police may not penetrate. They will do everything but study there. Crimes against property and person are increasing in number and in cruelty. In some districts the peasants have cut down wood, rifled mansions, fought skirmishes with the police or the troops, leaving over twenty dead on the field. Human life has fallen enormously in value. Here is an extract from one day's telegrams in the morning paper: "*Kharkoff*.—Last night the university was surrounded by Cossacks and police. The latter, entering, found three illegal meetings going on, in which about 100 outsiders were taking part. *Grodno*.—At eleven o'clock on the night of the 16th eighteen prisoners escaped from the gaol by breaking down the stone wall, climbing up the spout to the roof and letting themselves down by strips of linen sheet. *Lodz*.—On the night of the 15th the police, entering the lodging of Kopcheffsky to make a search, were met by five men who emptied their revolvers at them. Three

policemen fell wounded. *Cherkassy*.—In the village Khlipovka the priest has been robbed. His daughter was dishonored before his eyes. He died on the spot of heart paralysis. His wife went mad. *Vladimir*.—Five hundred drunken peasants gutted a tavern. After unavailing exhortations to disperse the crowd, the police fired. Ten men were wounded, eight died. Order is restored."

But few incidents could characterize the lawlessness of the country and the demoralization of the people more fully than the wanton murder of the ex-Deputy Yollos in the very centre of Moscow in the broad daylight. Yollos was not only a harmless politician, he was a man of warm impulse, generous inspiration and great learning. A member of the Cadet party, he was moderate and straightforward, modest and retired. His murder could do nobody any good. It was obviously calculated to discredit irremediably the party to which it could be brought home, so obviously that no party wicked enough to conceive such a crime would be stupid enough to perpetrate it. The revolver-shot was fired at the gate of a house in which a press organ of the extreme reactionary Right is published. But that party—which has publicly condemned assassination—could gain absolutely nothing by this murder, which the revolutionists at once accused them of having plotted. The authorities who are investigating the dastardly crime have arrested three persons on suspicion—but all three have turned out to be revolutionary agents. And now the conservatives' heart is made glad, and the revolutionists are accused of having hired assassins to do Yollos to death in order to hold up the extreme Right, which alone supports the Government, to the execration of the world. Whichever of these charges proves founded is immaterial to the outsider. The significant fact is that such revolting crimes should be thoroughly threshed out in such businesslike fashion by professional politicians.

Happily there are also moral and religious forces at work in the country, as yet hardly noticeable to the outsider, but none the less powerful. And they are growing fast. These may perhaps yet infuse the ichor of ethical life into the veins of the diseased nation. But of such elements there is no sign in the Duma, many of whose deputies merely darken counsel by words. And from the second Duma, constituted as it is, little else than words can be reasonably expected.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

MONDAY, April 29.

A Galaxy of Spinsters.

WE herewith make brief replies to the following interesting communications from obdurate women who persist in thwarting the clearly defined plans of their Creator.

SIR,—You say, "Why not tax old maids?" It has long been an axiom in our land of the free that taxation without representation is tyranny; and although it is not unlike man to give woman cause to call him a tyrant, it is more short-sighted than usual in him to allow her such excellent proof of the truth of the accusation. Why not tax bachelors? You say, "There was never yet a woman who could not marry, as she should, if she would," but you have been discreetly silent regarding the men. They are not so numerous as women, and so have all the more chance to find mates "as they should, if they would." What keeps a man from marrying? Possibly because he cannot find the woman he wants, or some one else has found her first; perhaps because he is too selfish (or unselfish) to ask a woman to share his life; not improbably because he profits by his friends' experience. We contend the same reasons would make a woman "look before she leaped."

You say it is only necessary to be a woman to win a man; but you add, "*some* man." Possibly the woman may prefer spinsterhood to wifehood with "*some* man." The average woman does not always stop to consider whether she is fulfilling her destiny any more than does the average man.

You say that Eve, without being rich, beautiful or clever, managed to captivate Adam. But was Adam any richer, any better to look upon or any less stupid than poor Eve? And is it likely that they would have mated had there been any other men or women on the earth? Or would not Eve have considered matrimony longer and more hesitatingly had she realized all that it entailed?

You say that spinsterhood is purely a voluntary condition. I beg to differ. It is merely the lesser of two evils. If a woman finds a man she can love and respect, she will choose matrimony every time; but is it not better to be sorry (if sorry one must be) because one is *not* married than because one is? So the spinster argues.

Why an "old maid" should "humbly recognize the ignominy of her

position" any more than a bachelor should I cannot understand. Her position, according to you, is a voluntary one; why, then, ignominious? But even if, as I hold is the case, she chooses to remain a spinster merely because it is less bad than marrying a man who is not for her the man, I cannot see why her position is ignominious. Surely, she deserves more credit than the woman who marries for money, for a home, or "to fulfil her destiny." Nowadays, the average "old maid" is not a "burden upon patient relatives"; for if she is not financially independent, she courageously shoulders the burden of earning her own living. Naturally, the "old maid" is more exacting than the matron; if this were not so she would probably have married. But that she is petulant, contemptuous of children, and only in rare exceptions kindly disposed toward animals, is open to dispute. It is the nature of the woman rather than her environment which makes her petulant; rarely is the "old maid" contemptuous of children; usually the complaint is that, having none of her own, she is entirely too interested in those of her neighbors. The statement that she dislikes animals more than other women is groundless, for many stray dogs, homeless cats, and abused horses find a protector in her rather than in the matron who is more busily employed. Decorous behavior is, I have found, still extant among "old maids"; and if the Puritanic primness has disappeared, it has been replaced not by a resentment against conventions, but by an independence of spirit rather than actions, which by rights belongs to those who have the courage of their convictions, as have spinsters in one direction, at least.

Lastly, since there are more women than men in this world of ours, I fail to see how you will dispose of the remaining women after all the men have mated. When you kindly tell how this is to be done we may consider the taxation of spinsters, not before.

I am, sir,

D. H. W., spinster.

GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA.

Our correspondent fails to recognize the fundamental truth that the few men who succeed in evading matrimony are actuated, not by selfishness, but by fear. We have already patiently explained that the spinster's position is ignominious *because* it is assumed voluntarily; it is the man who, if wanted, cannot escape. Adam was an ass, of course, but patently helpless in common with each of his male descendants; apparently it was a small garden, and he could neither hide nor get away. Moreover, it is a horrifying thought, which we occasionally contemplate with serious dissatisfaction, that history fails to record that our first parents were ever properly married at all, and that, consequently, from the high moral standards of the present day, we are all illegiti-

mate offspring of an irregular alliance. The most desirable method of disposing of superfluous females is truly a subject worthy of serious consideration. Possibly a solution might be found in the Yale professor's conclusion that polygamy affords the only effective remedy for race suicide.

SIR,—Your article on taxing spinsters so persistently haunts me that I cannot resist the temptation to try to defend myself and other unfortunate(?) women belonging to my class.

You say we enjoy all the advantages of civilization, which is quite true; but that we make no adequate return I must differ from you. Such noble examples as Frances Willard, Florence Nightingale, Jane Addams, and others too numerous to mention refute this charge.

You say our possessions are only made to yield a "slight" (?) contribution to the common fund.

Wrong again. My taxes are much higher than my man neighbor's, though his house is much more expensive in every way than mine. My personal-property tax is also equal to that of the next to the richest man in town, which is absurd. When I called the attention of the assessor to the figures, he said it was because I had no vote. Yet "taxation without representation is tyranny." I do not care to vote; I am no politician; but I should like to be exempt from taxes if I cannot at least be assessed on the same scale as my neighbor.

I have seen few unmarried women that were burdens on their relatives. Spinsters have a great many of the cares of married life without any of its joys. I will be personal. For illustration, I am a high-school and college graduate; can sew, knit, paint; have been soloist in the church choir, having a clear soprano voice; can cook anything, bake anything, make butter, candles, soap; I have all the old-fashioned virtues which were taught to me. I can also embroider nicely, and have done lace-making. I make my own hats and some for my friends. I worked as bookkeeper and stenographer in an office for the same men for five years. During this time I was called to take charge of my little niece six hours old and my nephew one day old, and I have been with them in all their little sicknesses during their lifetime. My sister married, eighteen years ago, a wealthy farmer. She was then a young school-teacher of twenty-three. The match seemed a desirable one. I never have received any remuneration for work done in her home. The husband is land-crazy, and a mean man. She has to ask for money, and account for every penny she spends. He goes to town, buys tobacco and whatever else he likes, and returns when he gets ready. I practically clothe her and the children, as I buy the material and make their clothes, and get my money back in dribs of one dollar and less, as she can sell a few eggs or chickens. The world thinks she has done so well; but I, who know him, would not take that overbearing brute and live with him if he had all the farms in the United States.

I deny that women can marry "as they should, if they would." I have had three proposals, but I should have hated myself for being sold as a slave, for that is what marriage without love would mean for me. I am sensitive and refined, not beautiful or homely. There are thousands just like me all around you. There are not enough good men to go around, and there are too many clinging vines.

Old maids are born, not made. I love children, and can enter into their pleasures, plans and pains more readily than most of their mothers. I like women, and get along beautifully with the old ladies; they frequently try to think of some one good enough for me. But as long as I can work I am satisfied. I do my share to make the community self-supporting, self-respecting, and God-loving.

I am, sir,

YOUR UNKNOWN FRIEND.

ILLINOIS.

Since our prosperous Unknown Friend is not willing to vote, what right has she to complain of the acts of those chosen by others to fill public positions? It is idle to hark back to "no taxation without representation," while refusing to represent even oneself. And why, in conscience, deny our primary assertion that every woman can marry if she will, and with the next breath confess to three proposals brazenly and inhumanly rejected? To enter voluntarily a state of slavery is clearly unwise, but in this case of one for whom all of the old ladies in the neighborhood have been unable to find a worthy mate, we venture to suspect that the other party to the contract, had there been one, would have discovered very quickly that marriage does not invariably involve subjection of the female.

SIR,—Your "Diary" is delightful, and the letters you are publishing are intensely amusing. Being a spinster, I cannot keep out of the row—so here's a suggestion:

Why not compel each spinster, bachelor and divorcee to become personally responsible for the care and education of a child laborer? For unmarried folks to have a *living, growing* interest *outside* of themselves is a great thing. This is a poor substitute for real parentage. All women should be, and can be, mothers (or so it seems to some of us); but how much do we really know about it? To tax them for not marrying would simply be another incentive for women to tell fairy-tales about their ages.

You mention several books with German titles on sex propagation. Are these published in English? If so, where can I buy them? Thanking you for the pleasure your "Diary" gives me,

I am, sir,

D. B. J.

FORT SMITH, ARKANSAS.

No spinster or bachelor is competent to train up a child in the way he should go; divorcees do not interest us.

SIR,—The satirical way in which you wave aside as over-squeamish the demand of a correspondent that a man be "good" and "honest" if he is to recommend himself to a good woman in marriage, arouses me to protest. The subject is not one for flippancy; it lies at the root of society. Deeper than any other social question lies this one of the right kind of fatherhood and motherhood for the race.

Some of the best women I have known, some of those best fitted for motherhood, have either, by their own confession, remained wholly unnoticed by men, or from fine pure motives refused to join their lives to men who could not make good fathers to their children. When every woman will insist on the goodness and honesty that you dismiss so lightly as unobtainable, we shall begin to raise a race of which we can be proud; and until that time comes, long hence (but you, Mr. Editor, can help it to be shorter), we shall have to continue to be ashamed of our race, male and female.

There is in every large-souled woman an innate motherhood, a spiritual motherhood, that must somehow find its outlet. The opportunity for marriage, advantageous or ordinary, by no means comes to every woman of this type; such women are, on the whole, less attractive to men than their shallower sisters; and this is natural, since the world holds more shallow men than fine spiritual men. Such women will lavish their love on the children of those parents who lightly and carelessly propagate the race; and they need not grieve too deeply when the world of males fails to appreciate them. To some of them life is one long, sore lack. But I think it need not be so. The God who plants in a woman the craving for children can also show her that the mere physical maternity is but the shadow of real motherhood. From the latter, no accident of circumstance can cut her off. Her love will overflow the barriers of family that sometimes narrow a woman's usefulness; children not her own will rise up and call her blessed; and in their love there will be no touch of anything mechanical; it will be the pure devotion of a love that she has earned by her own intrinsic worth.

Do you not understand, Mr. Editor? Do you not see that spinsters of this kind are one of society's valuable assets, indispensable so long as marriage and family ideals continue to be so ignoble as they are at present? You should neither slur nor tax; you should reward!

I am, sir,

PEACE DALE, RHODE ISLAND.

M. E. D.

The spinster, however large-souled, more often does harm than good when she undertakes the upbringing of other people's children, whose natures she cannot understand, and whose actual needs she cannot appreciate. She would much better marry a bad man and reform him.

SIR,—Your ironical "Diary" entries concerning spinsters have been very interesting to me—naturally so, as I am a member of the reprehensible(?) class. But I disapprove of your sentiment when you say that a man may remain single because he cannot get the woman he wants, but that a woman shall marry whether or no. Is she to have no choice? Or is she simply to take "O Lord, anybody for a husband"? Perhaps some other woman has the man who "might have been" her choice. Or shall she torture her sensibilities by taking some one who might be more acceptable to some other woman? Far worse than not having the man one wants, is having a man one does not want.

Her presence in greater numbers is but a provision of Nature to guard against the supply being unequal to the demand.

And what would the world do without its superfluous women? Who else would take a disinterested interest in other people's children? Who would teach them from *first primary to grammar A*? To whom would nieces and nephews look for comfort and sympathy were it not for the "old maid auntie"? And not for that only, but for the ultimate legacy which parents are often too heavily *taxed* to give them?

So, please, do not impose an additional tax on old maids.

I am, sir,

I. L. V.

NEW HOLLAND, OHIO.

Surely she should take him whom the Lord sends; any contrary suggestion is irreverent; besides, those whom He withholds are not available.

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CHAPTERS FROM MY AUTOBIOGRAPHY—XVIII*

BY MARK TWAIN.

PREFATORY NOTE.—Mr. Clemens began to write his autobiography many years ago, and he continues to add to it day by day. It was his original intention to permit no publication of his memoirs until after his death; but, after leaving "Pier No. 70," he concluded that a considerable portion might now suitably be given to the public. It is that portion, garnered from the quarter-million of words already written, which will appear in this REVIEW during the coming year. No part of the autobiography will be published in book form during the lifetime of the author.—EDITOR N. A. R.

[*Dictated December 21, 1906.*] I wish to insert here some pages of Susy's Biography of me in which the biographer does not scatter, according to her custom, but sticks pretty steadily to a single subject until she has fought it to a finish:

Feb. 27, '86.—Last summer while we were in Elmira an article came out in the "Christian Union" by name "What ought he to have done" treating of the government of children, or rather giving an account of a fathers battle with his little baby boy, by the mother of the child and put in the form of a question, as to whether the father disciplined the child correctly or not, different people wrote their opinions of the fathers behavior, and told what they thought he should have done. Mamma had long known how to disciplin children, for in fact the bringing up of children had been one of her specialties for many years.

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She had a great many theories, but one of them was, that if a child was big enough to be nauty, it was big enough to be whipped and here we all agreed with her. I remember one morning when Dr.—— came up to the farm he had a long discussion with mamma, upon the following topic. Mamma gave *this* as illustrative of one important rule for punishing a child. She said we will suppose the boy has thrown a handkerchief onto the floor, I tell him to pick it up, he refuses. I tell him again, he refuses. Then I say you must either pick up the handkerchief or have a whipping. My theory is never to make a child have a whipping and pick up the handkerchief too. I say "If you do not pick it up, I must punish you," if he doesn't he gets the whipping, but *I* pick up the handkerchief, if he does he gets no punishment. I tell him to do a thing if he disobeys me he is punished for so doing, but not forced to obey me afterwards.

When Clara and I had been very nauty or were being very nauty, the nurse would go and call Mamma and she would appear suddenly and look at us (she had a way of looking at us when she was displeased as if she could see right through us) till we were ready to sink through the floor from embarasment, and total absence of knowing what to say. This look was usually followed with "Clara" or "Susy what do you mean by this? do you want to come to the bath-room with me?" Then followed the climax for Clara and I both new only too well what going to the bath-room meant.

But mamma's first and foremost object was to make the child understand that he is being punished for *his* sake, and because the mother so loves him that she cannot allow him to do wrong; also that it is as hard for her to punish him as for him to be punished and even harder. Mamma never allowed herself to punish us when she was angry with us she never struck us because she was enoyed at us and felt like striking us if we had been nauty and had enoyed her, so that she thought she felt or would show the least bit of temper toward us while punnishing us, she always postponed the punishment until *she* was no more chafed by our behavior. She never humored herself by striking or punishing us because or while she was the least bit enoyed with us.

Our very worst nautinesses were punished by being taken to the bath-room and being whipped by the paper cutter. But after the whipping was over, mamma did not allow us to leave her until we were perfectly happy, and perfectly understood why we had been whipped. I never remember having felt the least bit bitterly toward mamma for punishing me. I always felt I had deserved my punishment, and was much happier for having received it. For after mamma had punished us and shown her displeasure, she showed no signs of further displeasure, but acted as if we had not displeased her in any way.

Ordinary punishments answered very well for Susy. She was a thinker, and would reason out the purpose of them, apply the lesson, and achieve the reform required. But it was much less easy to devise punishments that would reform Clara. This was

because she was a philosopher who was always turning her attention to finding something good and satisfactory and entertaining in everything that came her way; consequently it was sometimes pretty discouraging to the troubled mother to find that after all her pains and thought in inventing what she meant to be a severe and reform-compelling punishment, the child had entirely missed the severities through her native disposition to get interest and pleasure out of them as novelties. The mother, in her anxiety to find a penalty that would take sharp hold and do its work effectively, at last resorted, with a sore heart, and with a reproachful conscience, to that punishment which the incorrigible criminal in the penitentiary dreads above all the other punitive miseries which the warden inflicts upon him for his good—solitary confinement in the dark chamber. The grieved and worried mother shut Clara up in a very small clothes-closet and went away and left her there—for fifteen minutes—it was all that the mother-heart could endure. Then she came softly back and listened—listened for the sobs, but there weren't any; there were muffled and inarticulate sounds, but they could not be construed into sobs. The mother waited half an hour longer; by that time she was suffering so intensely with sorrow and compassion for the little prisoner that she was not able to wait any longer for the distressed sounds which she had counted upon to inform her when there had been punishment enough and the reform accomplished. She opened the closet to set the prisoner free and take her back into her loving favor and forgiveness, but the result was not the one expected. The captive had manufactured a fairy cavern out of the closet, and friendly fairies out of the clothes hanging from the hooks, and was having a most sinful and unrepentant good time, and requested permission to spend the rest of the day there!

From Susy's Biography of Me.

But Mamma's opinions and ideas upon the subject of bringing up children has always been more or less of a joke in our family, particularly since Papa's article in the "Christian Union," and I am sure Clara and I have related the history of our old family paper-cutter, our punishments and privations with rather more pride and triumph than any other sentiment, because of Mamma's way of rearing us.

When the article "What ought he to have done?" came out Mamma read it, and was very much interested in it. And when papa heard that she had read it he went to work and secretly wrote his opinion

of what the father ought to have done. He told Aunt Susy, Clara and I, about it but mamma was not to see it or hear any thing about it till it came out. He gave it to Aunt Susy to read, and after Clara and I had gone up to get ready for bed he brought it up for us to read. He told what he thought the father ought to have done by telling what mamma would have done. The article was a beautiful tribute to mamma and every word in it true. But still in writing about mamma he partly forgot that the article was going to be published, I think, and expressed himself more fully than he would do the second time he wrote it; I think the article has done and will do a great deal of good, and I think it would have been perfect for the family and friend's enjoyment, but a little bit too private to have been published as it was. And Papa felt so too, because the very next day or a few days after, he went down to New York to see if he couldn't get it back before it was published but it was too late, and he had to return without it. When the Christian Union reached the farm and papa's article in it all ready and waiting to be read to mamma papa hadn't the courage to show it to her (for he knew she wouldn't like it at all) at first, and he didn't but he might have let it go and never let her see it, but finally he gave his consent to her seeing it, and told Clara and I we could take it to her, which we did, with tardiness, and we all stood around mamma while she read it, all wondering what she would say and think about it.

She was too much surprised, (and pleased privately, too) to say much at first, but as we all expected publicly, (or rather when she remembered that this article was to be read by every one that took the Christian Union) she was rather shocked and a little displeased.

Clara and I had great fun the night papa gave it to us to read and then hide, so mamma couldn't see it, for just as we were in the midst of reading it mamma appeared papa following anxiously and asked why we were not in bed? then a scuffle ensued for we told her it was a secret and tried to hide it; but she chased us wherever we went, till she thought it was time for us to go to bed, then she surrendered and left us to tuck it under Clara's mattress.

A little while after the article was published letters began to come in to papa criticizing it, there were some very pleasant ones but a few very disagreeable. One of these, the very worst, mamma got hold of and read, to papa's great regret, it was full of the most disagreeable things, and so very enoying to papa that he for a time felt he must do something to show the author of it his great displeasure at being so insulted. But he finally decided not to, because he felt the man had some cause for feeling enoyed at, for papa had spoken of him, (he was the baby's father) rather slightly in his Christian Union Article.

After all this, papa and mamma both wished I think they might never hear or be spoken to on the subject of the Christian Union article, and whenever any has spoken to me and told me "How much they did enjoy my father's article in the Christian Union" I almost laughed in

their faces when I remembered what a great variety of opinions had been expressed upon the subject of the Christian Union article of papa's.

The article was written in July or August and just the other day papa received quite a bright letter from a gentleman who has read the C. U. article and gave his opinion of it in these words.

It is missing. She probably put the letter between the leaves of the Biography and it got lost out. She threw away the hostile letters, but tried to keep the pleasantest one for her book; surely there has been no kindlier biographer than this one. Yet to a quite creditable degree she is loyal to the responsibilities of her position as historian—not eulogist—and honorably gives me a quiet prod now and then. But how many, many, many she has withheld that I deserved! I could prize them now; there would be no acid in her words, and it is loss to me that she did not set them all down. Oh, Susy, you sweet little biographer, you break my old heart with your gentle charities!

I think a great deal of her work. Her canvases are on their easels, and her brush flies about in a care-free and random way, delivering a dash here, a dash there and another yonder, and one might suppose that there would be no definite result; on the contrary I think that an intelligent reader of her little book must find that by the time he has finished it he has somehow accumulated a pretty clear and nicely shaded idea of the several members of this family—including Susy herself—and that the random dashes on the canvases have developed into portraits. I feel that my own portrait, with some of the defects fined down and others left out, is here; and I am sure that any who knew the mother will recognize her without difficulty, and will say that the lines are drawn with a just judgment and a sure hand. Little creature though Susy was, the penetration which was born in her finds its way to the surface more than once in these pages.

Before Susy began the Biography she let fall a remark now and then concerning my character which showed that she had it under observation. In the Record which we kept of the children's sayings there is an instance of this. She was twelve years old at the time. We had established a rule that each member of the family must bring a fact to breakfast—a fact drawn from a book or from any other source; any fact would answer. Susy's first contribution was in substance as follows. Two great exiles

and former opponents in war met in Ephesus—Scipio and Hannibal. Scipio asked Hannibal to name the greatest general the world had produced.

“Alexander”—and he explained why.

“And the next greatest?”

“Pyrrhus”—and he explained why.

“But where do you place yourself, then?”

“If I had conquered you I would place myself before the others.”

Susy’s grave comment was—

“That *attracted* me, it was just like papa—he is so frank about his books.”

So frank in admiring them, she meant.

[*Thursday, March 28, 1907.*] Some months ago I commented upon a chapter of Susy’s Biography wherein she very elaborately discussed an article about the training and disciplining of children, which I had published in the “Christian Union” (this was twenty-one years ago), an article which was full of worshipful praises of Mrs. Clemens as a mother, and which little Clara, and Susy, and I had been hiding from this lovely and admirable mother because we knew she would disapprove of public and printed praises of herself. At the time that I was dictating these comments, several months ago, I was trying to call back to my memory some of the details of that article, but I was not able to do it, and I wished I had a copy of the article so that I could see what there was about it which gave it such large interest for Susy.

Yesterday afternoon I elected to walk home from the luncheon at the St. Regis, which is in 55th Street and Fifth Avenue, for it was a fine spring day and I hadn’t had a walk for a year or two, and felt the need of exercise. As I walked along down Fifth Avenue the desire to see that “Christian Union” article came into my head again. I had just reached the corner of 42nd Street then, and there was the usual jam of wagons, carriages, and automobiles there. I stopped to let it thin out before trying to cross the street, but a stranger, who didn’t require as much room as I do, came racing by and darted into a crack among the vehicles and made the crossing. But on his way past me he thrust a couple of ancient newspaper clippings into my hand, and said,

"There, you don't know me, but I have saved them in my scrap-book for twenty years, and it occurred to me this morning that perhaps you would like to see them, so I was carrying them down-town to mail them, I not expecting to run across you in this accidental way, of course; but I will give them into your own hands now. Good-by!"—and he disappeared among the wagons.

Those scraps which he had put into my hand were ancient newspaper copies of that "Christian Union" article! It is a handsome instance of mental telegraphy—or if it isn't that, it is a handsome case of coincidence.

From the Biography.

March 14th, '86.—Mr. Laurence Barrette and Mr. and Mrs. Hutton were here a little while ago, and we had a very interesting visit from them. Papa said Mr. Barrette never had acted so well before when he had seen him, as he did the first night he was staying with us. And Mrs.—— said she never had seen an actor on the stage, whom she more wanted to speak with.

Papa has been very much interested of late, in the "Mind Cure" theory. And in fact so have we all. A young lady in town has worked wonders, by using the "Mind Cure" upon people; she is constantly busy now curing peoples diseases in this way—and curing her own even, which to me seems the most remarkable of all.

A little while past, papa was delighted with the knowledge of what he thought the best way of curing a cold, which was by starving it. This starving did work beautifully, and freed him from a great many severe colds. Now he says it wasn't the starving that helped his colds, but the trust in the starving, the mind cure connected with the starving.

I shouldn't wonder if we finally became firm believers in Mind Cure. The next time papa has a cold, I haven't a doubt, he will send for Miss H—— the young lady who is doctoring in the "Mind Cure" theory, to cure him of it.

Mamma was over at Mrs. George Warners to lunch the other day, and Miss H—— was there too. Mamma asked if anything as natural as near sightedness could be cured she said oh yes just as well as other diseases.

When mamma came home, she took me into her room, and told me that perhaps my near-sightedness could be cured by the "Mind Cure" and that she was going to have me try the treatment any way, there could be no harm in it, and there might be great good. If her plan succeeds there certainly will be a great deal in "Mind Cure" to my opinion, for I am *very* near sighted and so is mamma, and I never expected there could be any more cure for it than for blindness, but now I don't know but what there's a cure for *that*.

It was a disappointment; her near-sightedness remained with

her to the end. She was born with it, no doubt; yet, strangely enough, she must have been four years old, and possibly five, before we knew of its existence. It is not easy to understand how that could have happened. I discovered the defect by accident. I was half-way up the hall stairs one day at home, and was leading her by the hand, when I glanced back through the open door of the dining-room and saw what I thought she would recognize as a pretty picture. It was "Stray Kit," the slender, the graceful, the sociable, the beautiful, the incomparable, the cat of cats, the tortoise-shell, curled up as round as a wheel and sound asleep on the fire-red cover of the dining-table, with a brilliant stream of sunlight falling across her. I exclaimed about it, but Susy said she could see nothing there, neither cat nor table-cloth. The distance was so slight—not more than twenty feet, perhaps—that if it had been any other child I should not have credited the statement.

From the Biography.

March 14th, '86.—Clara sprained her ankle, a little while ago, by running into a tree, when coasting, and while she was unable to walk with it she played solitaire with cards a great deal. While Clara was sick and papa saw her play solitaire so much, he got very much interested in the game, and finally began to play it himself a little, then Jean took it up, and at last *mamma*, even played it occasionally; Jean's and papa's love for it rapidly increased, and now Jean brings the cards every night to the table and papa and *mamma* help her play, and before dinner is at an end, papa has gotten a separate pack of cards, and is playing alone, with great interest. *Mamma* and Clara next are made subject to the contagious solitaire, and there are four solitaireans at the table; while you hear nothing but "Fill up the place" etc. It is dreadful! after supper Clara goes into the library, and gets a little red mahogany table, and placing it under the gas fixture seats herself and begins to play again, then papa follows with another table of the same description, and they play solitaire till bedtime.

We have just had our Prince and Pauper pictures taken; two groups and some little single ones. The groups (the Interview and Lady Jane Grey scene) were pretty good, the lady Jane scene was perfect, just as pretty as it could be, the Interview was not so good; and two of the little single pictures were very good indeed, but one was very bad. Yet on the whole we think they were a success.

Papa has done a great deal in his life I think, that is good, and very remarkable, but I think if he had had the advantages with which he could have developed the gifts which he has made no use of in writing his books, or in any other way for other peoples pleasure and benefit

outside of his own family and intimate friends, he could have done *more* than he has and a great deal more even. He is known to the public as a humorist, but he has much more in him that is earnest than that is humorous. He has a keen sense of the ludicrous, notices funny stories and incidents knows how to tell them, to improve upon them, and does not forget them. He has been through a great many of the funny adventures related in "Tom Sayer" and in "Huckleberry Finn," *himself* and he lived among just such boys, and in just such villages all the days of his early life. His "Prince and Pauper" is his most original, and best production; it shows the most of any of his books what kind of pictures are in his mind, usually. Not that the pictures of England in the 16th Century and the adventures of a little prince and pauper are the kind of things he mainly thinks about; but that *that* book, and those pictures represent the train of thought and imagination he would be likely to be thinking of to-day, to-morrow, or next day, more nearly than those given in "Tom Sawyer" or "Huckleberry Finn."*

Papa can make exceedingly bright jokes, and he enjoys funny things, and when he is with people he jokes and laughs a great deal, but still he is more interested in earnest books and earnest subjects to talk upon, than in humorous ones.†

When we are all alone at home, nine times out of ten, he talks about some very earnest subjects, (with an occasional joke thrown in) and he a good deal more often talks upon such subjects than upon the other kind.

He is as much of a Philosopher as anything I think. I think he could have done a great deal in this direction if he had studied while young, for he seems to enjoy reasoning out things, no matter what; in a great many such directions he has greater ability than in the gifts which have made him famous.

Thus at fourteen she had made up her mind about me, and in no timorous or uncertain terms had set down her reasons for her opinion. Fifteen years were to pass before any other critic—except Mr. Howells, I think—was to reutter that daring opinion and print it. Right or wrong, it was a brave position for that little analyzer to take. She never withdrew it afterward, nor modified it. She has spoken of herself as lacking physical courage, and has evinced her admiration of Clara's; but she had moral courage, which is the rarest of human qualities, and she kept it functionable by exercising it. I think that in questions of morals

* It is so yet.—M. T.

† She has said it well and correctly. Humor is a subject which has never had much interest for me. This is why I have never examined it, nor written about it nor used it as a topic for a speech. A hundred times it has been offered me as a topic in these past forty years, but in no case has it attracted me.—M. T.

and politics she was usually on my side; but when she was not she had her reasons and maintained her ground. Two years after she passed out of my life I wrote a Philosophy. Of the three persons who have seen the manuscript only one understood it, and all three condemned it. If she could have read it, she also would have condemned it, possibly,—probably, in fact—but she would have understood it. It would have had no difficulties for her on that score; also she would have found a tireless pleasure in analyzing and discussing its problems.

MARK TWAIN.

(To be Continued.)

THE "ROCK" OF THE CHURCH.

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND WM. CROSWELL DOANE, BISHOP OF
ALBANY.

JUST why Professor Briggs lays so stupendous a foundation in his article "On the Real and the Ideal of the Papacy," it is difficult to say; for what he builds on it is a house of cards. His own admissions in the latter part of the paper so absolutely destroy the value of his statements in the introduction as to the Petrine succession, that the opening assertion is quite emptied of all value. "It seems not essential," he says, "that the successor of St. Peter should be Bishop of Rome"; and, again, "There is no sufficient evidence that he ever was Bishop of Rome"—which is a very mild statement of the fact.

And yet, he says, "Christianity in the world is organized in one church under the Apostolic Ministry, culminating in the Universal Bishop, the successor of St. Peter." How and where is he to be found? "The Pope, as the successor of St. Peter, is the executive head of the Church"; but why is the Bishop of Rome the successor to St. Peter, if St. Peter never was Bishop of Rome? Really, the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome, in the early days of the Church, was due, not to any theory of Petrine descent, but to the commanding position of Rome in the world at that time.

Professor Briggs says that "the Council of Jerusalem decided for St. Peter"; but he did not seem to be recognized as Primate, because St. James presided and delivered the decree in these words, "Wherefore *my* sentence is." And the quoted statement of Irenæus that, "every church should agree with the church at Rome," describes that church, not as founded *on* St. Peter, but as founded "*by* the two most glorious Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul."

One is tempted to deal critically with the closing dream of this

paper, except that really its admissions demonstrate its dreaminess. "The Papacy has absorbed into itself the authority of Councils and of the peoples also." "There is no obstacle to the movement for some form of Ecclesiastical Council except the consent of the Papacy." That is to say, this is actually impossible.

My chief purpose, however, in this paper is to correct the statement that "all attempts to explain the 'Rock' in any other way than as referring to St. Peter, have ignominiously failed."

As I read this statement, my mind and my eye went back to a row of books ("The Library of the Fathers"), published in 1842, in my father's library (now mine), which, as a boy and a student of theology, I used to study. I went to it, and took down from the shelf the first volume of Tertullian, and turned quickly to the well-remembered note which I always understood was by Dr. Pusey, and which certainly bears the mark of his wonderful mastery of learning, and I merely condense that note here.

The heading, running over the six pages of the note "Q" on page 455, is: "Various interpretations do not exclude each other, but present different portions of the same truth. The same Fathers explain the Rock, of Christ chiefly; then of St. Peter; the Faith which he confessed; the Apostles: The Rock, the deposit of faith, committed to and confessed by the Church Catholic." In summing up the patristic interpretations, the writer says: "Tertullian interprets the Rock of St. Peter's person." Cyprian also explains it of St. Peter personally, "as a type of unity, as representing the Church and speaking in her name; but the authority he speaks of is derived through him to all Bishops; so that the Church is placed on the Bishops." Gregory Nazianzen and Epiphanius interpret it of him individually, "yet with reference to his faith"; so that Epiphanius says, "that it was built upon him and upon the faith which he confessed, because he confessed Christ the living God, and was told, 'upon the Rock of this solid faith I will build my Church.'" St. Augustine at first explained the Rock of St. Peter personally, and then very frequently of "Christ whom Simon confessed as the whole Church since confesses." "On myself, the Son of the living God, will I build my Church; on Me will I build thee, not thee on Me."

The writer of the note refers without quotation to Theodoret, Chrysostom, Gregory the great, Gregory of Nyssa and six other

less-known writers, as interpreting the Rock of "the faith which St. Peter confessed." And then he adds: "These expositions, however, in no way exclude each other. The words were pronounced to St. Peter by virtue of the true faith in Christ which he had just confessed. He was a rock by reason of his union with the Rock. That faith in Christ as the Son of God was his stability, and that of the Church afterward, and of those who at any time were pillars in the Church." Origen, who says, "that on St. Peter, as on the earth, the Church was founded," argues at length that "every disciple of Christ, of Whom they drank, who were of the spiritual Rock which followed them, is a rock, all imitators of Christ becoming a rock as He is a Rock." Hilary writes: "On this Rock of the confession of Christ as the Son of God is the Church built. This faith is the foundation of the Church." And again: "This is the one immovable foundation, this is the one blessed rock of the faith confessed by the mouth of Peter." Ambrose, who in one place applies the term simply to St. Peter, in another place explains it "of the Flesh which redeemed the Heaven and the whole world." "Christ is the Rock. To His disciple also He denied not the grace of this name that he also should be Peter, because, from the '*petra*,' he hath the solidity of steadfastness, the firmness of faith." (It is worth while here to call attention to the fact that through all these quotations the distinction is made between *Petra* the *Rock*, and *Petros*, the name given to Simon: the first, *Petra*, being always spelled with a capital R, and the second, when it is translated Rock, being spelled with a small r.)

Again, St. Ambrose says: "Faith, then, is the foundation of the Church; for not of the human person of Peter, but of the faith, is it said that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." So St. Augustine combines these same meanings. "This name, that he should be called Peter, was given him by the Lord, and that in a figure, to signify the Church. For since Christ is the Rock, Peter is the Christian people. For *Petra* is the chief name. Peter then is called from *petra*, not *petra* from Peter, as not Christ from Christian, but Christian from Christ. 'Thou, then,' He saith, 'art Peter, and on This Rock which thou hast confessed, on This Rock which thou hast known, saying, "Thou art The Christ, The Son of The Living God," I will build My Church.' " Jerome applies it generally, yet regards Christ as

really the Rock. "This House is built on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, who, themselves also, are mountains as imitators of Christ." "The Rock is Christ, Who gave to His *Apostles* to be called rocks." Cyril, of Alexandria speaks generally of the Church being built on St. Peter, but explains himself: "By the Rock, in reference to which He gives the name, He means, I deem, nothing else than the unshaken and most settled faith of the disciple, on which Faith the Church of Christ is founded and fixed." "He said to the blessed Peter, 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build My Church,' meaning, I deem, by 'rock' immoveableness in the Faith of His disciple." Leo, Bishop of Rome, speaking of Peter as the chief of all the Apostles, speaks of "the Rock of the Catholic faith, whence was derived the name which the blessed Apostle Peter received from the Lord." In one of his sermons he paraphrases our Lord's words: "I say unto thee, as My Father has manifested to thee My Divinity, so do I also make known to thee thy eminence, 'that thou art Peter,' *i. e.*, whereas I am the unassailable Rock, I the Cornerstone Who made both one, I the 'Foundation other than which can no man lay,' yet thou also art a rock, because thou art strengthened by My might, so that what of right belongs alone to Me, by My communication should be shared by thee. On this strength, I will build an everlasting temple, and the height of My Church, which shall reach to heaven, shall rise upon the firmness of this Faith."

And the writer of this note concludes with these words: "The Rock, then, according to St. Leo, was the revealed Faith in the Rock, the Ever-blessed Son of God, which whosoever confessed partook of the solidity of that Rock, which St. Peter confessed; which faith St. Peter first, in the name of the other Apostles, confessed, and for them received the blessing, himself possessing it first in order and dignity; which Faith also he preached, and delivered it, as the title-deeds of the Church, especially to the Churches over which he himself presided, to Antioch as to Rome, yet not in any other sense to Rome than to Antioch, nor as though new doctrine might be added, or as though doctrine, not virtually contained in the Apostles' Creed, formed a part of it."

Surely there is proof enough here that not "*all* attempts to explain the Rock in any other way than as referring to St. Peter have ignominiously failed."

WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE.

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF SOCIALISM.—III.

BY W. H. MALLOCK.

I HAVE shown abundantly in the two preceding articles that socialism, as a distinctive theory, issuing in a distinctive programme, or even as a theory embodying any definite ideas of any kind, is essentially a theory which appeals to the many, as distinct from the few; and, farther, that it owes whatever success has been achieved by it to its success in the popularization of one fundamental doctrine—that the many contain in themselves all the active forces of society; whilst the few, the employers, the present possessors of capital, are merely an encumbrance, or a sort of parasitic growth, and may, since they thus perform no productive functions, be completely dispossessed by the many, if the many will only realize that they are supreme, not alone as a social force, but as a legislative force also.

I have illustrated this fact by reference to actual history; and have shown how this theory, with regard to the power of the many, was first made the nucleus of a definite and coherent party by the genius of Karl Marx, who invested it with a quasi-scientific form, and managed to impose the doctrine that all wealth is due to labor on multitudes of the laboring classes as a strict economic truth.

Now, this feat of reasoning has two practical merits. It reduces the vague idea of the potential supremacy of the many to a proposition so simple and definite that the meanest intelligence can comprehend it. It also reduces it to a proposition so simple and definite that its truth or falsehood can be submitted to the most rigorous tests; and I have shown that labor, or the manual effort of the individual, as directed solely by the mind of the individual himself, is the sole productive agency in primitive societies only, whose wealth consists of no more than the bare

necessaries of existence; and that industrial effort becomes more productive, as a whole, only in proportion as another species of effort develops itself—that is to say, the mental ability of the few, by which the manual efforts of the many are directed, organized and coordinated. I also showed how this process of minute and all-embracing direction is accomplished by means of capital, in what is functionally its fundamental form—that is to say, by wage-capital and the modern system of wages, capital being thus the vehicle of directive ability, and not, as Marx conceived of it, a mere functionless and accidental monopoly. I showed, moreover, that so far are the profits of capital from being, as Marx contended, abstractions from the products of individual labor, that the wages of modern labor are largely abstractions from the products of directive ability functioning by means of capital.

I showed all this, and I showed something else besides. I showed, by quotations from their writings, that the more thoughtful socialists of to-day are beginning to admit the truth of every one of the above contentions. In the first place, whenever they address themselves to any cultivated and critical audience—as has been illustrated by a variety of replies which, in various parts of America, they have made, with curious unanimity, to my own late lectures on socialism, they vie with each other in repudiating the crude reasoning of Marx, declaring that they are quite aware, without instruction from anybody else, that labor alone is powerless to produce that wealth by the amplitude of which the modern world is distinguished, and that the direction of labor by the keenest and most energetic minds is no less essential to the result than is mere labor itself. They now admit that the few, as represented by capital, are, instead of being the mere appropriators of wealth, the producers of a very large portion of it. Further, they are beginning to recognize that the essence of the capitalistic wage system is not the underpayment of labor, but the direction of labor by ability; and some of the leading spirits amongst them, such, for instance, as Mr. Sidney Webb, exhibit their recognition of this last fact most clearly by their efforts to make good the earlier promises of their party, and devise a means by which the wage system may be abolished, and give place to a substitute. The substitute which they offer is, as I pointed out, neither more nor less than a system of state coercion, under which

every citizen would be remunerated irrespectively of the labor performed by him; and the requisite conformity to the industrial orders issued to him would be secured, as in the case of slaves, by the application of external force—a system which, as the history of slavery shows us, is, if not so efficient as the wage system, at all events not unworkable, and theoretically might take the place of it, if the laborers really like it better. Indeed, so far as our enquiry has yet proceeded, the system sketched out by the intellectual socialists of to-day differs, with the exception of the proposed reintroduction of slavery, from the existing capitalistic system in one particular only. It retains the employing class—the men whom Mr. Webb aptly describes as “the natural monopolists of special business ability,” and requires of them that they shall exercise all their highest powers in the direction of labor, precisely as they do now; but, whilst thus making them still the technical masters of labor, it would reduce them, in their turn, to the position of servants of the state, so that the products of their ability would be taken by the state, not by themselves, and would thus be available for distribution amongst the general mass of the community.

Now, such an organization of society might, for anything that we have yet seen to the contrary, be no less workable than society as it exists to-day. But we shall find, having admitted this, that a further question arises, which it still remains for us to consider. That the state should supply every laborer with board, lodging and pocket-money, without any regard to the specific labor performed by him, and then secure the requisite labor and obedience by force, by punishment, or by the fear of them, is a plan which experience shows to be, within limits, effective. The pyramids were constructed by precisely such a method as this. But to secure and to control the requisite manual labor is, on the admission of the more thoughtful socialists themselves, only half of the task which would lie before the socialistic state. The other half of the task, which they are now beginning to recognize as one even more important, is to secure the services of those exceptional men by whom all this labor is to be directed in the most efficient way—the men of science, the chemists, the mathematicians, the men of constructive imagination, the men of executive talent, on whose constant activity the productiveness of ordinary labor will depend. By what means will the socialistic state be able to com-

mand the services of men like these, and insure the exercise of their powers at a constant maximum of intensity?

Here we have to deal with a problem which, for one reason, at all events, if for no other, is entirely different from that of the control of ordinary labor. To secure from men the exertion of their ordinary manual faculties by positive coercion, instead of by the inducement of wages, is, let me repeat, possible; but it is possible for one reason only. In respect of the faculties embodied in ordinary labor, any one man by looking at another can tell how far he is possessed of them—whether he can trundle a wheelbarrow, carry a hod of bricks, hit a nail on the head, and so forth; and—what is still more important—every director of labor knows exactly the individual task which he wishes each laborer to perform. But in respect of the faculties—not ordinary, but exceptional—which are distinctive of the men by whom alone labor can be successfully directed, both these conditions are wanting. It is impossible to tell that any man of exceptional ability possesses any exceptional faculties for directing labor at all, unless he himself chooses to show them; and, indeed, until circumstances supply him with some motive for showing them, he will probably be hardly aware that he possesses such faculties himself. Moreover, even if he gives the world some reason to suspect their existence, the world at large will not know what he can do with them, and will consequently be unable to impose on him any definite task. Any Scotch farmer, by looking at Burns, could have told that he had in him the makings of a sufficiently good ploughman, and could have forced him, under certain circumstances, to do so much ploughing daily. Any one could have told that Shakespeare was capable of holding horses at the theatre door, and could have compelled him to hold them as the condition of getting his daily bread; but no one could have compelled Burns or Shakespeare to write “Auld Lang Syne” or “Hamlet.” A press-gang could have forced Columbus to labor as a common seaman, but not the whole population of Europe could have forced him to discover a new world; for the mass of his contemporaries, until his enterprise proved successful, obstinately refused to believe that there was any new world to discover.

The men, therefore, by whose ability alone labor is successfully directed, and on the exercise of whose ability the wealth of the modern world depends, would stand, with regard to the socialistic

state, in a position fundamentally different from that of the ordinary laborer. The exercise of their distinctive power, unlike those of the laborer, could never be secured by coercion, because neither the state nor the nation could know that these powers existed except in so far as the possessors of them chose to reveal the secret. They could not be made to reveal it. They could only be induced to do so; and they could only be induced to do so by a society which was so constituted as to offer for an exceptional performance some exceptional reward, just as a reward is offered for evidence against some unknown murderer. The reward which is offered to them by society as at present constituted is the possession of exceptional wealth, proportionate to the amount produced by them; but it is precisely this species of reward that the intellectual socialists of to-day aim at abolishing no less completely than did their predecessors of the school of Marx, though they have learned to explain its origin and present existence on totally different principles, and to recognize its abolition as a totally different problem.

Now, not only have the more intellectual socialists come, as we have seen already, to realize that the productiveness of industry in the modern world depends, both for its progress and its sustentation, on the ability of the directing class, and that its direction must be accomplished either by the wage system, or by state coercion, but they have also come to realize that the question we have been just considering—namely, the question of how, if the pecuniary motive is withdrawn, the ability of the exceptional few can be induced either to reveal or exert itself—is the question on which the entire practicability of the socialistic scheme depends. Nor can it be said that, having realized this fact, the more recent socialistic thinkers have shown any inclination to shirk it. They have, on the contrary, during the past fifteen years, been devoting themselves with increasing frequency to the elaboration of a satisfactory answer to it. Mr. Webb and his English allies have in this way been especially active; and their attempts to discover a motive which shall stimulate the able man, other than that now in operation, and yet equally certain and effective, throws more light than anything since the original folly of Marx on the kind of intellectual soil in which socialism, as a theory, germinates.

It may be looked on as evidence of the methodical and quasi-

scientific accuracy with which modern socialists have set themselves to discuss the required motive, that the thought of all of them has moved along exactly the same lines, and that what all of them fix upon as a substitute for the desire of pecuniary gain is one or other, or all, of a few motives actually in operation, and notoriously effective in certain spheres of activity; the socialistic argument being that nothing can be more easy than to extend their operation to the sphere of ordinary production also. These motives practically resolve themselves into four, which have been classified as follows by Mr. Webb, or one of his coadjutors: "The mere pleasure of excelling"; "the joy in creative work"; the satisfaction which working for others brings to "the instincts of benevolence"; and, lastly, the desire for approval, or the homage which is called "honor." Any one of these, according to our socialistic philosophers, would stimulate industrial ability in quite as efficient a way, if the prospect of all pecuniary gain were withdrawn, as that in which the desire of such gain stimulates it under the existing system.

Now, that the motives here in question are motives of extraordinary power, all history shows us. The most impressive things accomplished by human nature have been due to them. But let us consider what these things are. They are not only impressive, but thus far they have been strictly limited in number. We shall find that they are referable to one or other of the following kinds of activity—those of the artist, of the speculative thinker, of the religious and philanthropic enthusiast, and, lastly, that of the soldier. This list, if understood in its full sense, is exhaustive. Such being the case, then, the argument of the socialists is as follows: that, because a Fra Angelico will paint a Christ or a Virgin; because a Kant will immolate all his years to philosophy; because a monk and a sister of mercy will devote themselves to the victims of a pestilence; because a soldier in action will eagerly face death—all without any thought of exceptional pecuniary reward, the directors of industrial labor, if only such rewards are made impossible for them, will at once become amenable to the motives of the soldier, the artist, the philosopher, the inspired philanthropist and the saint. This is the assertion of the socialists, when reduced to a precise form, and what we have to do is to consider whether this assertion is true. Does human nature, as experience, as psychology, and as physiology reveal it to us, give

grounds, in fact, for taking such an assertion seriously? Any one who has studied human conduct historically, who has observed it in the life around him, and noted the diversities of temperament which go with diversities of capacity, will dismiss such an idea, on reflection, as at once groundless and ridiculous.

Let us—to go into details—take the case of the artist. What reason is there to suppose that the impassioned emotion which stimulates an adoring monk to lavish all his genius on an altar-piece will stimulate another man to devise and to organize the production of some new kind of liquid enamel for the decoration of cheap furniture? Yet again, let us consider the desire for speculative truth, as actually exhibited in the lives of the great philosophic thinkers. These men—men of the type of Kant and Hegel—have been proverbially, and often ludicrously, indifferent to all material details. Who can suppose that the disinterested passion for truth which had the effect of making such men forget their dinners, will stimulate others to devote themselves to the improvement of stoves and saucepans? Yet again, let us consider the area of the industrial influence of the motives originating in religious fervor and benevolence. The most important illustration of this is to be found in the monastic orders. The motives in question, for example, prompted St. Francis and his followers to a life of effort whose object not only was not the acquirement of exceptional wealth, but was the abnegation of it. But, even in the days when Christian piety was at its highest, those who were capable of practical response to motives of this lofty kind formed but a fraction of the general population of Christendom; and even amongst them these motives constantly failed to operate, and desire for personal gain insisted on reasserting itself. One might as well argue that, because the monastic orders renounced matrimony, the rest of mankind may be induced to renounce it also, as argue that, because some exceptional men have been united by religious enthusiasm to do certain kinds of arduous and exceptional work, other men, with totally different temperaments, are likely to be stimulated by the same or similar motives to do other exceptional work of an entirely different character—that is to say, to produce exceptional wealth, and not to expect a reward of the same order as their products.

But the quality of the reasoning of the socialists, in this connection, is best illustrated by their treatment of the fact on which

they themselves lay the greatest stress. This is the conduct of the soldier, who is, as they say, not only willing, but eager, to perform duties of the most painful and dangerous kind, without any thought of receiving for it any higher pay than his fellows; from which fact, they argue, as we have seen already, that conduct of a similar kind may be naturalized in the world of industry. And a similar moral has been drawn from the soldier's case, not by socialists only, but by other thinkers also—thinkers of very high distinction. Thus Ruskin says that his whole scheme of political economy is based on the moral assimilation of industrial action to military. "Soldiers of the ploughshare," he exclaims, "as well as soldiers of the sword! All my political economy is comprehended in that phrase." So, too, Mr. Frederic Harrison, the English prophet of positivism, has declared that the readiness with which the soldier will die in battle is a type of a readiness latent in men generally to spend themselves and be spent in the peaceful service of humanity. Again, in the same sense, another writer observes: "The soldier's subsistence is certain. It does not depend on his exertions. At once he becomes susceptible to appeals to his patriotism, and he will value a bit of bronze, which is the reward of valor, far more than a hundred times its weight in gold"—a passage to which one of Mr. Webb's collaborators refers with special delight, exclaiming triumphantly, "Let those notice this last fact who fancy we must wait till men are angels before socialism is practical."

Now, to all these arguments drawn from the facts of military activity there is one answer to be made. They are all of them founded on a failure to perceive that military activity is, in many respects, a thing apart, and depends on psychological and physiological conditions which have no analogies in the domain of ordinary economic effort. That such is the case can be very easily seen by following out the train of reasoning suggested by Mr. Frederic Harrison. Mr. Harrison sees that, in ordinary life, a man will not deliberately run the risk of being killed or mutilated, except for the sake of some object the achievement of which is profoundly desired by him; and Mr. Harrison and the other writers just quoted assume that such must be the case on the field of battle also—in other words, that the willingness of the soldier to be wounded, or killed, if need be, results from and is a measure of his devotion to the country on whose behalf he fights. And, in

certain cases, this inference is, no doubt, justified; but that it does not explain the nature of the soldier's behavior generally, and that there must be behind this some deeper and more general cause, is shown by the fact that some of the bravest and most reckless soldiers known to history have been mercenaries who would fight as readily for one country as for another. And this deeper and more general cause, when we look for it, is sufficiently obvious. It consists of the fact that, owing to the millenniums of struggle which have made men what they are to-day, the instinct of fighting is inherent in the dominant races, and will always prompt numbers to do, for the smallest reward or for none, what they could hardly, in its absence, be induced to do for the greatest. This instinct, no doubt, is more controlled than formerly, and is not so frequently roused; but it is still there. It is ready to quicken at the mere sound of military music, and the sight of regiments marching stirs the most apathetic crowd. High-spirited boys, again, for the mere pleasure of fighting, will run the risk of having their noses broken, whilst they will wince at getting up in the cold for the sake of learning their lessons, and would certainly rebel against being set to work as wage-earners at a task which involved so much as a daily pricking of their fingers.

Here we have the reason, embodied in the very organism of the human being, why military activity is something essentially distinct from industrial, and why any inference drawn from the one to the other is valueless. This fact, which is of primary scientific importance, the philosophy of the socialists altogether overlooks; and I have called special attention to the conduct of men as fighters, partly because the socialists themselves attach such extreme importance to it, and partly because their treatment of it affords us an exceptionally striking illustration of the utterly unscientific manner in which they are accustomed to reason about matters with regard to which they profess themselves to be the pioneers of accurate science. One of the principal grounds on which they attack what they call the economics of capitalism is that it deals exclusively with the actions of the economic man, or the man whose one motive is the personal appropriation of wealth. Such a man is, they say, an abstraction. He does not exist in reality. The actual man is a complex being, whose selfish and acquisitive motives are traversed by many others; and if economics, they

continue, is to have any scientific value, it must deal with man as a whole, in all his living complexity. This contention has an element of truth in it, as a criticism of the orthodox economists; but when the socialists attempt to act in accordance with their own professed principles and deal with human nature as a whole, instead of only one of its elements, they do nothing but travesty the class of error which they set out with denouncing. The one-motived man who cares only for personal gain is, no doubt, an abstraction, which has no actual counterpart. Still, the motive ascribed to him is one which has a real existence; it has been defined with accuracy, and by studying its effects in isolation we reach many true conclusions. But the other motives with which the socialists declare that we must supplement this are treated by them in a manner so indefinite, so crude, so childish, so utterly deficient in the mere rudiments of scientific analysis, that they do not correspond to anything. Instead of forming any true addition to the data of economic science, they are like images belonging to the dream of a maudlin schoolgirl, which have only the effect of obscuring, not of completing, the facts of human nature to which the orthodox economists confined themselves, and which, though incomplete, are, so far as they go, actual. Now, however, let us, without getting out of touch with the socialists, return to firmer ground; and, having seen the futility of their efforts to indicate any motive which shall stimulate the higher productive efficiencies, other than that supplied under the existing system by the prospect of possessing wealth in proportion to the amount produced, let us consider this motive itself, as history and experience reveal it to us.

And here, in the presence of facts which no one seeks to deny, we shall find that the socialists themselves are amongst our most pertinent witnesses, affording in what they assert a solitary and signal exception to that looseness of thought and observation which is otherwise, as I said, characteristic of them. The motive now in question on the part of the exceptional wealth-producer, the director of labor, the man of business ability, which the socialists propose to supersede, but which is at present in possession of the field, commonly receives from these theorists the vituperative name of "greed." What they mean by "greed" is simply the desire of the producer to retain a share of wealth for himself, proportionate to the amount produced by him. And what have the

socialists got to tell us about greed, when they turn from their plans for superseding it in the socialistic future to consider its operations in the actual past and present? They tell us a great deal. For what is and always has been their stock moral indictment against the typical men of ability, the capitalistic directors of labor, the introducers of new inventions, the amplifiers of the world's wealth? Their chief indictment against such men has been this—that, instead of working solely for the pleasure of benefiting their fellows, their motive has been greed, and personal greed alone. Its influence, they say, is as old as civilization itself, and was as operative in Tyre and Sidon as it is in London and Pittsburg. In other words, they declare that, so far as history and observation teach us anything, the desire of personal gain is just as inseparable from the temperament which goes with the power of producing exceptional wealth as “joy in creation” is from the highest art of the painter, or the love of some woman is from the lover's efforts to win her.

We thus see that those thinkers who, when they are dealing with an imaginary future, are being driven to stake all their hopes on the possibility of a complete elimination of a certain motive from a certain special class of persons, are the very men who are most vehement in declaring that in this special class of persons the motive in question is so inseparable a part of their character that it has never as yet, in any age or country, showed signs of appreciable modification. Nor does the matter end here; for the curious contradiction in which socialistic thought thus lands itself—between its assertion, on the one hand, that greed is inveterate in the temperament of the great wealth-producer, and its contention, on the other hand, that this inveterate motive can with the greatest ease be eliminated and replaced by others—is emphasized by the fact that, when turning from the few to the many—from the few who produce much to the many who produce little—they assume, in the case of the many, as an instinct of eternal justice, the very desire for personal gain which, in the case of the few, they first describe as a hideous and incurable moral disease, and then propose to cure, as though it were the passing ailment of a baby. For what is the bait with which, from its first beginnings till to-day, socialism has sought to secure the support of the general multitude? It is mainly, if not solely, the promise of increased personal gain, without any increased exer-

tion on the part of the happy recipients. With Marx and the earlier socialists, this promise took the form of declaring that every man has a sacred right to the whole of the wealth produced by him, that all the wealth of the world is produced by the manual laborers, and that the laborers must never be satisfied until they have secured all of it. The intellectual socialists of to-day, having gradually come to perceive that labor itself produces but a fraction of this wealth only, have had to alter the form of this promise; but they still adhere to its substance, and the altered form which they give to it does but bring out more sharply the fact that they appeal to the desire of personal gain as the primary economic motive of the great majority of mankind. For, whereas the earlier socialists contented themselves with promising the laborer the whole of what he produced, and promising it on the ground that he had produced it, what the laborer is promised by the intellectual socialists of to-day is not only all that he has produced—which in most cases he gets already—but a great deal more besides which is admittedly produced by others.

We thus see that, according to the socialistic speculation of to-day, the kind of moral conversion which is to make socialism practicable is to be rigidly confined to one particular class; for, on the part of the majority, no change is required at all in order to render the socialistic evangel welcome. So far as they are concerned, the old Adam is quite sufficient. None of us need much moral converting in order to welcome the prospect of an indefinite addition to our incomes, which will cost us nothing but the trouble of stretching out our hands to take it. Socialists often complain that, under the existing dispensation, there is one law for the many and another law for the few. They propose themselves to introduce a difference which goes still deeper, and provide the few and the many, not only with two laws, but with different natures, and two antithetic moralities. The morality of the many is to remain, as it always has been, comfortably based on the familiar desire for dollars; the morality of the few is to be based on some hitherto unknown contempt for them; and the class which the socialists fix upon as the subjects of this moral transformation is precisely the class which they denounce as being, and as having always been, in respect of its devotion to dollars, the most obstinately and hopelessly incorrigible.

That arguments such as these, ending in an absurdity like

this, and starting with the assumption that it is possible to animate a manufacturer's office with the spirit of soldiers facing an enemy's guns, should actually emanate from sane men, would be unbelievable if the arguments were not being repeated from day to day, and repeated by men who, in many respects, are ingenious reasoners. Of the depths of absurdity to which such men can descend, when engaged in the discussion of this question of the transformation, I will give one example more, which is supplied to us by Mr. Sidney Webb. In order to show how readily the great directors of labor may be induced in the future to forego all personal claims on the wealth which will be due to the continued exercise of their talents, Mr. Webb declares that it will be very easy to convince them that the special ability with which persons like themselves are born "is an unearned increment, due to the effect of the struggle for existence on their ancestors; and that, consequently, having been produced by society, it is as much due to society as the unearned increment of rent." Now, of course, in a certain sense this contention is true, and for the purely speculative sociologist it possesses its own significance; but that it has no bearing on the problems to which Mr. Webb seeks to apply it, and that it will have no practical influence on the conduct of any man, woman or child, may be seen at once by following Mr. Webb's example, and carrying his own logic a little farther than he has done himself. If the able man, who produces more wealth than his fellows, has no claim to the possession of exceptional wealth himself, because he owes his exceptional productivity not to himself, but to society, it is to society as a whole that the idle man owes his idleness, the stupid man owes his stupidity, and the dishonest man his dishonesty; and if the man who produces much is able to claim with justice no more wealth than the man who produces little, the man who is so idle or drunken that he will not produce anything may with equal justice claim as much wealth as either. Can the force of nonsense go farther than this?

Such is the reasoning to which the more thoughtful socialists of to-day, having escaped from the crudity of the original doctrine of socialism that the wealth of the modern world is due wholly to manual labor, are now driven to resort, so as still to promise the masses a general redistribution of wealth, whilst abandoning the theory of production on which that promise

originally based itself. We find their reasoning, in proportion to its own logical consistency, moving in a vicious circle, tethered to an impossible conclusion like a cow tethered to a stake, and escaping from absurdity of one kind only to land itself in another—escaping from a theory of production which is worthy only of a child, by adopting a theory of human nature which is even more elaborately childish.

The explanation of this phenomenon is, as we shall see hereafter, to be found, not in the fact that these theorists—such, for instance, as Mr. Sidney Webb—are deficient in their mere powers of reasoning, but in the fact that they are deficient in their knowledge of those complex social forces to which their reasoning is applied. And that such is the case is indicated by the remarkable fact that the men who are foremost in demanding that wealth shall be redistributed are notoriously men who have been impotent to do anything towards increasing, or even maintaining, the already increased production of it themselves. But, in addition to their personal inacquaintance with the productive and constructive forces at work in the modern world, the more thoughtful socialists of to-day owe their naïve ideas with regard to the plasticity of human motive to a theory of society which is not peculiar to socialism. This is the theory that, in any community or nation in which each citizen is equally free to express his will by his vote and realizes the extent of the power which thus resides in him, the will of the majority has practically no limits to its efficiency, and will be able in the future to bring about moral changes which seem at present to be beyond the limits of possibility only because the means for effecting them have never yet been fully utilized.

This conception of voting majorities, as possessing an absolute power of moulding societies in accordance with their recorded will, forms, as it were, a reservoir of vague and unanalyzed thought, from which many kinds of opinion other than socialistic are irrigated. Socialism, however, in all its forms alike, appeals to this conception of democracy with an insistence peculiar to itself; and with this conception of democracy I shall deal in the following article.

W. H. MALLOCK.

(To be Continued.)

OUR DUTY IN CUBA.

BY CHARLES A. CONANT.

THE United States have a duty to perform in Cuba which was definitely assumed by treaty with Spain, and afterwards defined by the voluntary act of the two Houses of Congress. The treaty with Spain declared that the United States would maintain order during the American occupation of Cuba. It was, indeed, prescribed that the obligations of the United States were limited to the period of occupancy; but our Government declared that "it will, upon the termination of such occupancy, advise any government established in the Island to assume the same obligations." This obligation of the United States to the world was further strengthened by the language of the Platt Amendment to the Army Appropriation Act of March 2nd, 1901, which declared, among other things:

"That the Government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the treaty of Paris on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the Government of Cuba."

It is in pursuance of these obligations to the civilized world that United States troops are now in Cuba, and that the Government is being administered by an American Provisional Governor appointed by the President of the United States. Under such conditions, the question becomes important how far the United States should go in establishing sound political and economic conditions in Cuba and meeting the wishes of those of her people who desire a stable and progressive Government.

A very short time in Cuba brings home to one the fact that nearly every member of the business and financial community

prefers American control to native government. Not Americans only, but English, German, French and even Spanish merchants and bankers feel that their interests will be safer under American authority than under a native Cuban Republic. The reason for this is found in the legacy of shiftlessness and idleness left by the long wars among the lower orders of the population. If Cuba were South Carolina or Louisiana, it would be a question of race, for on the one side are arrayed substantially all the whites and on the other side the blacks. In Cuba, however, the race question is only an incident. Between the whites and blacks is a large population of mixed blood, shading imperceptibly from the almost black to the practically white. Traces of negro ancestry carry in themselves no such social stigma as in the United States. Apart from a few old families which have kept pure their Spanish blood, the inhabitants of the middle class—professional men, clerks and shopkeepers—are in considerable proportion persons of mixed blood. No hard and fast line is drawn against them because they are not pure Caucasians.

The essential question, therefore, is not one of race, but of the control of the Island on the one hand by those who have something at stake, and on the other hand by those who by many years of nomadic life, looting and marauding have lost much of the disposition to labor and much of the sense of civic responsibility. The conservative men of Cuba are determined that the latter element shall not become their governors, but there is great danger that this will occur if order is not enforced with a strong hand.

The President of the United States has declared that the United States will withdraw from Cuba and remit the Government to the Cuban people as soon as conditions will permit. In pursuance of this policy, Secretary Taft announced in a letter written before leaving Havana last month that a census of the Island would be taken, and that this would be followed at intervals by the municipal and provincial elections, by the Presidential election, and afterward by the surrender of the Government by the United States to the new President and the Congress chosen in the elections. Secretary Taft thought it prudent, however, to add this significant clause:

“The carrying out of this plan is, of course, strictly dependent upon the tranquillity of the country, which must continue through the two

elections and must give assurance of the stability of the new Government, because without this the United States will not be discharging the obligations devolving upon it by reason of the intervention."

The census of the Island will probably require about six months, and some interval will elapse after its completion before the holding of the first elections. If these pass off peaceably, the Presidential election will then be in order, but not for an interval of at least three months. Then, under the Constitution of Cuba, one hundred days are to elapse before the inauguration of the new President and the surrender to him of the authority which is now being exercised by Governor Magoon. With the delays which usually accompany important Governmental measures, these various steps will extend the period of American occupation practically to the end of the year 1908, if not longer. Any hitch or jar in the process of ascertaining the popular will and installing the new Government will cause additional delay.

Great rejoicing was felt among the sugar-planters, merchants and bankers of Cuba when this announcement was made by Secretary Taft. The planters, with the bankers upon whom they rely for advances, felt that they would be able to harvest their crops and export their products under conditions of security for another two years. They would have been even better satisfied with the definite assurance that the United States would not withdraw from Cuba, but in view of the resolute position of President Roosevelt, that the Cubans should have self-government if they were capable of carrying it on, it was not possible for Secretary Taft to go farther than he did go.

Having thus obtained the assurance of security for two years, far-sighted business men and statesmen in Cuba are naturally turning their attention to the functions which the American Government is exercising. Thus far, the policy of Governor Magoon has been, perhaps wisely, a policy of meddling as little as possible with the ordinary processes of administration. In the language of the leading Spanish journal, the Government of the first intervention "dictated laws, made reforms, established new forms of administration, and worked efficaciously for the country's social betterment"; but, says the Spanish journal, the "*Diario de la Marina*":

"The character of the provisional Government now in force is altogether different. Where before there were creative activity, regenerative

work, fecund spontaneity, resoluteness, energy and quick accomplishment, there are inertia, indifference and paralysis. The Government of intervention seems to propose to itself no other end than the maintenance of material peace, the preservation of public order."

It is then urged that, since the United States by intervention checked the creative functions of the Cuban state, it should not neglect to exercise all of its authority for the protection and active direction of Cuban affairs. In other words, in summing up the necessities of the situation, "the Government of intervention should not be a mere sterile parenthesis or hiatus in the political life of Cuba."

This definition of the proper functions of the American Government is apparently intended less as a criticism of what has been done in the past than as an expression in favor of doing something more constructive in the future. Only since the visit of Secretary Taft has it become clear that American authority will continue long enough to permit definite constructive measures. Now that it is clear that this opportunity will exist, the most far-sighted residents of Cuba appear to believe that the opportunity should be taken advantage of. If the American Government honestly intends, as President Roosevelt and Secretary Taft so emphatically declare, to return Cuba to the control of her own people, then, obviously, this result will be more certainly attained by turning over to the Cuban people an efficient working machine, rather than one which has been allowed to rust by disuse or which has become out of date by neglect to adopt the latest and most efficient mechanism. President Roosevelt, with that love of action which has so endeared him to the American people, should be quick to catch the significance of this opportunity—to do in Cuba, as far as possible in a short time, the creative work done by Lord Cromer in Egypt.

Little of a constructive character was done by the Cuban Congress during the four years of self-government in Cuba. Its activities were limited largely to the issuing of loans for paying the soldiers, and to granting franchises which were earnestly sought by a certain type of Americans. To preserve, however, is much easier than to build up. If the American Government should adopt the same constructive policy which during the first intervention gave clean streets to Havana, stamped out yellow fever, introduced the American system of bookkeeping into the

Treasury accounts, and prepared the way for improved means of communication, the new forms of administration created would probably in many cases be carried on without difficulty by the Cuban Government, where it could hardly be expected to take up the work of their creation.

Among the reforms which might well be set on foot by the American Government, are the organization of the banking system upon the basis of official inspection and public reports, which would protect the people against unsound banking; the organization of the fiscal service so as to return to the channels of trade the large surplus accumulating in the Treasury; the introduction of a national subsidiary silver coinage and a national gold standard; the organization of postal savings-banks, which are needed to instil the essential lesson of thrift into the people; and, perhaps, reform of the system of taxation. Most of these reforms are of a character which could be put into operation without friction within a short period of time, and they would tend so to improve economic conditions in the Island that the prospect of stability under a restored Cuban Government would be vastly greater than if such reforms were not undertaken.

The adoption of broad economic reforms might tend to solve in some measure the political problem, as well as the economic one. While many of the men who spent many years in the revolution, bivouacking, marching and raiding, are disinclined to labor, yet those who are would probably be better contented if the large surplus in the Cuban Treasury began to be disbursed for important public works. There is no doubt that Cuba badly needs good roads and other improvements, and the money for much of this work is already in the Treasury. Labor on the plantations is well paid, the most unskilled often demanding two *pesos*, which is the equivalent of \$1.80 in American money. Some of the plantation-owners find difficulty in getting labor even at these prices, but the question is probably one of locality, rather than of the absolute lack of proper labor on the Island. If measures could be devised which would put at honest work some of the revolutionary soldiers who loiter about Havana and other cities, they would be restored to the ranks of self-supporting citizens, and the Government would be relieved in a measure of the dangers of an idle and discontented proletariat.

If the Government of Cuba is restored to her own people, it

will still be necessary, in the opinion of conservative Cubans, for the United States to exercise a stronger influence in the future than has been exercised in the recent past. The American Minister has the authority under the Platt amendment to intervene to check unwise legislation. Metes and bounds have not yet been set, however, to the measure and the frequency of this intervention. It would probably greatly strengthen the position of the American Minister and facilitate his work if he were aided by a financial adviser who devoted his entire time to aiding the Cuban Government in promoting the economic progress of the Island. The task of the American Minister to Cuba would be simplified if he could lean upon such an official, with the understanding that behind them both stood the entire moral force of the United States. Probably some such solution as this is the only way of avoiding future intervention. Such a solution is essential in any case to assure the business community of Cuba that order and respect for law and contracts will prevail continuously in Cuba, unless circumstances compel the United States to take the more drastic action of converting into a permanent Government the present provisional one.

The future of Cuba is bright if she is well governed. The natural resources of the country in sugar and tobacco alone can be greatly enlarged with proper railroad facilities, with the return of the blacks to honest labor, and with the assurance of good government; but capital will not be invested in important permanent improvements, like railway extensions, tramways and new mills, until order under some form of government is permanently assured. It should be the mission of the United States to give this assurance. It is not incompatible with self-government in Cuba, provided that government is sane and progressive. To this result the present Provisional Government of Cuba will contribute if it introduces into the Island some of the methods and the constructive reforms which have made Egypt blossom as a rose under British authority, and which made the American flag welcome in the early days in Florida, in Louisiana, in Texas, and in California, and still make it welcome wherever it is planted.

CHARLES A. CONANT.

NATIONAL TENDENCIES AND THE CONSTITUTION.

BY WILLIAM V. ROWE.

AT this time, in the midst of an underlying popular ferment and discontent, and in the common interest of our people's welfare, of the rights of property, and of our natural and continuous development as a *nation*, a plea is here entered for the national life and *constitutional* centralization, and for the only sane and effective regulation of wealth and its activities, and the correction of prevalent abuses, by the use of certain of the practically unlimited powers of the Federal Government. It is not intended, however, to seek a cure-all in legislation. That is a will-o'-the-wisp. It cannot too often be reaffirmed that the wrongs of business and the ills of humanity, which arise from the weakness of human nature, cannot be cured by statute. Nor is it the purpose to discuss any isms or panaceas, or to advance any new or radical ideas, or destructive criticism, for patience has been exhausted by merely academic debate; but it is the purpose to offer a few simple, concrete suggestions for real and practical remedies, operating in ways well understood. Of course, it is constantly insisted that all this is unnecessary, and that we need only force proper action on the part of the States. That assertion has a familiar ring, and it will be tested.

As against wealth and property—merely withdrawals from the common store—the people have determined to protect themselves from depredations; and wealth and the interests of property, which must find their only security in the respect and regard of the people, must win and entrench themselves in that regard by the service of humanity and the assumption of a proper share of the public burdens. An intelligent public opinion, however, in safeguarding the public interests, will insist that absolute justice

be measured out to all. Our hopes for the future, in that behalf, rest confidently upon the character of our individual citizens and upon the even-handed justice established by our institutions.

This existing spirit of discontent found among a majority of our people, especially in the East, is not hysterical, or otherwise impulsive or ephemeral. It is based on certain fixed ideas concerning the abuses of wealth, and of opportunities open to wealth, and concerning causes for the admitted startling increase in the cost of living—ideas which have been fostered by reflection, aided by the constant campaign of exposure and investigation maintained by our newspapers and the public authorities. The questions involved are no longer debatable. The conclusions which the majority of our citizens have formed on these questions are sober and deliberate, and have become a crystallized public opinion, by which, in our country, we must be governed. It is useless, and will be prejudicial, to attempt further discussion. The people state as a fact the existence of what they regard as nationally stultifying and individually crushing and grinding abuses. They demand remedies.

This unrest and discontent, in view of our extraordinary general prosperity, is certainly a phenomenon, and it is increasing, even among those classes in the community which are distinctly intellectual and leaders of thought and action, and which are never led or misled by mere demagogic clamor or journalistic charlatanism. Our boasted prosperity has benefited chiefly the wage-earner and the man of wealth. The great class of salaried and professional men has felt no corresponding improvement. On the contrary, hand in hand with prosperity has come a disproportionate increase in the cost of living, and this latter class—the most important element in our citizenship—failing to share proportionately in the increased riches of the times, has been sorely oppressed by this abnormal growth in the material, routine burdens of existence. Feeling that the hue and cry of the insincere, cheap and irresponsible elements of society is justifiable, such men have reasoned out the problem for themselves. When that part of our citizenship speaks, its voice must be heeded. And it has spoken. The recent elections, for instance, in New York and Massachusetts, have left, written large upon the wall, what may be called our latter-day warning of "*Mene, mene, tekel, uphar-sin.*" This we are bound to take to heart, for it is now seen

that the real forces in our democracy are already at work on this tremendous modern problem—the use and the abuse of wealth.

Our country stands for absolute equality in opportunity, and public opinion is right in its assumption that great aggregations of wealth, even when properly used, by virtue of their mere weight and momentum, necessarily tend to produce inequality, and, when misused, may even absolutely destroy, as, in many instances, they are said to have destroyed, all opportunity for individual and competitive effort.

The people are also weighed down by the conviction that wealth, though confessedly derived from the common store, and absolutely dependent for its security upon the good-will of the community, is rendering practically no service to society in return for its protection, and is bearing no proportionate part of the burdens of taxation.

Nevertheless, if we draw our inspiration from the past, and are guided by the signs of the times, it is evident that too much stress cannot be laid on the suggestion that much can be done to stem this tide of discontent, and to satisfy this existing public opinion, if the possessors of wealth, in wisely chosen ways, not only will return to the public service a fair share of their accumulations, but also will devote themselves to the creation of a leisure class, of wide culture, training and experience in affairs of state, whose lives shall be given to the public service and to the general welfare, and upon whom the workers of the community may learn confidently to rely for skilled and expert guidance in public affairs, and for an efficient, clean and decent performance of the duties of public office. This is the real use, as distinguished from the selfish abuse, of wealth. Let the gospel of service become the gospel of wealth, and purely obstructive distrust will give place to an uplifting mutual confidence. Indeed, conditions are rapidly improving. The cultured sons of wealthy parents are already entering politics and the public service, and securing the people's confidence. The dawn of a better day in public affairs is already breaking. No one can possibly overestimate the value, in this respect, of President Roosevelt's life and action, as an example, and of his personal force and initiative in what we may term this new life of the nation.

At the moment, however, in order fully to restore the people's confidence, something more is required than mere social and pub-

lic service. Wealth must be made to pay its way, and its acquisition, use and transmission must be regulated; but the people must be influenced to proceed slowly and conservatively. In our country, we do everything without deliberation and upon the spur of the occasion, and solve, offhand, all problems, however serious or novel. This is our national habit and our national fault, which, if allowed to control in this particular matter, may lead to the gravest consequences. Familiarity with the statutes and legislative methods of the States and the Nation during the last twenty-five years has led to the abiding conviction that the two greatest evils in our American life (they are grouped, and the superlative is used advisedly) are over-legislation, on the one hand, and hasty, ill-considered (or unconsidered) and improperly framed legislation, on the other. The first is the direct result of our dual system of Government, which, with its unnecessarily and absurdly frequent sessions of half a hundred lawmaking bodies, promoting ceaseless agitation and destroying calmness and deliberation, we have not yet learned to operate to advantage; and the second is due to, and is the natural product of, the uncultured and untrained character of our legislators and public men. We are now laboring and suffering keenly under this legislative incubus, which is increased by the large number of that worst of parasites on the body politic—the citizen who is a mere selfish politician without any proper conception of either private obligation or public duty. This situation is largely responsible for these present-day disturbed conditions of the social atmosphere; and yet it is but a passing phase. We are growing rapidly, and education, training and natural development will work out the obvious and needed remedies.

At the outset, it is proper to note that an unjustifiable general indictment has been made of accumulated wealth in corporate form, and of its alleged exclusive monopolistic privileges and franchises. We cannot prevent by law the union and association of wealth in corporations, for union and consolidation—the formation, for instance, under our Constitution, of a “more perfect union”—are of the very essence of our existence, and are in accordance with the course of nature. Without such association and combination, the extraordinary resources of our vast domain, for the lasting benefit of the farmer, the mechanic and the laborer, could never have been developed. As one of the

wisest members of the Supreme Court of the United States said, in writing for that court many years ago concerning these very suggestions:

“Nor can it be truthfully denied that some of the most useful and beneficial enterprises set on foot for the general good have been made successful by means of these exclusive rights, and could only have been conducted to success in that way.”*

It is, then, merely the abuses of these special and exclusive privileges, in the accumulation and employment of excessive wealth, of which our citizens justly complain.

The people have two agencies which they may employ to check and regulate such abuses—the one, the Nation, the other, the State. It is said that, in interfering in such matters, the Nation is trenching on “State rights,” and that the States alone can act. This suggestion overlooks the fact that the *people*, the source of all authority in both State and Nation, are making their own choice of an agent, within the constitutional limitations which they have themselves set up, and that, in all matters which, like this, admittedly affect the “*general welfare*,” the people are now invariably turning to the National Government, created by them for the very purpose of promoting and protecting their general well-being.

In that most perfect statement ever made of the objects of all government, contained in the preamble to the Federal Constitution, *the people*, in stating their purpose and intent in forming this Nation, have finally and conclusively disposed of all such questions. In that brief paragraph they solemnly affirm that:

“We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish *justice*, insure *domestic tranquillity*, provide for the common defense, promote the *general welfare*, and secure the blessings of *liberty* to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.”

As Chief-Justice Marshall long ago declared:

“The Government proceeds *directly from the people*.” “Its powers are granted *by them*, and are to be exercised *directly on them and for their benefit*.”†

The States are merely subordinate instrumentalities of the people.

* Mr. Justice Miller, in *Slaughter-House Cases*, 16 Wallace, at page 66.

† *M'Culloch vs. Maryland*, 4 Wheaton, at pp. 403 and 405. (1819.)

At this somewhat momentous period of our national existence, we are chiefly interested in this announcement of the purpose to "form a more perfect union," to "establish justice" and to "promote the general welfare." Union there was, then, but of separate entities and segregated communities, imperfectly joined. Union, the consolidation of thought and effort, was, however, the accepted foundation of the structure, and the primary purpose and desire were to make it "more perfect" and complete. Our fundamental law has thus embodied a recognition of the natural tendency to cohesion and consolidation, and of its value to human society as a whole. The union of wealth and of effort in corporate form is no less natural; but, whereas the people have protected themselves by their Constitution against the abuse of consolidation in governmental matters, there has heretofore been lacking specific and efficient protection in respect to industrial consolidations.

Accompanying the formation of this union, and immediately following it, were to come "the establishment of justice" and the promotion by each of the State communities, which, theretofore, had been seeking to advance its own particular selfish interests, of the "general welfare" of the whole.

This "more perfect union" of the fathers' dream is being realized. Through the radical upheaval of the Civil War—at which time we ceased to regard ourselves as a confederation, and became in fact, and called ourselves, a Nation—and by the vast increase, throughout the country, in the power of the press, in the activities of our commercial and agricultural life, and in the means of intercommunication furnished by the many extraordinary applications of steam and electricity, and lastly through the welding power of the Spanish-American war, we are rapidly approaching our national maturity, and are developing a complete homogeneity. This perfecting of the union has involved the voluntary elimination of all sectional lines and differences—we have almost been able to see them disappear, day by day—and the burial of alleged States' rights and of their selfish separate interests; and the wiping out of these lines of demarcation has left us, in these recent years, one people, absolutely united in purpose and in action. In short, the Nation, in the best sense, has now assumed all the powers and duties of *nationality*.

The national life really began with this self-renunciation—

shall we call it redemption?—of the States and of the people of the several States as distinct communities. In these latter days, it has been wonderfully rounded out. The obligation to serve bears as imperatively upon the Nation, in its international relations, as upon the individual in his social environment, and who will undertake to measure, in either case, the developing and refining influence of the faithful observance of that obligation, and of the golden rule, in personal and national conduct? In this respect, as a nation, we have always welcomed the inpouring immigration of the oppressed from all other lands, and have recently, with Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, China, Japan, Russia, Santo Domingo and Morocco, in Central and South America, and in the conference of The Hague, still further kept the faith and carried the burden, and, assuredly, our bread will return upon the waters of life. The law of compensation, in its operation, is inexorable, but absolutely just. The Nation's sin will find it out, but the Nation's virtue will reap its everlasting reward. Our national provincialism, like the provincialism involved in the selfish assertion of States' rights, is dying, if not already dead. Peace to its ashes! We have now taken our place among the *nations*, and henceforth our responsibility is to civilization and the world at large.

Moreover, notwithstanding the dual nature of our government, due to the independent State and National sovereignties, the full preservation of which our welfare undoubtedly demands, we are now, as a matter of fact, after passing through the many embarrassments of our crude, provincial minority, duly recognizing our international obligations; for we are now ceasing to plead an absurd and belittling national disability in respect to State action, and, as a nation, are accepting our proper responsibility for our treaty obligations, and for the action or non-action of the individual States or the people thereof. Internationally, we are now acting as a nation, and not as a confederation or group of independent and separate sovereignties. The States cannot have international relations or recognition. The Nation alone can create treaty rights and obligations; and these, as the supreme law of the land, must, under the Constitution and in the nature of things, be controlling and enforceable throughout the national domain, and within the jurisdiction of each State.*

* See *Ware vs. Hylton*, 3 Dallas, 199, 236-7.

Then, too, we are now witnessing, in every-day experience, constant appeals to the national power. These are often attributable, it is true, to efforts on the part of the States and the people to promote their selfish and material welfare, but love of country is at the bottom of it all. Even spiritual progress is frequently dependent upon, or due to, action dictated by the most selfish and material motives. Whatever their real motives may be in particular cases, the people are now freely committed to the national idea and a centralized form of government, and we are thus sweeping onward with the strength of united effort to our accepted place in the world's history and the fulfilment of our lofty mission in the unprecedented advancement of humanity. Increased love of country, as the dominating motive, will surely follow.

In the light of this national growth, and of these national tendencies, when we ask, Does the tariff need revision? Do individual wealth, its acquisition and use require further regulation? Do the growth of corporations, their income, franchises and other business activities require controlling action? we do not seek the answer in a consideration of what may best suit the interests and desires of Massachusetts, New York, Texas, California or Alaska, alone, or of any one section, whether North, South, East or West, but in the determination of what is best for the "*general welfare*"—for the commonwealth—for the promotion of which this Government was organized. At this late day, it does not seriously interest us to learn what particular view, with reference to her own selfish interests, California may entertain concerning the Japanese question, or Massachusetts in respect to the doctrine of reciprocity, for it is folly longer to discuss selfish State purposes or selfish State interests. They do not exist—at least, when we are discussing measures which necessarily must affect our people as a whole. With this renunciation of all selfish interests by the States, we are entering upon a new and inspiring era in the higher development of the Nation. It is not too much to assume that, in the present temper of our people, they are prepared, in all trustfulness, and within the constitutional limitations which they have themselves prescribed, and which they may enlarge at their pleasure from time to time, to surrender to the Nation, as far as practicable, substantially all such "powers" as have been deemed to be reserved to the States and the "people"

by the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, so far, at least, as such surrender may be necessary to carry us forward to a perfect and effective union as one Nation.

State rights, then, as formerly interpreted, are no longer insisted upon. They are gone, and forever. This is not a theory or subject for debate. It is an existing condition, a fact, and must be accepted. The phrase "*State rights*," or "*reserved rights of the States*," indeed, always involved a misnomer. The Tenth Amendment reserved "*powers*" to the "*States respectively, or to the people*," and whatever "*powers*" were thus reserved to the States, they, in turn, had always derived, primarily, from the *consent of the people*, the source of all right, power and authority. "*Rights*," in the proper sense, the States never had. As governmental agencies, they had certain "*powers*," conferred by the *people*, and reserved by the Constitution.* Such powers are revocable by the authority conferring them—here, the people—but the essence of a right, in this broader sense, is its inalienability, and such rights the States did not, and do not, possess.

State pride, also, like the former eloquent appeals for "*State rights*," is, fortunately, a thing of the dim past, and, in the light of what has already been said, must be deemed to be a relic of barbarism, whose advocates, in the irresistible onward march of the Nation, the people have finally sent to the rear. There is no longer any pride of State, in the old sense, to stand in the way of national growth, or any peculiar homely interest in State welfare. The great, throbbing people of this land are paying heed only to the interests of the whole Nation, as a single entity, for whose well-being they make their daily invocations. Prayers for the State one almost never hears, but prayers for the Nation, always. The past has buried its dead, and the strict constructionist of the Constitution has had his day. This element, like every other obstacle to national growth, has been either sloughed off or outgrown, and the natural laws, governing growth and development, centralization, consolidation and union, have taught the people

* "The *powers* the *people* have given to the General Government are named in the Constitution, and all not there named, either expressly or by implication, are reserved to the *people*, and can be exercised only by *them*, or upon further grant from *them*." (Mr. Justice Brewer, in concurring opinion, in *Turner vs. Williams*, 194 U. S., at page 296).

"There can be no limitation on the power of the *people of the United States*" (*Ware vs. Hylton*, 3 Dallas, 199, at page 236—United States Supreme Court in the year 1796, by Mr. Justice Chase).

to seek and to find, within the Constitution, those fundamental principles which not only sanction and justify, but actually encourage and promote, the greatest conceivable extension of the national territory and the national functions. The dead letter may be that of an eighteenth-century constitution, now confronting twentieth-century conditions; but the living spirit is in harmony with the youth of our people, expanding and developing with their needs. What the people really seek within the four corners of their charter they invariably find. Amendment of the letter may hereafter occasionally be required; but to refer to it as an antiquated and inadequate production of the eighteenth century is to ignore the eternal life of the spirit which the genius of the framers breathed into its phrases.

And so it is that we now hear of the "reserved rights of the States" only as an incident in the discussion of long-desired possible extensions of the national functions under the Constitution. In short, the States are, in these days, treated by the people only as so many uninteresting and cumbersome, but necessary, local governmental agencies for home rule and the administration of purely local affairs.

The people, influenced by the demonstrated inefficiency of the State governments in the more important matters affecting their "general welfare," have tacitly permitted, and are, now, constantly promoting the assumption by the central authority—the National Government—acting within constitutional limitations, of a great part (not purely local in nature) of the real police powers and functions of government. This is significant. In it we see both the modern craving for sincerity and efficiency in public service, and the naturally increasing demands upon centralized power arising from the rapidly growing homogeneity of our people.

In our daily life there are many striking illustrations of this natural growth of the national life, and many evidences of the constant study of the people, and of the separate States, to increase, under the Constitution, the power and efficiency of the united people as a Nation. In action of this nature, we find an open confession of weakness and helplessness on the part of the States, quite conclusive in support of the demands for centralized action wherever constitutionally possible. We refer, particularly, to the repeated and persistent attempts, on the part of

the different States, to secure *uniformity* of State legislation and action in all matters (insurance, divorce and commercial law, for example) admitted to be, perhaps exclusively, within State jurisdiction, and in respect to which the conflicting practices of forty-six different States have produced evils seriously interfering with the life and growth of a people, now united in the pursuit of common interests. Speaking generally, whenever the subject-matter of legislation covers two or more States, such uniformity of regulation becomes essential, and it can be absolutely secured only through *national* control, exercised under the Constitution or an amendment thereof. That is the national tendency, which, as the generations come and go, will unquestionably be completely worked out.

Centralization itself, indeed, is but the natural striving of the people for *uniformity*—for real and “perfect union” and mutual trust, as distinguished from the disintegrating and devitalizing selfishness of independent State action. The separate State sovereignties, revolving about the national centre, are, through the natural operation of cohesion and centripetal force, gradually being brought together on all subjects of common interest. Mutual trust and confidence, mutual service and interdependence, are working out the golden rule in interstate relations and activities. Truly, their provincial and selfish bachelorhood has been succeeded by the national intermarriage of the States, and upon the fruition of that marriage the welfare of the world now hangs.

The calls upon the Nation, for the performance of particular duties bearing upon the “general welfare” of the people, are numerous—as, for instance, frequently, for the preservation of peace within State boundaries, the establishment of an adequate quarantine, the promotion of irrigation and forestry, the prevention or remedying of loss and damage due to extraordinary catastrophes within the States, the universal enforcement of the national anti-trust law and other Federal interstate-commerce laws, the aid and advancement of memorial and historical celebrations and expositions by the States, the development and enlargement of agricultural pursuits within the several States (and, in that connection, we may note the recently reported request for the destruction, for example, in the South, of the boll-weevil in the cotton-fields, and, in New England, of the gypsy-moth pest)—although many of these matters may, at times, decidedly strain

the expressly granted powers of the National Government, and although, very often, they directly affect State interests and property rights of individuals secured by State franchises and laws.

What is more to the point, it has now become self-evident that, inasmuch as this problem of wealth of necessity affects most seriously the "general welfare" and "domestic tranquillity" of the whole people, it cannot be dealt with satisfactorily by the several States, but must be cared for by the nation itself, which was constituted for the express purpose of dealing with subjects of that nature. In that respect, the Confederation was a failure, for that experiment demonstrated that nothing less than the entire people, united as a Nation, can possibly cope effectively with such conditions. Accordingly, we find that the attempts of the States to regulate so-called "trusts" or monopolies have, for this reason, been abortive, and, as the President has said, with much justice, it was mere "sham and pretence" to expect anything else. It is both physically and constitutionally impossible for one State to legislate or act for the whole, and, besides, each State has its own special and selfish interests to subserve. Texas, for example, one of the parents of anti-capitalistic legislation, having attempted, like Illinois in another connection, by every sort of device and indirection, to except her own agricultural and cattle interests from the operation of her anti-trust laws, when informed by the courts that she had not legally made, and could not make, such exceptions, at once lost much of her ardor in her anti-trust activities.

That uniformity and effectiveness of regulation, which can come only from national intervention, is made necessary by the constant shocks to business produced by these fragmentary attempts of the different States to enforce their many different anti-trust laws, of which, it is believed, there are three or four score in existence. All of the important business of the country is now interstate, demanding uniform laws and regulations. It is, in large part, conducted by foreign corporations—that is to say, corporations organized in States other than those in which they are found from time to time carrying on business. Many of these foreign corporations are called "trusts." Startling as it may seem to the lay mind, such corporations, formed in one State, have, under the Constitution, no absolute right to enter

and do business in such other States, and, in carrying on business there, act only in the exercise of a mere license, which all States, other than the parent State granting the charter, may revoke at pleasure. It has even been seriously argued, if not judicially determined, that such corporations and their property, in States other than those of their origin, may, under certain circumstances, become bound by statutes unconstitutional as to all other persons; and it is settled that no corporation is entitled to any of the privileges or immunities of citizens. Bearing in mind the magnitude of the property interests represented by such foreign corporations in the several States—for, probably, the larger part of the vitally important business of the country is now being conducted by such foreign corporations—we at once see that, under existing circumstances, their security, like that of the corporate interests of England, rests only upon the conservatism and good-will of the people—here, the majority of the voters in the several States.

It is practically impossible for these great corporate interests to comply with the widely diverging requirements of the laws of forty-six States, which are constantly changing, and are applied with no uniformity as to either procedure or subject-matter. The “establishment of justice,” for which this Union stands, demands that these great interests, many of them vital to the people’s welfare, be protected by that uniformity of regulation which can come only from the Nation; and that same justice, for the protection of the people themselves, requires that this use of corporate wealth by foreign corporations be *effectively and uniformly* controlled. As it is, substantially all that any State can do is to tax such corporations, in the form of license fees, and in other ways, or exclude them from its boundaries, besides imposing, for the violation of State laws, a fine, which, for present purposes, we may assume to be confiscatory. All this, however, is plainly inadequate, for the corporations (or so-called “trusts”) excluded by Massachusetts, Missouri or Texas, for example, will continue their business in adjoining States (which, from considerations of material gain, may purposely refrain from adverse action), and, acting by other agencies, or under other names, will even return to the originally hostile States. There have been many instances of this procedure. By this crude enforcement of inadequate laws, the people, acting through the agency of the

States, practically, thus far, have accomplished nothing toward the solution of this problem of wealth. Here, then, is a point at which the people are beginning to insist upon uniformity of remedial control, which the Nation alone can furnish.

This archaic and wholly unpractical and incapacitating doctrine as to foreign corporations operating within the several States is plainly unjust to both the corporations and the people. The corporations themselves would enthusiastically welcome the uniformity of national regulation — and this, for the sake of the uniformity, and not by reason of any assumed comparative facility in controlling the action of Congress, as a single legislative body. Such facility does not, and cannot, exist, and there is no such danger to the body politic. A large part of the wealth of the country is under the control of, and is produced by, these very foreign corporations. Looking to the common advantage and the general welfare, the people demand, indeed have determined, that the acquisition, use and distribution of that wealth should be controlled. On the part of the corporations, the time has come when their best interests require uniformity in such control. How shall it be accomplished? And how shall the individual wealth, amassed through the use of this corporate wealth, be controlled in respect to acquisition, use and transmission? These questions are of great moment, and, as indicated, State action cannot be effective, and, indeed, has been demonstrated to be, at the best, utterly ineffective.

In any consideration of the proper ways and means at the command of the Nation, with which, under present conditions, to meet this possible emergency in our national life, due to this spirit of discontent, it must be borne in mind that the evident folly of expecting, or assuming, that adequate remedies can be furnished by the individual States is no greater than is the folly of the assumption that so-called "trusts," in the form of incorporated aggregations of excessive wealth, are mainly responsible for the conditions complained of, and that a few penalties, more or less, imposed upon them, perhaps accompanied by their dissolution and the punishment of their individual officers, will remedy the whole evil and satisfy the public desire. Nothing could be further removed from the fact. It is possible, by these and other methods, to regulate, to some extent, the abuse by wealth of its opportunities, but the regulation, to be effective, in

the estimation of our people, and to be fair to the interests of all citizens, must be so adjusted that it will regulate the interstate business, not only of plethoric incorporated wealth, but also of associated, partnership or individual wealth, as well. Regulation, to be such in substance and not merely in form, must operate upon all interests, whether individualized or associated.

The "anti-trust" crusade has never been satisfactory, in either motive or result. It has been, heretofore, always more or less spasmodic on the part of both the State and Federal authorities, and has been aimed only at the alleged abuses of opportunity by wealthy corporations. On the part of the States, prosecutions, it is believed, have been dictated usually by selfish or political considerations, or by the cupidity of petty prosecuting officers entitled to a share of the penalties. There has been no disinterested, whole-hearted, earnest and systematic effort to discover and remedy real abuses, and no effective step has been taken to reach the individual, alone or in association with others. Until individual wealth is reached and regulated, little can be accomplished in satisfying the demands of the people.

We must never lose sight of the fact, for it is a fact, that the dissolution of a few great corporations, or combinations of corporations, will not, and cannot, even seriously curb the evil sought to be controlled, for the reason that the property of the corporations cannot be taken from them, except in the form of *ordinary* penalties (the law will not tolerate excessive, unusual or extraordinary fines, forfeitures or punishments, or confiscation in any form), and that the dissolution of the combination or corporation merely means the formal and nominal subdivision of the combined wealth, and the organization of new corporations by the same individual owners. Or, if confiscation of property be indulged in (Missouri now claims the right), the property, unless physically destroyed, will always return by purchase, directly or indirectly, to the original interested individuals. That is the uniform experience in such matters. This natural course and order of things cannot be seriously obstructed by law. The result of the Northern Securities dissolution—greatly adding to the wealth and opportunities of the individual constituents of the combination—and the equally ineffectual attacks on the Standard Oil Companies, are unanswerable illustrations in point. The actual ineffectiveness of these methods of procedure is only fully

appreciated by those having competent knowledge of the situation. They only serve to scratch the surface or to stir up muddy waters. Such results can never satisfy the people, now thoroughly aroused, and will no longer even serve the purpose of political plays to the gallery. These methods will, however, without producing substantial results, needlessly inflame the worst passions of a certain section of the populace, and in that way the sober judgment and purpose of the great majority of our citizens will be defeated. In short, incorporated wealth is but a means; and, to reach the difficulty, we must find the individual organizers of the corporations, whose great wealth has been combined in that form, so that, whatever the *form* of its use, that wealth, in its substance, wherever employed, will be regulated in its use and made to bear its proper burdens. Toward the accomplishment of that end, it is at once seen, the regulation of corporations is but a step. What, then, can we properly do to reach the individual, the association and the partnership, as well—the real users and abusers of wealth?

For one thing, the rights of property must be respected, and Anglo-Saxon traditions on that head must be observed. Life, liberty and property are alike protected by constitutions and by laws. Under our institutions, property is almost as sacred as life itself. We can never deprive a citizen of his fundamental right to acquire property; and, even conceding the recognized power, it is not in the nature of things that we should ever deprive him of the ability and capacity to transmit at least a large portion of the property acquired. The right of acquisition and the ability to dispose of property furnish the necessary selfish motive power and incentive for human development. A law fundamentally impairing either would affect each citizen in a vital degree, upset the social structure and disrupt the State itself. It has been well said that the right to transmit property has a tendency to make of a man a good citizen and a useful member of society, prompting him to deserve well of the public, when he is sure that the reward of his services will not die with him.*

It is, therefore, the suggestion of a merely academic proposition, the prompting of a vivid imagination, to say that the States have the abstract power to prevent the transmission of property by will or upon intestacy. That power will never be exercised. We

* 2 Blackstone's Commentaries, page 11.

have passed beyond the era of semi-savagery when it might have been called into play. The right to acquire and to use is unlimited, except as controlled by taxation and the requirements of the public use. The transmission of what has been acquired will, as a consequence, always be left practically intact, except as regulated and controlled in respect to manner and amount, and as limited by taxation.

It is, however, evident that the creation and increase, by different methods of use, as well as the transmission, of individual wealth, must be regulated—all this in the interest of its possessors, as well as of the public; for, as we have said, on the consent and action of the people at large must, in the last analysis, depend the security of wealth.

In the first place, because involving this whole subject, our system—or lack of system—of Federal taxation should be scientifically overhauled and remodelled by a commission of qualified experts. This is of the essence of the situation, and its importance cannot be over-emphasized. The time for haphazard taxation, through the tariff or otherwise, has passed. A proper use of the taxing power, for the “general welfare,” coupled with an exercise of the plenary interstate-commerce power, will remedy most of the evils complained of from time to time.

The greatest source of discontent, even among the majority of our citizens who believe thoroughly in the principle and system of protection, is the existing tariff. Their complaint is a just one, for, where protection for several important industries long ago ceased to be necessary, there have been built up, in the name of the protective tariff, special privileges on which great capitalists have fattened, under the very eyes, and at the sore expense, of our citizens as domestic consumers. When, in the ordinary course of business, and as a matter of daily routine, the domestic manufacturer regularly sells his product in foreign markets for a sum substantially less than his price to the home consumer, under similar circumstances and conditions, in order to maintain the high-tariff price in the home markets, originally established and acquiesced in a generation ago for the benefit of infant industries, it is high time that something be done, since the difference between these prices, plus freight and other items, represents the voluntary contributions of our citizens to the already overgrown surplus-capital of the manufacturer.

That method of using wealth has become an abuse which the American electorate, now well informed on the situation, will no longer tolerate. Let the protective tariff, as a system, stand, by all means; but let the Republican Party remove these abuses. Let an end be made of these shocking special privileges, which are plainly, day by day, adding to the wealth of the few. The people are watching and waiting. If one agency refuses to act, another will be made to act.

Again, while watching the inordinate growth of mere surplus wealth from such unjustifiable tariff abuses, the people are confronted by an extraordinary increase in the cost of the necessities of life. The press and public officials have made superficial references to this latter fact, and reasons for an ordinary and temporary increase in the prices of many things are apparent; but no attempt has been made to trace the cause of the almost intolerable burden of the permanently enhanced cost of most of our necessary food-supplies. The people, however, have been thinking. It is believed to be the fact that never before in human history has the practice, condemned of old, of forestalling, engrossing and regrating in articles of prime necessity (that is to say, the monopolistic purchasing, in advance of market requirements, and the storing, of an entire food-supply, with a view to the creation of a future stringency, and a consequent artificial market with an artificially enhanced retail price) been carried to so diabolically perfect and scientific a consummation as at the present time. The cold-storage plants of the country, supposed to be "trusts" of the first magnitude, are believed to be wonderfully complete, and into their capacious maws, it is understood, are poured substantially entire supplies of vegetables, fruits, meats, eggs and fish, to be doled out at times and prices arbitrarily fixed to suit the pleasure and the pockets of the powers in control. The foreign markets, in order to maintain domestic prices, are favored with shipments of any surplus supplies. The results are seen in our current high prices, and the distinct inferiority of our raw-food supplies. This is a crying evil, and, if we do not pay heed to the conditions, the passions of the people may be unduly aroused. New legislation is needed. Speculation in food products should be made impossible. Let us learn the truth concerning this matter. Let the whole cold-storage business and

the laying up of our food-supplies be carefully investigated, and then wisely regulated, under both Federal and State laws.*

Next in order should come, in the interest of the corporations and the public alike, a complete system of Federal control of corporations doing an interstate business, which means substantially all corporations doing any important part of the business of the country. The Supreme Court of the United States will eventually be called upon to determine whether, in the exercise of the power to authorize and require the incorporation under Federal laws of all corporations engaged in interstate commerce, Congress may, at the same time, confer upon such corporations the power to manufacture and produce within the States. Much may be said in favor of the contention that the latter power must be regarded as a necessary incident of the former—as a means to the end—since there can be no commerce without production and manufacture, the basis of all trade and the first step in commerce itself. It is said that, unless Congress can regulate the first step, and this means to the end, it cannot effectually exercise its power of control. While that is probably not true, it is to be hoped that a scientifically framed Federal corporation law may be adopted and sustained. Operating uniformly throughout the country, and offering to the public opportunities for effective regulation, such a law would, as we have said, be welcomed by all corporations, and would be a boon both to them and to the people. Whether Congress may empower corporations to manufacture and produce within the States or not, it is clear that the privilege to engage in interstate commerce may be conditioned upon incorporation under Federal law, and the submission to Federal regulation, such Federal incorporation to be *supplemental and in addition to incorporation under State laws*, which may confer original powers to manufacture, produce or engage in other business. This is not an unusual expedient. The corporation will then be protected in all its interstate relations by both charters, and in all its interstate and foreign relations by its Federal charter, in this way avoid-

* In advance of an investigation, it would be unjust to pass final judgment in this matter, and what is here said only expresses a belief and understanding. Nevertheless, the very nature of the subject and its intimate relation to the well-being of our people create a necessity for a prompt and searching inquiry. The Agricultural Departments and penal statutes of the States are believed to be utterly ineffective.

ing the absurd embarrassments resulting from the foreign-corporation doctrine as now understood and administered.*

Whatever may be possible in the matter of Federal incorporation, it is clear that Federal control and regulation of all corporations, associations, partnerships and individuals doing an interstate business may be exercised and enforced through the medium of a required license for the conduct of such a business. Such a license may, as a condition precedent, require compliance with all of the restrictive regulations which Congress may see fit to impose. There is practically no limit to the control which the Federal authorities may thus exercise over the affairs and conduct of corporations, including all of the great corporations or so-called "trusts," for they are necessarily all engaged in interstate commerce.

This brings us to the really effective regulation of the use and transmission of all wealth, both corporate and individual—indeed, there is hardly a subject-matter that cannot be regulated—through the exercise, for the "general welfare of the United States," of the *taxing power* of the Federal Government. For

* Mr. Pinkney, in his argument in *M'Culloch vs. Maryland*, 4 Wheaton, at page 381, said:

"Has Congress, abstractedly, the authority to erect corporations? This authority is not more a sovereign power than many other powers which are acknowledged to exist, and which are but means to an end. All the objects of the Government are national objects, and the means are, and must be, fitted to accomplish them. These objects are enumerated in the Constitution, and have no limits but the Constitution itself. A more perfect union is to be formed; justice to be established; domestic tranquillity insured; the common defence provided for; the general welfare promoted; the blessings of liberty secured to the present generation, and to posterity. For the attainment of these vast objects, the Government is armed with powers and faculties corresponding in magnitude."

And again, at page 384:

"The State governments cannot establish corporations to carry into effect the national powers given to Congress, nor can Congress create corporations to execute the peculiar duties of the State governments. But so much of the power or faculty of incorporation as concerns national objects has passed away from the State legislatures, and is vested in the national government. An act of incorporation is but a law, and laws are but means to promote the legitimate end of all government—the felicity of the people."

In accepting the principles thus expressed, and in referring to the enumerated powers of the Government, Chief-Justice Marshall, in the same case, said (at page 407):

"... We find the great powers to lay and collect taxes; to borrow money; to *regulate commerce*; to declare and conduct a war; and to raise and support armies and navies. The sword and the purse, all the external relations, and *no inconsiderable portion of the industry of the nation*, are entrusted to its Government."

the ineffectiveness and wastefulness involved in the irreconcilable confusion arising from the attempts of forty-six different State jurisdictions to regulate, by taxation and otherwise, a single business, we may substitute one central authority, representing the whole people, with all of whom, it may be assumed, all of the great business in question is conducted.

The taxing power of Congress is unlimited, except that it cannot tax exports, and that direct taxes must be apportioned and indirect taxes must be uniform. It is to be exercised not merely to pay "debts" and provide for the "common defence," but for the "*general welfare*."* Speaking of the Federal power to tax, the Supreme Court has recently said:

"The power to tax is the one great power upon which the whole national fabric is based. It is as necessary to the existence and prosperity of a nation as is the air he breathes to the natural man. It is *not only the power to destroy, but it is also the power to keep alive.*"†

The taxing power may be exercised through the medium of a license fee, or, if there be a valid Federal corporation law, a regular corporation tax, as to corporations, and a license fee, also, as to all partnerships and associations. It would also be per-

* Constitution, Art. I, Section 8, Cl. 1.

† *Nicol vs. Ames*, 173 U. S., at page 515.

It is well to bear in mind the utterances of Chief-Justice Marshall on the subject of taxation in *M'Culloch vs. Maryland*, 4 Wheaton, at pp. 428 and 431. He there said:

"It is admitted that the power of taxing the people and their property is essential to the very existence of government, and may be legitimately exercised on the objects to which it is applicable to the utmost extent to which the Government may choose to carry it. The only security against abuse of this power is found in the structure of the Government itself. In imposing a tax the legislature acts upon its constituents. This is in general a sufficient security against erroneous and oppressive taxation.

"The people of a State, therefore, give to their Government a right of taxing themselves and their property, and as the exigencies of Government cannot be limited, they prescribe no limits to the exercise of this right, resting confidently on the interest of the legislator, and on the influence of the constituents over their representative, to guard them against its abuse" (p. 428).

"That the power to tax involves the power to destroy; that the power to destroy may defeat and render useless the power to create . . . are propositions not to be denied. But all inconsistencies are to be reconciled by the magic of the word *confidence*. Taxation, it is said, does not necessarily and unavoidably destroy. To carry it to the excess of destruction would be an abuse, to presume which would banish that confidence which is essential to all government" (p. 431).

fectly feasible to lay a license tax on individuals doing an interstate business, graduating it according to the amount done. This tax or fee would be in addition to the other requirements prescribed by Congress as conditions for the issuance of a license.

Not only a license fee for the privilege of engaging in interstate commerce, but a graduated income tax has been suggested—the chief burden to be placed upon income derived from investments (taxing it, with the corporations, at its source), as distinguished from earned income, and the whole to be so graduated that the larger incomes shall pay the larger tax. The tax should reach practically all of the people, and thus add to their interest in government. It should begin with small incomes, as small, perhaps, as \$300—on which the tax should be comparatively trifling—and should recognize few, if any, exemptions. Substantially all of the shockingly unconscionable exemptions of the last act of 1894 should be abolished. They made of that act almost a scandal. And why should we not have such a tax? It is *perfectly constitutional*, even if it be universally applied, provided it be levied by the rule of apportionment, and be divided among the several States, as in the case of all direct taxes. So the Supreme Court of the United States has declared.

The Constitution provides that:*

“Representatives and direct taxes shall be *apportioned among the several States* which may be included with this Union *according to their respective numbers*, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of *free persons*, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians, not taxed, *three-fifths of all other persons.*”

And that:†

“No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid unless in proportion to the census, or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.”

In the interpretation of these clauses, the Supreme Court, not disputing the validity of income taxes in general, merely condemned the last income-tax act of 1894 *because it was not levied by the rule of apportionment*. There has been much misconception on this point. It has been loudly and passionately proclaimed that the courts have declared all income taxes to be unconstitu-

* Article I, Sec. 2, Cl. 3.

† Article I, Sec. 9, Cl. 4.

tional. Nothing could be more misleading. Income taxes, as such, have always been upheld. This last income-tax law was condemned, because not laid, *in form*, as the Constitution requires.*

It is true that an income tax, as a direct tax, Congress may hesitate to levy, because the rule of apportionment, in accordance

* The Supreme Court of the United States, in passing upon the law of 1894, applied certain ancient and fundamental principles, which, now that both lay and judicial minds are no longer swayed by the passion of the hour, are recognized as fixed and immutable, and the applicability of which is admitted to be beyond the possibility of further debate. There has, however, been much conflict as to the application of certain precedents, but that can have nothing whatever to do with the conclusive effect of the principles applied in this latest case.

The Court merely held that, in respect to both real and personal property, a tax on the income thereof was a direct tax on the property itself; for, if you take of the fruit of the thing, you necessarily take, to that extent, of the thing itself. To lessen the use or the fruits of property, is directly to take a part of its value. As a direct levy upon property, therefore, the tax was held to be a direct tax, like any other property tax, as contradistinguished from a mere indirect tax, in the form of an excise tax, or duty. As a direct tax, it should have been levied by the rule of apportionment prescribed by the Constitution. Congress failed to provide for this *form* of levy, and for that failure of Congress, as to that particular law, it was necessarily held to be unconstitutional—a perfectly natural and proper outcome, which ought never to have excited comment, much less the intemperate, inconsiderate and disgraceful criticism of the judiciary with which we have become familiar. Such criticism, which, even to this day, is still heard, must charitably be assumed to be based on utter ignorance of the points involved and of the meaning of the decision of the Court. Indeed, had the criticism been technically justifiable, the decision having been made by judges whose moral character and whose personal motives and actions were beyond all possible criticism, no such comment should ever have been heard in an Anglo-Saxon community. Judicial action, taken in good faith by an upright judge, should never, under our institutions, be made the subject of general or popular criticism. This absurd criticism of the income-tax decision—frequently heard in high quarters—has simply served to cause needless grief and sorrow among that great majority of our fellow citizens who fondly cherish the justly high and immaculate repute of that greatest of Courts—the mainstay of our institutions—as the most precious possession of our beloved country.

The coldly deliberate and wholly conclusive legal argument (accepted by the majority of the Court), in support of the application of those principles, which really worked this necessary judicial condemnation of the income-tax law of 1894, although constituting the subject-matter of one of Mr. Choate's most brilliant oral arguments before that Court, was, in fact, framed in a brief by that ablest of legal minds at the American Bar, Mr. Charles F. Southmayd, of New York, the long-time partner of Mr. Evarts and Mr. Choate. He is unknown to the public at large, but for years, prior to his retirement from active practice, in 1883-4, his associates and the courts had learned, almost as a habit, to place absolutely implicit confidence in the conclusions formulated in his arguments. It is fitting that some passing note, at least, should be made of his connection with that great case, and of *his complete responsibility for the argument which prevailed.*

with the rule of representation, under the census, originally designed for the protection of the South as against an undue apportionment, based upon its total slave population, will, in the judgment of the South, due to that same population, now free, bear more heavily, in proportion, upon that section than upon the other sections of the country, and also because the Middle and New England States and the great Middle West will continue to insist that, owing to the accumulations of wealth within their borders, they will be called upon to pay an unfair amount of such tax. Still, if the people really want, and insist upon, an income tax, it will unquestionably be levied and collected. That is the sole test—the people's will and behest. If it be real and expressed, their command will prevail

There is no practical difficulty in apportioning an income tax as a direct tax. The States may pay their quotas, raising the funds therefor as they please; or the Federal Government, such payment failing, may proceed to collect in each State the portion levied therein, in the ordinary manner prescribed for the collection of an income tax.

And, then, an inheritance tax is suggested. And why not that, also? Of both income and inheritance taxes the President has spoken, and no one need be startled by the suggestion. Both are plainly constitutional, and have been sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States—an income tax, even though graduated and levied on all incomes, from all property, provided it be levied by the rule of apportionment, and an inheritance tax, even though graduated and levied upon the transmission of all property, by the rule of progression, so that the larger the estate and the amount of property transferred, the greater will be the tax it shall be made to pay.

These matters have been discussed and are reasonably well understood. But now let us turn to a somewhat new and necessary departure. We may regulate the transmission of wealth, and even its possession, by these latter taxes. How can we, within the four corners of our Constitution, otherwise control its *accumulation*? Let us see. We must reach the individual, the association and the partnership, as well as the corporation, and so work out justice and a "square deal."

The power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce is, in modern interpretation, almost limitless, but we need not go to

the limit. We have seen that the interstate-commerce license fee is a practical suggestion. It is a franchise tax, and Congress may constitutionally *measure the amount* of the tax or fee in any arbitrary manner, quite at its pleasure. Let Congress combine the essential features of the franchise or license fee with those of a graduated and progressive tax. Let the interstate-commerce license fee be imposed on *all* corporations, individuals, partnerships or associations, and let it be *measured* by the total amount of the *gross sales or gross receipts* in the business of each. At the same time, let the rate of the tax or fee be graduated in accordance with the amount of capital employed, directly or indirectly, in the business, and let the rate advance, in each case, progressively, with the amount of gross sales or receipts, to the end that the small business may not be unduly or unjustly burdened. The tax, in each case, will thus depend entirely on the extent and power of the capital employed and the amount of the business done. While the chief business of the country is interstate, this *measure* of the tax, for the privilege of conducting interstate commerce, should be based upon the total gross sales or receipts *of the entire business, wherever conducted*. No avenue of escape should be left for the elusive capital employed. It should include all capital represented by capital stock, and all borrowed capital represented by bonds, certificates of indebtedness, notes, or any other obligation of the owner of the business. It should include all capital directly or indirectly represented in a common interest or ownership, through stockholding, directly or through others, or allied or subsidiary corporations or concerns, all of whose gross sales or receipts should also be included, in arriving at the total tax upon the real proprietor of the business. In this way the carefully drawn statute would prevent the securing of a lower rate of tax upon the smaller capital of a subsidiary business. The amount of *gross sales or receipts* should be taken, in order to prevent the reduction of the tax by the deduction of padded charges in arriving at so-called net sales or receipts.

This classification, by capital and sales or receipts, is reasonable and proper for the purposes of taxation, and wholly unobjectionable from the standpoint of the Constitution. The precise classification, however, should be just, and not confiscatory, and should be the result of careful and most deliberate investigation and study of the various business interests of the country. Excessive profits from the

use or abuse of special privileges and public utilities—even of patent rights—may thus be reduced and returned to the public. A just and proper return upon all capital may be, in effect, prescribed and limited by the imposition of this tax, *measured* in these ways, and a control may be exercised over the business of the country and the employment of capital which must satisfy the people.

Through wise and skilful graduation of the tax, it may not only be made possible for the small business to compete with the great aggregations of capital in the same business, but also be made impossible for the great capitalists to compete with the small; for, owing to the lighter burden of the tax, the latter should be enabled constantly to undersell or underbid the former. As a result, the overgrown consolidations would be forced to split up, and we should enter upon *a more healthy era of comparatively small dealers*, the goal toward which the people are now looking. No excessively capitalized business and no so-called overgrown “trusts” could possibly exist for any length of time, and pay a profit, under the burden of such a tax, when properly graduated and laid.

Such a fee or tax would not lead to an increase of prices, with a view of imposing its burden upon the consumer, because the motive therefor is wholly removed by the progressive feature of the tax, since the greater the prices and the returns on gross sales or receipts, the greater will be the tax. Practically speaking, therefore, the burden of such a tax can never be made to fall on the consumer.*

Indeed, it is by no means certain that, apart from an interstate-commerce license fee, Congress might not lay an excise duty on the *business of all* dealers and manufacturers, graduated and progressive in amount, and measured by gross sales. Such a tax should be so framed as plainly to constitute an excise or indirect tax, and not a direct tax.

The single expedient of an interstate-commerce license fee may, of course, be accompanied by all of the necessary regulations, in the matter of capitalization, reports, publicity, inspection and visitation, which the wisdom of Congress may devise as requisite to accomplish the result aimed at. That result, pri-

* While this article was in press, the legislature of the State of Texas undertook to pass an extremely radical bill taxing gross receipts.

marily the regulation of the use, and the prevention of the abuse, of wealth, will thus be brought about without committing the country to any new or untried theories, socialistic, anarchistic or individualistic, and without disturbing the rights of property, or interfering with the course of nature in respect to reasonable consolidation and combination. Then, too, as a scheme of taxation, it will always be perfectly elastic, and easily adjustable at all times to meet changes in conditions, and to remedy any injustice through proportionate inequality of burden or otherwise.

If, without adopting new and untried theories in radical legislation, Congress really wants a remedy for existing conditions, and really and earnestly desires to satisfy a just public demand and to remedy admitted evils bearing sorely upon the people, let it set to work on these simple lines, and all will be well.

As bearing upon this problem of wealth, we cannot overlook the present agitation as to the railroad situation and, generally, as to our public utilities and public-service corporations. Here, again, we are passing through a stage of development. We are aiming toward the general welfare, but that does not necessarily mean immediate public ownership, because, until public men and the people at large have been so trained and educated by the friction of years, perhaps of generations, that the public can be given a service as efficient and economical as that furnished by individuals under the incentive of reasonable private gain, there is no excuse or justification for public ownership and operation, and, from the standpoint of the people's welfare, it falls little short of a crime seriously to advocate it, at this time, as a practical proposition. The people, however, are entitled to assure themselves, by proper regulation, that the service is efficient, and the private profit derived from such utilities is only just and reasonable; and this may effectively be done through skilled and expert commissions. In this way, rates, with other charges and details of operation, may be advantageously regulated and fixed, and, speaking from experience, there is no doubt as to the practical desirability of such regulation. But the regulating body must be highly skilled and very highly paid. We have no *such* commissions or bodies now in existence. Political expediency at present plays too constant a part in their selection. To speak the truth, we are to-day, as a people, perhaps hardly ripe even for proper and effective regulation of this sort. We are still

immature, and must work out, for a much longer period, the mistakes and experiments of youth. Let it be understood, however, that such commissions are not lawmaking bodies. They are merely executive agencies, to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed," and, as such, are bodies which must be responsible solely to the Chief Executive, and for which he alone must in turn be responsible to the people. A consideration of this legal and logical condition will remove many misconceptions.

In these ways shall wealth be made to bear its proportionate burden, its special opportunities be curbed, and the opportunities of all be more nearly equalized, for thereby the returns from the employment of wealth may be absolutely limited, and its inordinate increase may be satisfactorily controlled. Thus, also, shall the possessors of wealth be secured in their property rights by the conservative good sense of our people, who will then be assured that, at last, wealth is paying to the community what it owes for the privilege of withdrawing its large share from the common stock, and for that protection of its private ownership which the community has been pleased to accord. Such is the reciprocal effect of the imposition and satisfaction of a just obligation.

Again, why not use the national taxing power to regulate evil insurance practices? Neither the interstate commerce nor any other power of the Federal Government, other than the taxing power, can operate directly upon insurance. If, for instance, deferred dividends and tontine insurance, with the abuses resulting from a consequent overgrown surplus, be deemed to be evils, why not tax all companies issuing such policies, prohibitively, through an excise tax? The burden upon the individual policyholder would be only trifling, incidental and temporary, and would be wholly justifiable. With such a tax imposed, competition between the companies would soon regulate the abuses. Or, proceeding indirectly, why not deny access to the Federal Courts and deny the use of the post-offices to insurance companies which shall fail to comply with a Federal insurance law prescribing remedies for such recognized abuses—a perfectly proper use of Federal power?*

It is well settled that, in the exercise of a recognized power,

* Recently, since this was written, it has been elsewhere suggested, but only with a limited application, that use of the post-office be refused. There need be no limit on the effective exercise of that power.

the motives of Congress for the enactment of the legislation in question are not to be inquired into, and are immaterial. The motive may involve the destruction of the subject-matter, but the legislation must be taken at its constitutional face value. We naturally recall, in that connection, the tax on State bank issues and the oleomargarine tax—both touching on the States' rights and powers most intimately, and both acting, as Congress intended, prohibitively and destructively on the subject-matter.

As to the divorce evil, for example, while exercising great care not to cast a burden upon the judicial power of the States, why not exact from the plaintiff a license fee—not so heavy as to be prohibitive, but sufficient in amount to prevent haphazard and thoughtless action—and also provide, in the exercise of the power (conferred by Article IV, Section 1, of the Constitution) to prescribe the "*effect*" which shall be given to the acts, records and proceedings of the several States, that the decree of divorce shall have no "*effect*," and shall be *unenforceable*, outside of the State by whose court it was rendered, until the plaintiff shall have paid such Federal license fee, *and unless* the divorce shall have been granted for such causes, and after such a period of residence, and upon such service of process, as Congress shall prescribe, or *unless all other conditions, formulated by Congress, shall have been complied with?*

Will it be said that, in this manner, the Nation will absorb the police power of the States, that, eventually, they may have no part to play in the national drama, and that home rule will become a farce? Hardly so, for the States will always be what, in analogy to town and county governments, well understood by them, the framers of the Constitution intended them to be, that is to say, primarily and ultimately, the instruments for purely local government and for home rule, on a larger scale, in the communities within their several jurisdictions. It is a striking error to assume that the passing of States' rights, as formerly understood, precludes the possibility of self-government or home rule. On the contrary, the future function of the State, as the instrument for home or local government, is fixed and determined. Of course, we must not forget that what was distinctly local, a generation ago, may now be a matter of national concern. That is natural development. The fading away of the ancient States'-rights doctrine (which is really merely the

elimination of State differences—due to our existing *homogeneity*—in matters affecting the “*general welfare*”) has nothing to do with the virile assertion of *State sovereignty*, for the preservation of our dual system is absolutely essential to the proper development of real home rule and of the best national spirit. At the same time, it has always been recognized that even State sovereignty must be sacrificed to the *happiness of the people*.*

Time and space will not permit the enlargement of these suggestions as to remedies, but they are capable of almost indefinite extension, for there is no recognizable limit to the national life, and to the legitimate and proper exercise of the national functions *under the Constitution*. It is a *Constitution* of general principles, not an ephemeral statute of infinite detail, under which we live, and, with the growth of the tree, the protecting bark is constantly stretching and accomodating itself to the new conditions.†

These discussions and problems of the moment need not disturb us, for love of country has become our bulwark. We are a *Nation*, not a confederation, and the future is now secure. As with the fathers, so with us. The “stepping-stones of” our “dead selves” reach up to higher spheres of national action. God lives. Let us have faith.

WILLIAM V. ROWE.

* Madison, in the *Federalist*—Lodge's Ed., page 287—XLV.

† “The Constitution is a written instrument. As such, its meaning does not alter. That which it meant when adopted, it means now. Being a grant of powers to a Government *its language is general, and, as changes come in social and political life, it embraces in its grasp all new conditions which are within the scope of the powers in terms conferred. In other words, while the powers granted do not change, they apply from generation to generation to all things to which they are in their nature applicable.* This in no manner abridges the fact of its changeless nature and meaning.”

South Carolina vs. U. S., 199 U. S., at pp. 448-9 (1905).

Due to pardonable misunderstanding on the part of laymen (and misconceptions on the part of lawyers, even) some most enlightened and timely expositions of this settled principle, in its application to present-day conditions and the desirable enlargement of these Federal powers, because making for efficiency, have recently been unjustly and severely criticised on the ground that they suggest something new—a radical executive coercing of constitutional constructions from the Supreme Court, a packing of the Court, etc. On the contrary, they have uttered and applied only this very old thought and principle, in a perfectly legitimate and praiseworthy manner. *Constructions* of the Constitution must always be sought, when *new conditions*, from time to time, demand *new applications* of its *fixed principles*. If there be no principle in the Constitution applicable to such conditions, or if the people desire changes, of course, resort must be had to the power of amendment. No sane man could ever state or think anything else.

HAYDON.

BY ARTHUR CHRISTOPHER BENSON.

I HAVE just finished reading what I believe to be one of the most tragic books in the history of art and letters—the Autobiography and Journals of B. R. Haydon.* Its tragedy lies in the fact that we have there revealed, in what may be called absolute nudity, the thoughts and struggles of a man of genius and enthusiasm, who lacked the power of adequate expression. Haydon was inspired by a devotion to art that verged on frenzy. He gave up the certainty of a comfortable maintenance for life, when he was almost a boy, by refusing to enter his father's business, in order that he might devote himself wholly to painting. He gave himself to the production of historical pictures on a gigantic scale, and refused to admit of any sort of compromise. The taste of the day was all for portraits and *genre* pictures. Later in life, under the pressure of necessity, he painted portraits and pictures of common life, but only that he might devote himself to his chosen branch of art. For over forty years he carried on an almost incredible struggle with every kind of difficulty. He saw his old companions, such as Wilkie and Jackson, succeed; he was constantly in debt; he was several times imprisoned. He could not sell his pictures, he could not get any one to listen to him. He quarrelled hopelessly with the Academy, and was the victim of constant misrepresentation and malignity. He finally died by his own hand, worn out in the struggle. More than half his days were spent in wandering about from creditor to creditor, begging and borrowing money from every possible quarter. Yet he lived on terms of intimacy with the greatest writers and statesmen of the time. He was the friend and

* "The Life of Benjamin Robert Haydon, Historical Painter, from his Autobiography and Journals, edited and compiled by Tom Taylor, 1853."

associate of Wordsworth, Lamb, Keats, Walter Scott, Lord Melbourne, Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington. Indeed, there was hardly a prominent man from whom he did not borrow money, or whom he did not besiege with letters entreating them to encourage high art.

Much of his misfortune was due, no doubt, to his own fault. He was vain, irascible, egotistical, vehement. He could not keep his hands off public controversy. As a young man, being disappointed at the place assigned to one of his first pictures, he abused and vilified the Academy and its methods in unguarded terms. He was extravagant and improvident, and in money matters shamelessly importunate. But, for all that, his devotion to art was of a noble and magnificent quality. He was a deeply religious man, and never began a picture without long and earnest prayer. He was devoted to the work of early Italian painters, and was one of the first to recognize the surpassing merits of the Elgin Marbles. In the presence of great art he was like a man inspired, and the description of the delight he found in his work is deeply stimulating. Yet he effected nothing, and his pictures are practically forgotten. His chief idea was that artists should be employed to decorate great spaces in public buildings with colossal historical paintings; and the nearest he came to effecting anything was when the frescoes in the House of Lords were determined upon. But as a matter of fact, though Haydon did not know it, this decision was due far more to the influence of the Prince Consort than to any national impulse. One of the most tragic moments of Haydon's life was when he sent in designs for the competition for these frescoes, and his pictures were rejected; but he had lost by this time all his earlier force, and he mistook haste for facility. This was perhaps the determining cause of his suicide; he was certainly deranged at the end of his life, and the *post mortem* examination revealed disease of the brain, while his last memoranda, made on the morning of his death, show signs of insanity. Yet the act was in a sense deliberate. He had shown all his life an extraordinary power of recuperation, and of casting off disappointment. His art was to him a source of divine consolation and enjoyment, and when the pressure of difficulties was momentarily removed, he dashed back to his painting like a man inspired.

Thus, on October 1st, 1806, in his twenty-first year, he writes:

"Setting my palette and taking brush in hand, I knelt down and prayed God to bless my career, to grant me energy to create a new era in art, and to rouse the people and patrons to a just estimate of the moral value of historical painting. . . . I arose with that peculiar calm which in me always accompanies such expressions of deep gratitude, and looking fearlessly at my unblemished canvas, in a species of spasmodic fury I dashed down the first touch. I stopped; and said, 'Now I have begun; never can that last moment be recalled.'"

Some ten years after this he wrote, in his thirtieth year:

"I took again the state of my exchequer into review, and asked myself, shall I paint for money, or by borrowing as I did when engaged on Solomon, keeping my mind in its high key, and go on watching, exciting, and regulating the public mind? The battle about to be fought (I said to myself) is a great battle. I cannot suffer my attention to be turned off."

Sixteen years later he writes, at the age of forty-five:

"July 20th (1831). A quarter to nine. This moment I have conceived my background stronger than ever. I strode about the room imitating the blast of a trumpet,—my cheeks full of blood, and my heart beating with a glorious beat. Oh, who would exchange these moments for a throne?

" 'Here is my throne—let kings bow down to it!'

"Now, for my palette—and then, canvas, look sharp!"

Let us hear him seven years later, in 1838, at the age of fifty-two:

"When I come to dinner my dear Mary says I have been a great deal alone. Such a sensation never enters my head. I never feel alone. With visions of ancient heroes, pictures of Christ, principles of ancient Art, humorous subjects, deductions, sarcasms against the Academy, piercing remembrance of my dear children, all crowding upon me, I paint, write, conceive and fall asleep, start up refreshed, eat my lunch with the fierceness of Polyphemus, return to my room, go on till near dinner, walk, dine, read the paper, return to my study, complete what I have been doing, or muse till dusk, then to bed, lamenting my mortality at being fatigued. I never rest, I talk all night in my sleep, start up: I scarce know whether I did not even relish ruin, as a source of increased activity."

And again four years later (1842), within four years from his death:

"July 9th. How delightfully time flies when one paints! Delicious art—the bane and blessing of my life! Painted in delicious and ex-

quisite misery. A bill due and no money. Went out for it last night, and came home wet, weary and disappointed."

"July 13th. Huzza—Huzza—Huzza; and one cheer more! My cartoon is up, and makes my heart beat, as all large bare spaces do, and ever have done. Difficulties to conquer. Victories to win. Enemies to beat. The nation to please. The honour of England to be kept up.

"Huzza—Huzza—Huzza; and one cheer more!"

It will be seen from these extracts how fiercely the fire of art burnt in the man. The marvel is how, with his debts forever hanging over him, and with the consciousness of failure, perpetually renewed, he kept this spirit active. He was to a certain extent sustained by a prodigious vanity; he talks of his genius, almost without ostentation, as a simply incontestable thing. He speaks naïvely of his intention to put up a brass plate, in one of the studios he had used, to state that there he had painted his picture of Solomon's Judgment. He never seems to have had the slightest misgiving about his ultimate fame. But there can surely be few instances of artists who have prolonged this sort of youthful delirium of enjoyment and enthusiasm to the threshold of age; and even if there have been instances, I know of no one who has described it himself with such gusto.

Yet, egotistical though he was, he was an adoring husband and a tender father. He must have had a real charm of manner and nature, because he seems very seldom to have alienated a friend, even by his inveterate demands for money. His landlord, to whom he owed thousands, treated him with patience, affection, and even reverence; believed in him, lent him money, never quarrelled with him, though Haydon constantly wrote to him with extraordinary offensiveness. He had a way of taking an unfinished picture to a creditor, pointing out its merits, and saying, "There, is it not a pity to prevent that being finished?" which often produced a further loan. The fact is that there was probably something naïve, childlike, and appealing about him, which made others feel in a way responsible for him.

He was, moreover, virtuous, temperate and industrious. He wasted time only over controversy, or books in which he got absorbed, like a child, so that the flight of time and all external impressions were obliterated. He was not convivial or dissolute; he was not a gossip. He lived the quietest of family lives, and he and his wife were as lovers to the end. Perhaps the very days

when, weary and dragged, he hurried from creditor to money-lender and back again, saved him from overstrain of hand and eye and mind, by substituting one activity for another. Who knows? He certainly kept his health and his spirits in a marvellous fashion. When it is said that it is worry that kills, and not hard work, one thinks of Haydon. A month of days such as he describes in hundreds would have broken the heart of many sensitive men. But Haydon was so penetrated by the thought of his right to live and to be maintained, the greatness of his destiny, and the splendor of his vocation, that he did not suffer, it seems, from scruples about money. It did not appear to press on his mind that he was using the hard-won earnings of the tradesmen he failed to pay. When he was insolvent and had got his discharge, he thought no more of his former debts; his new debts were only to him a species of trial which he must bear with fortitude. No scruples of honor or honesty seem to have troubled him. He did not wish to have his work interrupted; but as long as he was not conscious of extravagance, as long as he considered he was living simply, he seems to have thought that he had a right to be supported, whether the money was obtained by begging or borrowing. There are many schedules of his debts and of his earnings given in the book, from which it is clear that, if he could have lived as many men of small incomes have to live, he could have supported himself. But he seems to have thought that he was entitled to live at the rate of about £800 a year when his earnings averaged about £500; but to reduce his scale of living seems not to have occurred to him. If he had chosen from the first to bestow a part of his time on saleable work, such as portraits or casual commissions, and to devote the rest of his time to idealistic work, he would not only have kept straight pecuniarily, but he would probably have painted better. But when he was once embarked on one of his great pictures, there was nothing he would not do to achieve his end. He would make studies for days together from living models and from antique sculpture; he thought nothing of blotting out a figure over which he had worked for weeks, to put it in a few inches higher. And the absorption in his work was so entire that nothing could distract him. He received the news of his father's death, by letter, while he was painting his picture of Solomon's Judgment, but he was so preoccupied, he says, in painting a head, that, though

he read the letter, he could not stop until he had finished the head, and not till then did his loss come home to him. Yet he was a man of the deepest and tenderest affections. He describes the death of two of his children with intense emotion. He lost a little girl named Fanny, to whom he was devoted, in her third year:

"My sweet Fanny died. . . . There is now such an intimate connection with me and the grave that I shall never break the chain. I pierce through the earth, the coffin and the lid, and see her lying still and awful. At breakfast, at dinner, at tea, I see her. I look forward to my own death with placid resignation, and only hope God, in His mercy, will not let me suffer much. . . .

"Peace to her little soul—born weakly, but her weakness aggravated by improper treatment; always ill, in a large family, wanting repose and rest and never getting it. What a weakly child suffers from the healthy children! Good God! The teasing, the quizzing, the tyranny, the injustice."

The same week his little boy, Alfred, of whom he was devotedly fond, lay dying too. Yet this extraordinary man could write in his diary:

"24th Oct. Began my picture with dear Alfred's head, who is dying too. I went on painting and crying. There he sat, drooping like a surcharged flower: as I looked at him, I thought what an exquisite subject a dying child would make. There he dozed, beautiful and sickly, his feet, his dear hands, his head, all drooping and dying.

"25th. Rubbed in the dying boy to-day. It will make a most piercing subject."

There is nothing heartless about this, because Haydon was the most loving of fathers. Indeed, he gave the same intense love to his two stepsons, his wife's children by a former husband, that he gave to his own sons, educating them, borrowing money to pay for them, following their careers, manifesting a simple pride in them, and grieving over one of them who died as passionately as if he had been his own child.

Yet the artistic emotion was as strong as the natural affection; and if in the midst of his tears he thought that his dying child would make an affecting subject for a picture, why, it was only a reason the more for loving him and sketching him.

Quite apart from this personal interest, and the self-revelation of these volumes, there is the extraordinary interest of the person-

alities with whom Haydon came in contact. He observed them with an artist's eye, and he had a knack of picturesque portraiture as well. His description of the Duke of Wellington, with whom he stayed at Walmer, romping with his grandchildren on the ramparts and pelting them, or driving the party to bed by lighting the bed-candles with a prodigious yawn, is a splendid piece of characterization; or the account of Lord Melbourne sitting, discussing art, in his dressing-gown, with his neck bare, and his charming half-mocking, half-affectionate smile, is imperishable. Then, too, there is the description of the famous dinner-party in Haydon's rooms, at which Lamb, Wordsworth and Keats were present, when Lamb declared that Newton had destroyed the poetry of the rainbow by reducing it to prismatic colors, and proposed the toast, "Newton's health and confusion to mathematics!" The party were joined by a respectable comptroller of stamps who wished to see Wordsworth and plied him with questions. "Don't you think, sir, Milton was a great genius?" Lamb was dozing by the fire, half intoxicated, and turning round said, "Pray, sir, did you say Milton was a great genius?" "No, sir," said the comptroller, "I asked Mr. Wordsworth if he were not." Charles Lamb began to sing nursery rhymes, and, taking a candle, said to the poor comptroller, "Sir, will you allow me to look at your phrenological development?" "Charles! my dear Charles!" said Wordsworth. The others got Lamb away, and into the painting-room, where he continued to sing the nursery rhymes, and to ask to be allowed to feel the comptroller's bumps.

But, of all the affecting descriptions, the last sight Haydon had of Sir Walter Scott, who was just on the eve of starting for his last voyage to Italy, is the most pathetic. He was much distressed at the alteration in Scott.

"He said he feared he had occasionally done too much at a time, as we all do. . . . After a quarter of an hour I took my leave, and as I arose he got up, took his stick, with that sidelong look of his, and then burst forth that beautiful smile of heart and feeling, geniality of soul, manly courage and tenderness of mien, which neither sculptor nor painter has ever touched. It was the smile of a superior creature, who would have gathered humanity under the shelter of its wings, and while he was amused at its follies, would have saved it from sorrow and sheltered it from pain. Perhaps it may be the last time I am ever to see him, as he sails in a day or two; and if it be, I shall rejoice that this was the last impression."

The man who writes thus is not a mere artist or a mere observer, but a true hero-worshipper, with a desirous glance that pierces into the soul.

But there falls upon us a melancholy shadow of reflection. If the result of Haydon's life of wild enthusiasm, of wrestling with difficulties, of fervent prayer, of solemn, abstracted, secluded visions, had been to produce some imperishable pictures, how we should have glowed and luxuriated over the record! How often we should have said, "Here we can look into the very fiery furnace of genius, and see the forms that walk there, see the divine visitant attend upon shrinking humanity!" How unquestionably should we have attributed the result to the process, the beauty of conception to the fine reverie, the finished technique to the indefatigable patience! How preachers and lecturers would have bidden us to observe the unflagging hand, the uplifted heart, the almost intolerable glow of genius! And yet the truth is that we have every manifestation of genius here except the great result; we have all the rapture, all the perseverance, all the self-consolation, all the indomitable courage; and yet there were half a dozen artists of the day, painting tranquilly and indifferently, whose pictures are not only better known, but actually finer, more inspiring, more beautiful than Haydon's. Take the fashionable sociable life of Lawrence; almost the only thing he had in common with Haydon was his inability to manage money. Take the tranquil, kindly, comfortable life of Reynolds, always the same, as Johnson said, perfectly equable in spirit and benevolent in mind. Take the sordid, ugly, laborious, mean, suspicious life of Turner, and compare these with Haydon's exaltations and raptures. Of course, it may be said that perhaps Turner and Reynolds did not say what they felt, while Haydon had the art of expression, the egotistical need for self-revelation. But we have no reason to suspect Reynolds or Turner of these joyful visions, and we can hardly believe that some hint of it would not have escaped them if they had been there.

And here lies the supreme sadness of this record. The life of Haydon is the record of a man of real genius, who joined to an intense and absorbing enthusiasm for art, a delight in detailed labor, a patience, a tenacity, a courage and a tenderness that deserved the highest rewards. Yet he received little but discouragement,

sordid trials, contempt, derision, malignity. His consolations were his art and his friends; and it is curious to note that, though his conduct is singularly wanting in many of the qualities that earn respect, he seems to have won and retained the respect and admiration of his friends in a singular degree. Yet with all this devotion to art he achieved very little. His pictures are melodramatic, distorted, disjointed, unequal. Hundreds of artists, without a tenth of Haydon's enthusiasm and tenacity, have attained and deserved success by a certain dexterity of hand. Men of mean, petty, ungenerous and spiteful character have had the power, through their skill in arousing the emotions of their admirers, to a degree that Haydon never attained. Haydon's art was the imperfect expression of a character which, with all its patent faults, had yet something divinely inspired about it. And yet artists who have had no sort of depth of inspiration, no particular tenacity of character, no passionate quality of soul, have contrived to do the very thing that Haydon agonized to do and failed to achieve. The story has a hard and a sad moral, which seems to be that no amount of enthusiasm, no amount of sedulous or strenuous practice, can ever make up for the absence of a certain instinctive knack of presentment. Given this knack of presentment, intellectual force, enthusiasm, zest, patience all tell; but, without it, all these qualities can effect nothing. For want of it, Haydon has no permanent place in the hierarchy of art. Yet, on the other side, this very deficiency lends a touch of pathos and romance to a figure of a man who coveted not only renown, but the opportunity of exercising the noblest and purest influence. The soul-history of Haydon restores the balance, by teaching us not to be too much dazzled by the rewards of art. We are apt to think of the great artist as the benefactor of the human race, and of the unsuccessful artist as a poor dilettante creature who might better have confined himself to some humble and useful pursuit. But, after all, for each human being it is the quest, and the spirit in which the quest is pursued, that matter. When we have subtracted Haydon's gross and patent faults, his vanity, his intemperate vehemence, his inconsiderateness, his pettiness, there remains a very august figure, penetrated with glowing enthusiasm, throbbing from head to foot with divine emotion. Take away from Haydon's life his bitter days of trudging about from creditor to creditor, from prison to pawnshop, there remains an

amount, a quality, of happiness such as falls to the lot of but few of us. We may remember the sonnet, prophetic almost in character, which Wordsworth wrote for Haydon's encouragement some thirty years before the sad ending:

“And oh, when nature sinks, as oft she may,
Through long-liv'd pressure of obscure distress,
Still to be strenuous for the bright reward,
And in the soul admit of no decay,
Brook no continuance of weak-mindedness,—
Great is the glory, for the strife is hard.”

ARTHUR CHRISTOPHER BENSON.

MILK: A REMARKABLE FOOD.

BY HENRY DWIGHT CHAPIN, M.D.

PERHAPS there is no article of diet with which every one is so familiar as milk, and about which so little is generally known. If the question, "What is there peculiar about milk as a food?" were asked, most persons would reply, "It is a liquid food furnished by Nature for young animals," and they would feel that the question had been answered properly. But to the inquiring mind there arise the questions, "Why is milk furnished by the mother?" and, "What is there about it that makes it suitable for young animals?" And the answers to these questions must be known before any intelligent idea of the properties of milk can be had.

Up to within a few years it was customary to regard anatomy and physiology as two distinct branches of knowledge, which were to be studied separately; but at last it dawned upon students that the structure of an animal, an organ or the composition of certain animal secretions is constituted to enable them to perform special functions to the best advantage, and that structure and function should always be studied together.

For many years the anatomy of milk, or its composition alone, was studied, and all that was discovered of a practical nature was that milk contains the elements needed for the formation of blood, muscle and bone, and that a portion of the milk would form curds either in the stomach or when kept long enough for it to sour.

These facts had been known for ages to practical observers who had had no special training, and really added nothing of value to the sum of human knowledge. But about four years ago it was suggested that possibly the curding of milk in the

stomach might serve a useful purpose in digestion, and the fact that milk formed curds might be one of the reasons for its being furnished to young animals. In other words, there was applied to the study of milk the principle that its composition and function should be considered together, and it is safe to say that, as a result, more has been learned about milk of practical value in infant-feeding in the last three or four years than in several centuries previous.

To-day we have an entirely different conception of milk as a food than was held by the leading authorities five years ago, and what was mysterious and unfathomable then is as clear as day now.

Almost every one knows that if a hen's egg is kept under suitable conditions for about three weeks, a fully formed and developed chick will emerge from the shell, but when a fresh egg is opened no sign of an organism is present. However, at one side of the yolk is a minute cell which contains the vital principle of the future fowl; and, strange as it may seem, this cell begins to eat the contents of the egg-shell and transforms them into tissues of the chick. This process may be watched by holding the egg to the light, when the developing of the chick may be followed from hour to hour. When the chick comes out of the shell, it is not dependent on its parent's body for food, but is capable of picking up worms and seeds and digesting them. It will be noticed that the hen supplies enough material in an egg to produce a fully formed progeny, and the chick is not started out in life with imperfectly formed organs. It will be further noticed that no young animal is independent of the mother until its digestive organs are developed.

Now, some birds when hatched are not as well developed as chicks, and the parents secure suitable food and bring it to their young as robins are often seen doing. In Australia is found the peculiar animal called the Duck Bill, which looks like a combination of a bird and an animal. This Duck Bill lays eggs with a lime shell like a bird and incubates them in a nest. When the young are hatched they are in an imperfectly developed condition, but instead of securing food for its young, as many birds do, the Duck Bill suckles them. In another form of animal, the Spiny Anteater, the egg is laid and hatched in an abdominal pouch, and the young is suckled in this pouch. With the

Kangaroo the egg is not laid at all, but is hatched inside the mother's body, and the young is then born and placed in an abdominal pouch, where it grows fast to a nipple, the mother ejecting milk or some suitable fluid into its digestive organs, until it is able to suckle, when its mouth ceases to be attached to the nipple. Soon the young animal thrusts its head out of the pouch and begins to nibble grass, and when it is capable of subsisting on such food it leaves the pouch and the milk secretion fails.

In the case of a chick, the young never derives any nourishment directly from its mother's body, all of the food needed for its development being secreted by her at one time; while in the case of a kangaroo very little of the food needed for its growth is supplied in the form of an egg, almost all being derived from the mother's nipple, a little at a time. Here is seen the highest development of the mammary function, and from the fact that the mouth of the young grows fast to the mother's nipple it will not be difficult to conclude that Nature did not intend any other food than that supplied by the mother to go into the young animal's stomach, and that no other form of food is entirely suitable.

In a hen's egg only one form of food is supplied to the developing chick, but during the period of a calf's life, before weaning, the cow supplies nourishment in at least five different forms to suit different stages of the calf's development. Milk is the last of the five special forms of food supplied by Nature for developing animals.

Structure and Function of Milk.—When milk is allowed to stand undisturbed, a layer of cream appears on the top, which is composed largely of butter or fat. When milk sours, a solid mass or curd forms; this curd is similar to lean meat in composition. A thin, watery liquid separates from the curd, and in it are dissolved a peculiar kind of sugar, a substance somewhat like white of egg, and some mineral matter. A chemical analysis of milk consists in determining the quantity of each of these component parts of milk.

The portion of the milk that forms curds serves to build blood and tissue; the mineral matter solidifies the bones, while the fat and sugar are used to supply fuel to maintain heat and the energy needed to carry on the vital processes. A chemical an-

alysis shows all foods that can support life to contain the same food elements, although they may differ markedly in appearance and taste. From a food chemist's standpoint there is no difference between a beefsteak, a pork chop and the curd of milk. Each is composed of the substance called proteid, required for tissue-building, and it is this ingredient that such a food analysis shows.

Placing too much value on a food analysis may lead to erroneous and often absurd conclusions, and it is now recognized by the leading investigators of the problems of animal nutrition that a food analysis is useful principally for showing whether or not a material contains the elementary food substances, and in what proportions. The *suitability* of the material as a food can only be determined by feeding experiments with various animals. It may suit one species and be wholly unfitted for another kind of animal. As an example of how misleading a chemical analysis by itself may be, it can be shown that a sandwich and a glass of water may have identically the same composition as a glass of milk.

It might be true that they were identical in nutritive value, but it would be absurd to conclude that therefore they were interchangeable as foods; but many similar conclusions have been drawn concerning milk which will have to be eradicated from the popular mind and also from many medical teachers' minds. A revolution among the medical profession concerning the milk question is now taking place.

There are few who do not know that pepsin is secreted by the stomach for the purpose of digesting meat and similar foods. When pepsin is added to cow's milk it does not commence to digest it, but changes it into a solid jelly. The gastric secretion of the adult is acid, like vinegar, and when this acid comes in contact with the jelly formed from the milk by pepsin, it causes a remarkable change to take place; the jelly begins to shrink and become tough and fibrous like the breast of chicken. In other words, the digestive secretions change milk into a solid food in the stomach, pepsin alone making a jelly, and pepsin and acid—the gastric secretion of the adult—changing it into a decidedly solid food.

The dessert junket is milk to which rennet, which contains pepsin, is added. Every cook knows how tough the junket be-

comes if the milk is slightly soured when used, and the toughening effect of acid can be readily shown by adding a little vinegar after the milk has "set."

Now, when most young animals are born their digestive organs are not developed, and while they are developing Nature supplies two different kinds of nourishment. Milk is not secreted by the mother until a few days after birth, another food—colostrum—being supplied at first. The first digestive secretion to appear in the stomach is pepsin, and when milk reaches the stomach it is converted into soft jelly, which is passed along into the intestines to be digested there, as pepsin does not digest food unless acid is present. As the stomach becomes stronger and begins to secrete acid as well as pepsin, the food becomes a little more solid and the stomach does more work; this increase of work continues as the stomach becomes stronger and really develops the stomach, for it has been found that young animals whose food does not furnish the suitable kind of work for the stomach do not thrive and develop, and that they suffer from obscure diseases, which are cured by furnishing the food that keeps the stomach properly occupied.

To state the matter in a few words, milk is a food peculiarly suited to the digestive organs *while they are developing*, and is so constituted that the digestive secretions can change it into a solid food, which is very soft when the digestive juices are weak, but becomes more solid as they become stronger.

Milks of Different Species.—If all young animals grew with the same degree of rapidity and all had the same kind of digestive organs, there would probably be but one kind of milk; but, as it is, there are many kinds, each peculiarly suited to the needs of the animal for which it was intended. Chemical analysis shows that animals whose growth is rapid are supplied with milk rich in tissue-building elements, while the milk supplied to animals whose growth is slower contains much less of the tissue-building food. Again, when pepsin and acid are added to the different kinds of milk, the solids formed from the milk are not alike. The milk of animals who chew their food thoroughly forms a finely divided mass, while milk supplied by animals whose stomachs are adapted for coarse, fibrous food forms a solid mass. The differences between human milk and cow's milk in this respect are very great, and few physicians to-day think

of feeding cow's milk to young infants without modifying it so that it will not form an indigestible mass in the infant's stomach. There are quite a number of ways of doing this, no one of which is suitable for every case, and the skill of the physician is often taxed to the utmost to find the one that is adapted to a given infant.

When weaning occurs, one kind of animal is capable of digesting meat, another grass, and another a mixed diet, and each of these types of animals has distinctive kinds of digestive organs which have been developed *by the mother's milk*. As the foods of the weaned animals are not interchangeable, it is not surprising that the mothers' milks are not interchangeable. It would be strange if they were.

At one time it was widely believed in the United States that cow's milk could be changed into human milk by a simple process, and this will be found taught in many medical books even to-day. But since the newer method of studying milk has been followed, it has been found that the process supposed to change cow's milk into human milk by the adding of alkalis had no such effect, but acted by preventing the action of the pepsin and acid of the stomach on the milk and throwing the milk in a fluid condition into the intestines. While it cannot be proved that this method of manipulating the food of infants has impaired their digestive capacity, the question has been raised as to whether the inability of modern infants to digest table food as early as the infants of a few years past is not due to this continuous prevention of stomach digestion. It is well worth pondering, and already there is a tendency among physicians to avoid the prevention of stomach digestion of milk by artificially fed infants as a routine practice, and to confine this practice to infants whose stomachs are disordered.

New View-point of Infant-feeding.—To-day it is believed by leading authorities that fresh cow's milk should be the basis of an artificial food for infants, not because it is more nutritive than many other foods, for it is not, but because of its being the only available nutritive material that will form a solid food of varying degrees of digestibility when acted upon by the secretions of the developing stomach. While human milk, which normally adapts itself to the infant's stomach, cannot be made from cow's milk, still, by careful watching and manipulating, the food can

be adjusted to the stomach and a well-developed digestive apparatus can be produced.

By having food contain about the same quantities of the basic food elements as are found in human milk, proper growth and nutrition are insured and a well-rounded-out child is the result.

When once the value of milk as a food for infants is appreciated, it will not be difficult to grasp the importance of a supply of good, fresh milk. It does not necessarily follow that milk six or eight hours old is really fresher and better than milk thirty-six hours old. It may be in a worse condition, for all depends upon how the milk is handled.

Milk, as it leaves the cow's udder, contains bacteria. If the cow is dirty or there is loose hay around, dust from the cow's body and the hay settles in the milk-pail, and this dust is swarming with bacteria. As soon as they reach the warm milk they commence to multiply, and in a few hours they may have increased until there are millions to the teaspoonful of milk. It is these bacteria that cause milk to sour, but most of them are not only harmless but positively beneficial. According to Professor Conn, half a teaspoonful of cream which was sour enough to be churned for butter-making contained 1,300,000,000 bacteria. If bacteria were as harmful as some imagine, no one would be alive, for who has not drunk buttermilk or eaten cottage-cheese made from sour milk which contains so many bacteria that few could grasp the numbers contained in a pint of it.

The bacteria are plants belonging to the same class as yeast and mushrooms. No one is afraid to use yeast in bread-making, or to eat mushrooms, so no one should be afraid to drink milk simply because it contains similar vegetable forms. Sometimes poisonous bacteria get into milk, but the cases of poisoning resulting are, comparatively speaking, rare, and no one need give up drinking milk on this account.

Whatever danger there may be attending the use of milk may be greatly lessened by care. If the cows and their surroundings are kept clean, the number of bacteria that get into the milk will be greatly lessened, and by cooling the milk to below forty-five degrees Fahr. and keeping it cool the multiplication of bacteria is prevented. Milk kept cool for a week may be in much better condition than milk ten hours old that has been kept at body temperature. At the Paris Exposition in 1900, milk shipped

from Illinois, New York and New Jersey was in better condition than the fresh milk of Paris a day old. All of the French milk soured the second or third day, and it was hard to convince the European experts that nothing was done to make the American milks keep except to exercise extra cleanliness in their production and subject them to low temperature, as they were not familiar with icing milk.

Pasteurization of Milk.—In Europe, milk is heated to kill the bacteria. Heating the milk to 212 degrees Fahr. (boiling it) is called sterilizing, and heating to about 170 degrees Fahr, for twenty minutes is called Pasteurizing. These processes are employed abroad largely because ice is not used to any extent. Five years ago the writer found that Paris used about 65,000 tons of ice a year, London 160,000 tons, while New York consumed about 3,000,000 tons; so it will be seen that conditions differ widely in these cities, and the arguments for Pasteurization that apply to Europe are not altogether applicable to America.

If Pasteurization made milk a perfectly safe food and had no drawbacks, it would be adopted everywhere. But it kills most of the harmless bacteria and leaves a free field to some of the worst forms, which are often killed off by the harmless kinds. This is often seen when unsweetened, canned condensed milk is used. If the can is left open in a warm place it does not sour, but putrefies and becomes like tainted meat, which is often intensely poisonous. Pasteurized milk should be kept cool, or it will soon be swarming with bacteria which are likely to be more harmful than the bacteria of unheated milk.

It is claimed by some that the germs of consumption, diphtheria, scarlet fever and typhoid fever are often carried by milk, and that these would be killed if all milk were Pasteurized. There can be no doubt that this occasionally happens, but it is known that these diseases are not spread exclusively by milk. Consumption among human beings is decreasing where the modern method of treatment is employed, and this consists of giving the patient a large number of raw eggs and several quarts of *raw milk* each day, and plenty of fresh air. If the milk were all Pasteurized and sold as at present, dipped out of cans, it could be readily reinfected by flies, dust, contaminated water and the hands of the milk-dealers; so unless the milk were put up in sealed bottles, which were kept cool until opened by the consumer, no real test of the effects

of Pasteurization could be made. All of this costs money and many will not, or cannot, pay advanced prices for milk. If they could, it would not be difficult to secure milk of undoubted wholesomeness that was produced under medical supervision, which renders Pasteurization unnecessary. The whole question of a safe milk-supply in most American cities and towns rests on a willingness to pay for the increased amount of care necessary to produce it.

It is often pointed out that the distribution of Pasteurized milk among the poor of New York City has reduced the death-rate among infants, but it should be remembered that this milk is not plain cow's milk that has been heated, but Pasteurized modified milk put up in nursing-bottles ready for use and kept on ice until distributed. Any one who has not practised medicine among the poor in the cities cannot appreciate the gross ignorance and carelessness shown in the feeding of infants, and how nearly hopeless it is to try to have food properly prepared and cared for among this class of patients, and what a boon it is to be able to have them obtain milk already prepared.

Is the high death-rate among children due entirely or largely to the milk-supply? This is a question the writer has tried hard to answer for his own satisfaction. Statistics may be a form of lies, as it is said they often are, but we all have to use them. In the portion of New York State outside of Greater New York and its suburbs, there were, according to the figures of the New York State Board of Health, 2,727 deaths from acute diarrheal disease from May 1 to November 1, 1895, most of which were among children. In Greater New York and suburbs there were 5,559 deaths from the same cause. In the year 1896 there were 3,039 deaths in the country districts, an increase of 312; and in Greater New York and suburbs 4,908, a decrease of 651 during the same period. If the milk carried the infection, and this came from the country districts, as New York imports most of its milk, and was older when used in the city and presumably in worse condition than when used in the country districts, there ought to have been a marked increase of deaths in New York City. But here is an example of increase of deaths in the country and decrease in the city from the same disease.

In other years the deaths in the city and country increase or

decrease together, or one remains stationary, while the other varies. In the summer of 1900 there were 1,015 more deaths from acute diarrheal disease in the country districts than in 1899, an increase of nearly fifty per cent., while in Greater New York and suburbs there were only 310 more deaths than in 1899, an increase of only about eight per cent. In 1901, during the same period, there were 1,304 less deaths in the country districts than in 1900, a decrease of forty-seven per cent., while in Greater New York and suburbs there were 2,248 more deaths than in 1900, an increase of fifty-eight per cent. This was the summer in which New York was torn up from one end to the other to build the subway, when sewers were opened and filth and dust were everywhere. It is well known that dust and filth are the great sources of disease, and it is certainly at least suggestive that they, and not the milk-supply, caused the great increase of death from diarrheal diseases in New York during the summer of 1900.

I have tried to give a fair statement of the facts concerning milk, looking at the subject from all standpoints, so that the reader can do some thinking on his own account and draw his own conclusions, and not be forced to choose between the opinions of different authorities scattered over the entire world where conditions are often totally different. The opinions of authorities have been known to change, and it is to be feared that there are fashions in authorities as well as in clothes.

There is one point on which all right-thinking persons will agree, and that is that the milk-supply should be above suspicion. But if the general public will not voluntarily buy the purest, cleanest milk when it is offered to them, will they vote to have laws passed compelling themselves to buy it, by forbidding the sale of any other kind of milk? The price of milk will have to go up if a cleaner milk is to be sold, for the margin of profit to the farmer now is so small that it does not obtrude itself upon his attention, and cleaner and more sanitary milk means expenditure of labor, and this costs money.

HENRY DWIGHT CHAPIN.

THE HOPE OF THE PHILIPPINES.

BY MAJOR LOUIS LIVINGSTON SEAMAN, LATE SURGEON UNITED STATES VOLUNTEERS.

As colonizers, in the practical acceptance of the word, Americans are not and never can be successful, because of the excessive idealism of their aspirations. Despite the general belief that the acquisition of the Almighty Dollar is the height of our ambition as a people, the aims of all American military expeditions, throughout our entire history, have been absolutely altruistic—always for the elevation of the downtrodden or the relief of the victims of tyranny. We have constantly endeavored to create self-respecting, self-supporting citizens, capable of appreciating liberty and of intelligently exercising that greatest of all blessings, self-government.

Can history furnish a parallel to America's disinterested emancipation of Cuba from Spain? It involved a war with a European Power, the loss of the lives of thousands of her free-born citizens, and the expenditure, with unexampled prodigality, of a round billion from her treasury. Then, after stamping out tyranny, she completed the conquest by putting the island in sanitary condition and transferring it to a liberated people, giving them their lands, their cities and their homes, together with a promise of protection from other Powers through the Monroe Doctrine, without saddling the country with a financial claim of indemnity for a single cent. Would this have been the policy of the other great colonizing countries of the world? The recent action of the so-called "Powers" in Africa does not tend to indicate that it would. Since the wonderful discoveries of Livingstone, which so greatly stimulated the world's appreciation of the possibilities of that continent, there has been going on in that vast domain a carnival of territorial lust unprecedented in history. It cul-

minated some twenty years ago in the so-called partitioning of the continent by the Powers, who, in their division of the spoils, followed, like the robber barons of feudal times,

“The good old rule, the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can.”

And what has been done there in the name of civilization to justify this robbery of a continent? Very little, beyond the systematized collection of taxes so onerous as to practically reduce the natives to abject servitude.

A similar spoliation, on a somewhat smaller scale, would have occurred in the Celestial Empire after the Boxer war had not the diplomacy of Europe been defeated there. The allied armies of eight nations were there waiting, watching each other like hungry buzzards, for the final dissolution of the sick man of the Far East, when they thought another opportunity would offer for an extension of their territorial spheres. But the humane and enlightened policy of Mr. Hay, demanding the preservation of the integrity of China and the maintenance of the open door, was successful, and the people of that unhappy land were rescued from the fate of the helpless, and almost hopeless, Africans of to-day. And let it never be forgotten they were rescued by America.

On the occasion of a second and recent outbreak in Cuba, when internal dissensions disturbed the peace and order of that country and necessitated its occupation by an army of intervention, America did not take advantage of the opportunity to seize that gem of the Antilles to make it a tributary to her treasury.

Nor did we seek the Philippines for territorial aggrandizement. They fell to us as the unexpected, but legitimate, result of war, and when they were definitely ceded to us by treaty we paid for them with clean American gold. Twice I have visited these islands, once as an active participant in the wretched war that began in 1898, and which is likely to continue intermittently for centuries—if the testimony of almost every army officer who has served there can be accepted—if we remain there so long. But since our occupation of the archipelago, the real motive of America in administering its affairs has been absolutely unselfish. Of the hundreds of millions sunk in that region of treachery

and savagery it is doubtful whether America will ever reap the benefit of so much as the price of the homeward passage for its army.

Was it as a stepping-stone for the trade of the Orient that we retained possession of the Philippines? The oldest and most respected American merchant in China, one who has spent forty years in the Orient and has represented his Government in various important capacities, said to me while discussing this point:

“As well might America regard the Bermudas or the Canary Isles as stepping-stones for the English, French or German trade of Europe, as require the Philippines for the advancement of trade in the East. Instead of a help they are a direct menace, requiring protection and provoking international jealousies; and, in case of war, they would be a constant source of the gravest danger because of their great distance from our base.”

Is it for the financial advantage of the United States that our thousand school-teachers are now drawing salaries in the attempt to educate these semi-savage, deceitful Malays, tainted with Spanish cross, who for centuries will be unable to eradicate the treacherous and cowardly instincts of their race? “By the same path must ye walk” is as true to-day as it was two thousand years ago. The continuity of history cannot be broken; a people cannot break with its past; immemorial heredity must be remembered. To suppose that from the low-bred Filipino there could be evolved in a single generation one worthy or competent to exercise self-government, is to ignore every law of anthropology and natural selection, and to indulge in the wildest optimism. Is it possible to believe that such a creature, the natural product of his tropical environment—whose evolution has taken ages in the development of the instincts of cunning and treachery, the characteristics and qualities that have enabled him to preserve his existence in the land of the tiger and the viper—could be suddenly translated into a self-governing citizen? The Anglo-Saxon of temperate clime has required many centuries of natural selection to evolve from his savagery. As the cave-man, he too was full of ferocity, guarding his home and his family with his life. Evolving from the dark ages through feudal days assisted by the teaching and traditions of the Church, the example of Greece and Rome and the Free Cities of Europe, profiting by the lessons of the Reformation, the influence of the thought of great leaders, by long wars

for the vindication of right, by Magna Charta, the printing-press, the drama, the French Revolution, and our own Revolution; through all these things he gradually developed from ignorance and superstition into a thinking, self-governing man. But in this development it required a thousand years to free him from his ignorance and moral serfdom, and to prepare him to rule himself. Is the African or Malay savage so infinitely the intellectual and moral superior of the Caucasian, that he can emerge from his savagery into this sphere of civilization, and attain this rich inheritance, in a single decade? Is this self-governing ability (which is not yet overdeveloped among ourselves, as the resident of any great American city must confess) to be hypodermically injected in concentrated essence into the ignorant, treacherous, low-bred Filipino, by bullets, or prayer-books, or school-houses, in a generation, so as to qualify him for beneficent assimilation? The suggestion is preposterous.

I believe the most practical solution of the Philippine problem—if the American people are foolish enough to continue their extravagant experiment there, or if we are not relieved of the responsibility of the islands by neutralizing them, or through some foreign complication—is to allow them to follow the course of natural selection through the importation of the Chinaman. His exclusion from these islands was a diplomatic blunder, comparable only with the treatment of the Oriental on our Pacific coast at the instigation of the Sand-lot orators, the charlatan politicians, and the yellow journalism of California. When I was last in the Philippines there were about one hundred thousand Chinese there, who formed by far the most industrious class of the inhabitants. The Chinese *mestizo* (half Chinese and half Filipino) is acknowledged to be superior to the Eurasian, or *mestizo* of Occidental cross—as well as to the Japanese, Hindu, or Bornean. Many of them were wealthy bankers or merchants. Others were engaged as compradors or clerks, banking-houses employing them almost to the exclusion of other nationalities on account of their quick wit, sterling honesty, industry, and individual merit. As in the Hawaiian Islands, they formed the most valuable element of the population. The Chinese-Hawaiian half-caste is the keenest business man and the most industrious citizen to be found in those islands. The exclusion of the Chinese laborer from the Philippines will do inestimable damage by retarding

industrial and commercial development. Despite his fanaticism when directed by ignorant rulers, he has shown his superiority over other Orientals in his untiring industry, his domesticity and his honesty. In the large foreign hongs, or business houses, of China and Japan he is the trusted employee in places requiring responsibility. When put in competition with the Bornean, the Filipino, the Cingalese, the Hawaiian, the Japanese, or the Hindu, he invariably wins, as may be seen by his rise from poverty to wealth and influence in the cities of Singapore, Calcutta, Sandakan, Manila, Honolulu or Yokohama. It is time America recognized that, in the great race of civilization, and the greater race for the survival of the fittest, the nation that has preserved the integrity of its government for over six thousand years, that has witnessed the rise and fall of the civilizations of Chaldea, Egypt, Greece and Rome, that can claim the discovery of the compass, of gunpowder, the game of chess, and the printing-press, and that gave birth to that great philosopher who, five hundred years before the coming of Christ, propounded and exemplified the doctrine, Do not do unto others what you would not have others do unto you, is more to be feared for its virtues than for its vices. The presence of the Chinaman in the Philippines—with the substitution of his characteristics of honesty, domesticity and industry, for the dishonesty, laziness and treachery of the Filipino—will do more to promote the industrial development and the civilization of these islands than any other factor, and the sooner America appreciates this fact and acts upon it, the more prompt will be her relief from her present embarrassing position.

Uncle Sam has paid, and is paying dearly, for his experiment and the privilege of protecting the trade of his distant possessions for the benefit of England, Germany and Japan. Some day he will tire of the constant drain on his treasury and his army, and remove these islands from the arena of politics, and the natural law of evolution will prevail—and many there are who will welcome the coming of that day.

LOUIS LIVINGSTON SEAMAN.

THE REFERENDUM AND INITIATIVE IN SWITZERLAND.

BY M. W. HAZELTINE.

WHEN Mr. William J. Bryan declared that the Referendum and Initiative must hereafter be made cardinal features of the Democratic programme, he proposed nothing new, so far as the former institution is concerned, and, therefore, he must have contemplated a signal extension of the principle. It is well known that our Federal Constitution did not become operative until it had been referred to and ratified by conventions in nine of the thirteen States, and its fifth article provides that all amendments, in order to become valid, must be ratified by the Legislatures or by Conventions in three-fourths of the States. Similar provisions for popular sanction of constitutional amendments exist in our State Constitutions. In the previously mentioned article of our Federal organic law, there is even a suggestion of the Initiative, for it is enacted that, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the States, Congress "shall" call a convention for proposing amendments. Mr. Bryan has not told us in detail to how much larger an extent he would have the two institutions adopted in our Federal and State systems of government, but we presume that he has in mind the existing state of things in Switzerland, where, in both the Confederation and the Cantons the Referendum and Initiative are operative. It becomes interesting, therefore, to learn precisely what the Swiss forms of these institutions are, and how they work. The examination is likely to prove the more instructive because, in some respects, the Swiss dual system of Federal and State government is very similar to our own. Many Swiss books deal with the matter, and, among the American authorities on the subject, may be mentioned McCracken's "Swiss Solution of American Problems," and espe-

cially Mr. A. Lawrence Lowell's "Governments and Parties in Continental Europe." The last-named writer devotes upwards of 150 pages of his second volume to Switzerland, and to him all students of Swiss institutions are deeply indebted.

I.

It is obvious that the fundamental purpose of the Referendum and the Initiative is to qualify representative government by the occasional participation of the whole body of voters in the Confederation, or in a Canton, in legislation. It is natural that the desire for such qualifying institutions should show itself in Switzerland, which still presents in some of its Cantons examples of pure democracy. We refer to the Cantons of Ury, Glarus, the two Unterwaldens and the two Appenzells, where laws or amendments of the Cantonal Constitutions are made in the so-called *Landsgemeinde*, or mass-meetings of all the citizens, which may be likened to the primitive Teutonic folk-mote, or to the New England town meeting. Each of the other Cantons—there are twenty-two Cantons in the Swiss Confederation, or, if we take account of the half-Cantons into which three are split, we should say twenty-five—has a single legislative chamber, usually known as the Great Council, which is elected by universal suffrage, and in all but a couple of Cantons is chosen for three or four years. There is also a much smaller Executive Council elected for the same term. The whole legislative power in a Canton is vested in the Great Council, whose acts, as a rule, the Executive has no power to veto, and the judiciary has no power to set aside. There exists, therefore, none of the checks to hasty lawmaking with which we are familiar in America. Consequently, the Swiss dread the possible tyranny of the Cantonal Great Council, and have contrived various modes of controlling it. One of these is proportional representation; and the others, with which we are here specially concerned, may be collectively described as application of the Initiative and Referendum. For instance, in seven of the ten German Cantons, a certain number of citizens, varying in the different Cantons from one to twelve thousand, may require a popular vote on the question whether the Great Council shall be dissolved. If a majority of the votes cast is in the affirmative, the term of the Council comes to an end and a new election is held. Another method of getting rid of a Great Council which is

occasionally tried is that of revising the Constitution, for in almost all the Cantons the question of revision must be submitted to popular vote on the request of a certain number of citizens. Recourse to this expedient is made much less frequently than it used to be, owing to the general introduction of the Referendum, or popular veto upon laws. Let us turn, therefore, to an inspection of the Federal and Cantonal Referendum, that institution of Switzerland which has attracted the greatest attention.

For the date of the earliest form of the Federal Referendum we must go back many centuries, to the rude confederacy formed to resist the encroachments of the House of Hapsburg upon local autonomy. The delegates to the Federal Diet were not empowered to agree to a final settlement of matters of importance, but were ordered simply to hear what was proposed, and report. That is to say, they were commissioned *ad audiendum et referendum*. The old Federal Referendum, then, meant merely the right of members of the Confederation to reserve questions for their own determination. In spite of its dilatoriness and clumsiness, this system was maintained until it was overthrown by the French when they overran Switzerland in 1800. Three years later it was restored, and lasted, with some modification, down to 1854, when it was replaced by the modern Referendum.

The latter institution is based upon the abstract theory of popular rights formulated by Rousseau, who had a strong aversion to representative government. Rousseau declared that, in order to realize true liberty, the laws ought to be enacted directly by the people themselves, although he himself saw no method by which this could be done in a state too large to permit of a mass-meeting of all the citizens. As a matter of fact, the principle of the modern Referendum was invented and applied in the United States, and also in France, before it was tried in Switzerland. With one exception, which had only ephemeral consequences, no Federal constitutional question was brought before the Swiss people until 1848. Even the Cantons did not begin to submit their Cantonal Constitutions to popular vote before 1830, and the habit did not become universal until the Federal Constitution of 1848 made it obligatory.

Mr. Lowell, in his "Governments and Parties," points out that the credit for the Referendum on ordinary laws (as distinguished from the Referendum on constitutional amendments) belongs to

the Swiss, for, if we except a sporadic use of the institution here and there, it has never existed in any other country. Why, then, did this form of the Referendum arise in the Swiss Cantons? Probably because, up to the end of the eighteenth century, most of them had no experience of *representative* government. Except for the Grisons and the Valais, with their peculiar Federal structure, the Cantons either made their laws by means of *Landsgemeinde* (mass-meetings of all adult male citizens), and hence had no need of legislative chambers; or else country districts were ruled by a neighboring dominant city, and the city itself by a few patrician families. In those days, too, the Confederation itself was so loosely organized that its Diet was not a true legislative body, but rather, like the Bundesrath of the present German Empire, a congress of ambassadors. Being thus ignorant of representative institutions, the Swiss did not assimilate them easily, and, when they accepted them in the nineteenth century, knew not how to provide the necessary checks and balances which are forthcoming in the Federal and State Governments of the United States. No sooner, therefore, did the representative bodies established in most of the Cantons become, or seem to become, out of sympathy with the majority of the people, than a demand for some kind of reversion to direct popular legislation began, and, when granted, acted like oil upon troubled waters. The Referendum, by putting an end to doubts about the real opinion of the majority upon disputed questions, removed at once a means of agitation and a source of discontent.

Direct popular voting upon Cantonal *laws* (as distinguished from constitutional amendments) made its first appearance, under the name of "veto," in the Canton of St. Gall in 1831. The essential difference between the veto and the modern Referendum consists in the fact that, in the case of the latter, the fate of a law is determined by the majority of the votes cast, whereas in the case of the veto a law was deemed rejected only when a majority of all the voters registered voted in the negative.

The veto was adopted by Rural Basle in 1832, by the Valais in 1839 and by Lucerne in 1841. In 1842 the Great Council of Zurich refused to introduce it, but it was adopted by Thurgau in 1849 and by Schaffhausen in 1852. These were the last Cantons to take up the so-called veto, which is pronounced by Mr. Lowell a clumsy device, ill-adapted to ascertain the real opinion

of the people. Subsequently, it began to be replaced by a more perfect instrument, the modern Referendum, which in Switzerland is of two kinds, one called the "facultative" or "optional," where a law passed by the Cantonal Great Council must be submitted to popular vote if a certain number of the Canton's citizens petition for it; the other is termed the "obligatory," because it requires *all* Cantonal laws to be submitted, whether or no any petition to that end has been presented. The obligatory form of the Referendum is plainly the most purely democratic, and in Switzerland it is considered preferable also on practical grounds, because it avoids the agitation required for the collection of signatures to a petition.

The first form of the modern Referendum to be adopted in Switzerland was the obligatory. The incident took place in the Canton of Valais in 1844; twelve years later a general optional Referendum was adopted in Soleure, and two years afterward Neuchâtel established an obligatory Referendum for large appropriations of money, a move which was imitated by Vaud in 1861. The example of these Cantons was presently followed by others, until now all of them, except the strongly Catholic and reactionary Freiburg, possess a Referendum of some kind for ordinary laws, about half having the obligatory and about half the optional form. In all Cantons the Referendum is compulsory for changes in a Cantonal Constitution.

II.

By the Constitution of 1848, revised in 1874, the Confederation also made the Referendum obligatory for all constitutional amendments, and in the year last named it adopted the Referendum in the optional form, providing that, on the demand of 30,000 citizens, or eight Cantons, all Federal laws and resolutions having a general application should be submitted to popular vote for ratification, unless the Federal Assembly should declare the matter too urgent to admit of such delay. As the Constitution nowhere defines a law or a resolution of "general application," the power of definition is left to the Federal Assembly, and its use of that power has given rise to some complaint. We should mention that in order to give time for presenting a petition for a Referendum the laws to which it is pronounced applicable do not go into effect until ninety days after they have been

passed by the Federal Assembly. The application of the optional Referendum to Federal laws has been used freely by the people: During the twenty-one years following its introduction in 1874 the requisite number of voters petitioned for the Referendum in the case of 20 out of 182 laws, to which it was held applicable; that is, to one law out of nine. Of these twenty, the people rejected fourteen and ratified six. It is further to be noted that, during the same period, ten constitutional amendments were proposed by the Assembly, and had to be submitted to popular vote. Of these, four were rejected and six accepted.

Now let us look at the *kind* of Federal laws which, in pursuance of the optional Referendum, have been submitted to the Swiss people. We may thus get an inkling of Mr. Bryan's purpose in demanding an introduction of the Swiss institution in the United States. The Federal Referendum was first applied in 1875 in the case of a law defining the conditions, such as bankruptcy and pauperism, under which a citizen could be deprived of the right to vote—conditions that previously had been determined by the Cantons, and therefore varied in different parts of the country. This act was rejected by a slight majority. On the same day a vote was taken on another law establishing uniform rules of marriage and divorce, and regulating the keeping of registries of births, deaths, etc. In spite of the repugnance of the clause relating to divorce, not only to Catholics but also to conservative Protestants, the law was ratified by a small majority because the provisions about registry were necessary. We observe, next, that in 1877 a Federal law regulating labor in factories was ratified by a small majority. During the five years succeeding 1877, the only Federal law the submission of which to the people was demanded was the act granting a subsidy to the railroad over the St. Gothard, which was ratified. In 1882, on the other hand, a Federal law to prevent epidemics, which contained a clause making vaccination compulsory, was rejected by a vote of nearly four to one. In the same year the Assembly passed a law appointing a Secretary of Education for the purpose of examining the schools, on the ground that the Cantons had not obeyed the Federal Constitution, which declares that all public schools must be such that children of all creeds can attend without offence to their feelings. The Catholics and Orthodox Protestants forthwith raised a cry that the Radical majority of the

Assembly intended to take religion away from the schools. A submission of the Federal law to the people was demanded by the requisite number of voters, and the measure was voted down. In 1884 the optional Referendum was invoked for the purpose of rejecting a Federal law providing for the transfer of criminal cases from the Cantonal Courts to the Federal tribunal, when the impartiality of the former should be doubtful.

If we turn to the amendments of the Federal Constitution, in the case of which the Referendum is not optional but compulsory, we find that an amendment giving to the Confederation a monopoly of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquor was accepted by a large majority in 1885, as subsequently also was a law for carrying it into effect. A constitutional amendment concerning patents was ratified in 1887. In 1890 a constitutional amendment authorizing the passage of a Federal law for the compulsory insurance of workmen was ratified by an enormous majority. In 1891 an amendment of the Federal Constitution, giving the Federal Government power to establish a national bank, with the exclusive right to issue notes, was sanctioned by the people. Still another amendment authorizing the enactment of a protective tariff for the purpose of exerting pressure on France was ratified. In the same year, on the other hand, a constitutional amendment empowering the Confederation to purchase the stock of the Central Railroad Company was opposed by men who disliked the idea of a great increase in the number of Federal officials, or who disapproved of state ownership of railroads. The measure was rejected by an overwhelming majority. In 1894 the people voted against a constitutional amendment designed to give the Confederation power to legislate on labor organization, because it was so broad as to authorize a law compelling workmen to join the trade-unions. It was the opponents of socialistic principles who defeated the measure at the ballot-box. On the ground of opposition to further centralization, a majority was recorded against a constitutional amendment conferring on the Confederation a monopoly of the manufacture of friction matches. Rejected also was an amendment designed to place the Federal army more completely under the control of the Federal Government. The diminution of Cantonal authority which this measure involved was repugnant to all but a few of the largest German-speaking Cantons.

III.

The working of the obligatory Referendum may also be studied to advantage in the case of the Cantons, where it is always applied in the case of amendments of the Cantonal Constitution. The small size of the vote cast on such occasions has been the subject of criticism. It is alleged that the result of the ballot does not fairly represent popular opinion, because, in most cases, the opponents of a measure go to the polls in larger proportion than its supporters, so that the men who stay at home should really be regarded as favorable to the proposed amendment. There seems to be no doubt that, in the Cantonal Referendum, the citizens stay at home a great deal more than could be wished. In the Canton of Berne, only about forty-three per cent. of the voters cast their ballot at the Referendum, although sixty-three per cent. of them vote at elections. The proportion of citizens who vote at the Referendum varies, however, very much, according to the character of the measure in question: thus, between 1869 and 1878, it ran in Berne all the way from 81.6 per cent. down to 20.2 per cent.

Even at Federal Referenda, which excite a greater interest, because an amendment either of the Federal Constitution or of a Federal law is concerned, the average proportion of the voters in the Confederation who go to the polls is less than sixty per cent., and, if a majority of the qualified voters, instead of a majority of the votes *cast*, were required for ratification, no law would ever have been ratified. The deduction drawn by Mr. Lowell from these figures is that under no form of government can the people as a whole really rule; for the figures show that, with the most democratic system ever devised, laws are in fact made only by that portion of the community which takes a genuine interest in public affairs. Another objection to the Referendum is that the people have not sufficient means of forming a serious opinion on the measures referred to them. It is true that in Switzerland a printed copy of the law to be voted upon is sent to every citizen some time before the vote takes place; but the value of a law cannot be learned from a mere perusal of the text, and no effective method has been devised in Switzerland of giving the people adequate enlightenment concerning the object and bearing of the measures laid before them. In the case of Federal laws, the function of exposition is left entirely to

the press and to party platforms. In two of the Cantons an effort has been made to bring about serious discussion by providing that, when citizens meet at the polls, a debate shall take place before the voting begins. It is noticed, however, that, when the presiding officer asks if any one wishes to speak, no one ever responds. In other words, you can bring a horse to the water, but you can't make him drink. If, however, the question at issue is one of general policy, the people may have, and often do have, very decided and rational views about it—a fact which suggests the expediency of confining the Referendum to matters on which ordinary men can readily form opinions, and not extending it to subjects with which experts alone are conversant. No such distinction, however, has been made in Switzerland.

Still another objection to the Referendum is that it lowers the sense of responsibility on the part of the representatives in the Legislature. One would naturally expect a representative to feel less responsibility when his action, instead of being final, is sure to be reviewed by his constituents, as is the case where the Referendum is compulsory. An eminent jurist in Berne once told Mr. Lowell that the members of the Cantonal Legislature would vote for a measure of which they disapproved, relying upon the people to reject it, and that he had known men to vote for a law in the Great Council and work against it at the polls. There seems to be no doubt that Swiss Legislatures have occasionally voted for a measure merely to get it out of the way, hoping that the people would refuse to sanction it. M. Droz, a high Swiss authority, says that the Referendum weakens the character of the legislators.

There is abundant evidence that the opinions, both of scholars and statesmen, concerning the value of the Referendum differ widely in Switzerland. Some men extol it as the most perfect institution in theory and practice ever devised; while others decry the principle, on the ground that the people are consulted about matters they cannot understand, and that, consequently, the actual working of the system has been bad. M. Droz, who served almost a score of years on the Federal Council, had at first a strong admiration for the Referendum, but, after long experience of its working, he became impressed with its defects, and with the abuses of which it is susceptible. He complains that it furnishes a basis for demagoguery, and encourages the growth of professional politicians, whose ideas are systematically nega-

tive, and who are continually trying to instil into others their own spirit of discontent. On the whole, nevertheless, he concludes that the Federal Referendum, not only in the compulsory form applicable to constitutional amendments, but also in the optional form applicable to Federal laws, has done more good than harm. Mr. Lowell, who himself has made an exhaustive study of the subject, concurs in this opinion. He concedes, of course, that, like all human institutions, the Referendum is imperfect; but, in the existing condition of the Swiss representative system, it has supplied, he thinks, a real want, and, so far as it has helped to soften the asperities of politics, it has done a valuable service. There is no doubt that Switzerland is one of the most orderly and best-governed of countries, and to this result, which certainly it has not tended to prevent, the Referendum may fairly be supposed to have contributed.

IV.

So much for the Swiss Referendum, which, of course, has a purely negative effect, merely enabling the people of Switzerland to reject measures passed by their representatives in the Federal or Cantonal Legislatures. The Swiss have felt, however, that the Legislatures, Federal or Cantonal, ought not to have the exclusive right to originate legislation, and that democracy is not complete unless the people also have a right to enact laws directly. The so-called Initiative is intended to supply this deficiency. As we have said, the germ of the Initiative is presented in the fifth article of our Federal Constitution, which provides an alternative method of securing a constitutional amendment. The Swiss Initiative is a device by which a certain number of citizens can propose a constitutional amendment or a law, and require a popular vote upon it in spite of the refusal of the Legislature to adopt their views. The Initiative was first adopted by the Canton of Vaud in 1845, but now all the Cantons except one possess it for revision of the Cantonal Constitution; and all but three for ordinary Cantonal laws.

In the Federal Constitution of 1874, as in that of 1848, the Initiative existed only for constitutional matters. The clause relating to the subject declared that, on the demand of any 50,000 voters, the question whether the Constitution ought to be revised should be submitted by the Federal Government to the people,

and that, if the vote should be affirmative, the two Federal Councils should be reelected for the purpose of preparing the revision. The Federal Assembly decided that the provision applied only to the revision of the Constitution as a whole, but in 1891 a constitutional amendment was adopted, which extended the Initiative to particular amendments of the Federal Constitution.

In the Confederation, then, the Initiative does not apply to ordinary laws, but fifty thousand voters can propose an amendment of the Constitution, either in general terms, or in a complete and final form. When the proposal is couched in general terms the Federal Assembly proceeds at once to draw up the amendment if it approves thereof; if not, the question must first be submitted to the people whether such an amendment shall be made, and, in case the popular vote is affirmative, the duty of putting the amendment into shape is entrusted to the existing Assembly, although that body has already shown itself opposed to the measure. The petitioners, however, are not obliged to rely on the fairness of the Assembly in carrying out their intention, but are at liberty to present their amendment drawn up in final shape, and require that it shall be submitted directly to the people and the Cantons for adoption. In such a case the Assembly, on its part, is at liberty to advise the rejection of the measure, or can submit to popular vote at the time a distinct alternative.

Recourse to the Initiative has been but seldom made in the Confederation; and even in the Cantons, where it has long existed, and is applicable even to ordinary laws, it has not been found effective. The net result, for instance, of the Initiative during twenty-four years in the great democratic Canton of Zurich was the enactment of only three laws to which the Legislature was opposed, and every one of the three was of doubtful value.

That form of the Federal Initiative which provides that, if a constitutional amendment is presented in a complete and final form by a specified number of petitioners, it must be forthwith submitted to the people, is advocated in Switzerland by believers in direct popular legislation, on the ground that it embodies the most complete realization of their idea. Under it the Federal Chambers play no part except to advise the acceptance or rejection of an amendment as a whole. For that very reason the form of the completed draft is disliked by men who believe in representative government, and who hold that every constitutional

amendment, before being enacted, ought to be carefully prepared by responsible bodies and publicly debated. M. Droz is one of those Swiss statesmen who regard the new Federal Initiative in the form of the completed draft with great anxiety, and he points out that, whereas a democracy ought to rest on a secure constitutional foundation, the new Initiative puts the Constitution in question at every moment. Mr. Lowell, who thinks that the Referendum has, on the whole, been a benefit to Switzerland, in the sense that it has produced the tranquilizing effect for which it was established, concedes that as much cannot be said for the Initiative. He does not believe that this device will play any great part among the institutions of the future. Certainly, it has not yet developed much efficiency in Switzerland. It is applicable only to questions which the representatives of the people, themselves quite sensitive to public opinion, refuse to pass; and, when used in the form of the completed draft, it leaves no room for debate or for compromise and mutual concessions. The conception of the Initiative may be bold, but those who have observed the institution longest and studied it most carefully pronounce it unlikely to be of any great use to mankind.

M. W. HAZELTINE.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY FREDERIC TABER COOPER, OLIVIA HOWARD DUNBAR AND
LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX.

"THE AMERICAN SCENE."*

THERE are certain volumes in which the personal equation so frankly and agreeably obtrudes itself that they ought in fairness to be reviewed, not as separate and complete productions, but as links in the chain of an author's self-revelations, significant factors in the rounded sum of a lifetime's accomplishment. "The American Scene," by Henry James, is essentially and peculiarly a book of this class, the more intimate charm of which must elude those readers who choose to regard it as an isolated volume of travel, and who fail to recognize the continuity of thought and mood which binds it with his novel, "The Ambassadors," and his "Life of William Wetmore Story," into a kind of strangely assorted trilogy. Indeed, one may venture to hazard the opinion that, when the time comes to draw up a final balance-sheet of the life achievement of Mr. James, these three works will prove to be that portion of his writings which his future biographer can least afford to neglect; because they reveal, from three several standpoints, the chief preoccupation of the author's mind, the dominant motive of his migrations and his habits, the recurrent burden of his literary product.

Mr. James has long been accredited with the invention of the International Episode. Yet "invention" is scarcely the correct word; since, before he had reduced it to a formula for fiction, he himself was, from deliberate choice, living and breathing the International Episode, studying, analyzing, vivisectioning it in the experiences of himself and of others, allowing it gradually to

* "The American Scene." By Henry James. New York: Harper & Brothers.

dominate him like a strangely stimulating obsession, full of infinite and tantalizing suggestion. It was "Europe," to borrow his own words,

"that had, in very ancient days, held out to the yearning young American some likelihood of impressions more numerous and varied and of a higher intensity than those he might gather on the native scene; and it was doubtless in conformity with some such desire more finely and more frequently to vibrate that he had originally begun to consult the European oracle."

Such is Mr. James's characteristic way of explaining the impulse which led him to make his domicile "in the very precincts, as it were, of the temple"; and, through all the years which followed, the study of the racial, social and æsthetic relation of the American world to the European, seems never, for him, to have lost its original zest. The subtle note of the cosmopolitan spirit, in its finer sense, is what binds together his most divergent works, with the unmistakable tie of kinship. Viewed from this standpoint, his biography of the artist Story ceases to be merely the life of an individual. It becomes the solution of a problem which many a man with the inborn artistic temperament has had to confront; it is a luminous and fascinating interpretation of what Europe may mean to the expatriated American, the American who has strongly taken his life into his own hands, and chosen to live it out in the environment for which his nature has best fitted him. In one novel after another, from "Daisy Miller" onward, sometimes as the *Leitmotiv*, sometimes as mere side-issues, we find, in all its possible variations of form and degree, the insistent, recurrent, dominating question of what Europe "connotes" for the compatriots of Mr. James. And notably in "The Ambassadors," which one is tempted to single out as the author's supreme achievement in fiction, we have a picture drawn with infinite understanding and sympathy, of the type that forms the antithesis to the artist Story, the man of weaker nature, the "frustrated American" who has not had the courage to choose his own environment, and who realizes, when he has crossed the threshold of middle age, the golden opportunity that he sacrificed to heredity and convention. One conjectures that, in the character of Strether, Mr. James sees himself as he might now have been had he too crushed down the adventurous spirit

and consented to a lifetime in "Woolett" along the line of least resistance. And, lastly, comes "The American Scene," as a logical, inevitable sequel, a final summing up, for himself and for the world, of what America "connotes" for the "restored absentee." It is this connection of thought and mood which leads one to group these three widely divergent volumes into a strangely assorted, and yet intimately related, trilogy of Expatriation.

The first point, then, to insist upon is that "The American Scene" is from first to last intensely subjective. Yet this is no more than to say that, in writing impressions of travel, Mr. James follows the same method that he does in fiction, seeing the outside world strictly through the medium of some one temperament. For instance, in "What Maisie Knew," the field of vision is limited, in a manner which compels wonder, to the narrow segment of life that comes within Maisie's personal knowledge. Whenever the other characters pass beyond her ken, they disappear as completely from the reader's sight as the germs that wriggle from beneath the lens of a microscope. In "The Ambassadors," through all that amazing intricacy of human hopes and desires, all that we are allowed to know is what Strether himself knows—what he sees, what he thinks, what he is told that other people think. There are countless questions we long to solve, doors we would like to open, corners we would like to turn; but Mr. James will not permit it; he forces us to see life through the eyes of the none too alert Strether.

In "The American Scene" the method is the same, excepting that the temperament through which we behold places and people is that of the author himself. Moreover, it is a keenly self-conscious temperament, tremendously interested with its own sensations, and with finger constantly on pulse, to detect and record every momentary quickening. On every page one reads between the lines a tingling curiosity on the author's part to discover whether, among the emotions awakened by his "repatriation," there is a lurking regret, a single fleeting wave of nostalgia for the home of his early years. Without a full recognition of what the volume stands for in a personal way, its prime significance as an interpretation of a people will be largely missed. It is not enough to accept it as a minute and unflinching analysis by a trained psychologist, an acute observer of life and of places. More than that, it is written by one who long ago weighed America

in the balance and found it, for his own personal needs and desires, quite definitely wanting as an abiding-place, and who now, returning after long years, finds that his choice was wisely made. There have never been written subtler, keener, more luminous studies of the cities of America—but we see them through the medium of a temperament which, if not antagonistic, is at least aloof. To appreciate their marvellous delicacy of intuition, their sanity, their inherent justice, one must share in no small measure the broad, contentedly cosmopolitan spirit of the author himself. His Boston and his New York are never quite those of the complacent Bostonian and New-Yorker, any more than they are those of the critical foreigner. His observations, whether of censure or approval, are always those of the “restored absentee,” and equally removed from the exaggerations of patriotic pride and the depreciation of foreign jealousy.

A great deal of complacent folly has been written about the obscurity of Henry James's style. Granted that his tricks of speech, his curious little verbal twists, have grown to be mannerisms so pronounced as to seem at times to be little less than deliberate affectation; yet these alone would never make a single page of Mr. James obscure. It is the thought behind the words which is often difficult to grasp. Indeed, thought is too definite a word to apply to those elusive mental states that he so often tries to interpret. Mr. James is seldom content to analyze thoughts, and never less so than in “The American Scene.” He is continually reaching back to those obscurer, more complex phases of transition, vague, instinctive impressions, the forerunners of conscious thought. Many readers are apt to find the later chapters of this volume especially admirable, the chapters on the Southern cities of Baltimore, Richmond, Charleston, where, because they are practically an unexplored territory, his impressions are fresh, clear, definite. Far more difficult and more profound are his inimitable chapters on New York, where every new impression blends with old memories, until every page suggests a palimpsest, with the vague, time-obliterated records revealing themselves beneath the freshly written script. It is New York which makes the most potent appeal to old associations; it is New York which, at the same time, most violently antagonizes him with its typically American note of the power of money and the pervading sense of instability and transition; it is New York which convinces

him that "to make so much money that you won't, that you don't, 'mind,' don't mind anything, is absolutely the American formula," and that "your making no money—or so little that it passes for none—and being thereby distinctly reduced to minding, amounts to your being reduced to the knowledge that America is no place for you." In other words, it is New York, more than any other American city, that confirms Mr. James in the inherent wisdom of his own life, and enables him to return to the precincts of the temple, more than ever "contentedly cosmopolite." There is but one way in which to read "The American Scene": refuse to let it antagonize you, remember constantly that it is the utterance of a "restored absentee"; and, with every page, you will come more and more under the charm of his descriptions and the subtlety of his judgments.

FREDERIC TABER COOPER.

"MADAME DE TREYMES."*

NOT all readers of "The House of Mirth" were able, in following the first chapter or two of that popularly successful novel, to draw that long breath of satisfaction which an admirable writer's choice of a congenial theme elicits. It is on just this point, the choice of theme, that the opening pages of "Madame de Treymes" are reassuring. Mrs. Wharton's pleasant sentence or two about Paris, which she has chosen to present "in that moist spring bloom between showers, when the horse-chestnuts dome themselves in unreal green against a gauzy sky, and the very dust of the pavement seems the fragrance of lilac made visible"; the comment on Mme. de Malrive's acceptance of a silence which she might once have "packed with a random fluency; now she was content to let it widen slowly between them, like the spacious prospect opening at their feet"—such phrases as these suggest the drama of agreeable backgrounds, of sophisticated characters, of problems never squalidly affecting the material conditions of life, in which Mrs. Wharton has undoubtedly, so far, been most brilliantly successful. It is important to insist that the three protagonists of this story, Mme. de Treymes, Mme. de Malrive, even John Durham himself, somewhat indefinite symbol though he be, belong to a certain caste from which any

* "Madame de Treymes." By Edith Wharton. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

judgment must exclude, for instance, Lily Bart; inasmuch as no other writer demands as much of her own characters, is as exigent in regard to their breeding, social experience, intellectual and artistic sophistication, or is as merciless in cases where they fail to live up to their accomplished creator. There can be no doubt that Mrs. Wharton never more effectually proves her artistic discernment than in choosing, as in the present story, characters who satisfactorily fulfil her own perhaps excessive requirements and who therefore do not retard the fluent exercise of her imaginative energy.

Though it would scarcely occur to the reader, accustomed either to more sentimental or more impassioned fiction, to classify it as such, "*Madame de Treymes*" is, by implication at least, a love-story—a romance, or, to put it less floridly, an incipient tenderness, defeated by the sinister strength of the French social order and written to illustrate the contrast between that order and, if we may be said to have any, our own. Those sterling American qualities which we usually count upon as sufficient to gain an individual end at the expense of any established system have, in this ingeniously constructed situation, no opportunity; and John Durham, the mature American lover, is obliged to relinquish his suit for the hand of that other, beautifully Europeanized, American, the unfortunate Marquise de Malrive, whom he first knew in her girlhood in New York. Even though Mrs. Wharton, in this case miserly of phrases, has made little effort to illuminate Durham to our interested vision, we are able to accept him as a superior, perhaps even too flawless type. Madame de Malrive, the victim of a disastrous marriage, the author has been at greater pains to present. The woman whose radiance is the more alluring for being subdued, who attracts partly by giving the "sense of unprobed depths of initiation," is made subtly and admirably intelligible. But if Mrs. Wharton was niggardly of her forces in picturing Durham, who is, perhaps, a hero of convenience only, she has squandered them at great advantage in her portrait of Christiane de Treymes, who is made the exponent of what we may take to be the least lovely qualities of the French aristocracy while securely preserving a strikingly definite charm. This formidably potent lady, who impressed Durham as "nibbling at the hard English consonants like nuts," had "a small brown glancing face, like that of a

charming little inquisitive animal"; her "dark, meagre presence" moved "like a thin flame in a wide quiver of light." It is a rare and delicate art that gives a woman the rôle of a calculating villain—or so, at least, a romantic audience would regard her—and yet contrives to make her an appealing figure. Even Durham, whom Mme. de Treymes has tricked, lied to, deprived of his great desire, is able at the end to regard her merely as the unfortunate vehicle of tradition, of ancestral will, and to leave her with the exclamation, "You poor, good woman!" Mrs. Wharton has rarely achieved a character carrying such conviction of essential, no less than superficial, truth. To produce an effect, as in this case, of an abundantly communicated personality by means of an art so largely characterized by eliminations and reserves is a triumphant bit of wizardry.

There may be an emotional relief in passing from the bloodless cruelties and irremediable sufferings of the Faubourg to the light discomfitures of those incidental figures, the Elmer Boykins; yet one almost shudders for fear of what Mrs. Wharton may ruthlessly disclose about these vulnerable beings. It is quite possible to say about Mrs. Boykin, as was often said of Lily Bart, that one has known her, hundreds of her. But the fact is often overlooked that this is, after all, not the most flattering criticism, implying, as it does, that a writer has taken a familiar type and exaggerated it. The character that is conceived with perfect truth seems always so uniquely real that the suggestion of an existing duplicate is intolerable. It may be that the compassionate reader will find the scene between the Boykins and John Durham somewhat too brilliantly derisive, little as one would wish to forego some of its delicious phrases; as he may likewise feel perversely grateful that the unity of the story forbids more than a casual reference to the groups of "earnest" women who spend their summers in Maine boarding-houses. Such material as this, in Mrs. Wharton's hands, would acquire an undreamed-of ghastliness.

It is as true that the theme of this story is one few novelists could handle as that it is one of sufficient dramatic fertility to furnish forth many novels. Therefore the fact that Mr. Henry James, years ago, made it the subject of his wonderful novel, "The American," is no reason at all why Mrs. Wharton, of whose apostleship to Mr. James sufficient has been said, should

not have made it the motive of her magazine story—which “Madame de Treymes” originally was. Still less is there any occasion for comparing the two performances, comparatively close as their lines of treatment are. Mrs. Wharton’s merit is never that of a bold and dashing originality of idea, and the value of “Madame de Treymes” can perhaps rather less than its author’s other stories be based upon that ground.

Although Mrs. Wharton’s work may lack certain of the qualities that in this country we are most fond of celebrating, it is her freedom, on the other hand, from the most usual and glaring faults of American fiction, that makes even the briefest of her *tours de force* a legitimate subject for serious consideration. The precision of her technique—there seems almost a visible physical progress from scene to scene of this well-ordered little drama—the sensitiveness and significance of her observation, her feeling for the harmonious sentence and the suggestive phrase—the qualities, in short, which have won for her applause from the beginning—must always stamp her work as superior to that of many writers of wider sympathy and more spontaneous talent. And it is, perhaps, particularly when considered in relation to average magazine fiction, that “Madame de Treymes” stands out as a conspicuous event.

OLIVIA HOWARD DUNBAR.

MR. BLISS PERRY’S “WALT WHITMAN.”*

THE most judicious comment in Mr. Perry’s book on Walt Whitman is the last: “No American poet now seems more sure to be read, by the fit persons, after one hundred or five hundred years.” The force of the comment is somewhat weakened by the very grudging tone of the book as a whole and by a direct contradiction five pages earlier, where Mr. Perry says, speaking of Keats’s “Ode to Autumn”: “Why is it that this poem—relatively empty of ethical significance as it is—is sure to live, while we can only say of Whitman’s poetry that some of it *ought* to live?”

Biography is often an ungrateful task. At best, it means that a smaller mind is attempting to estimate a greater one. The chief endowment of the biographer, then, must be a power of self-effacement, modesty and courage for reverence. There are,

* “Walt Whitman.” By Bliss Perry. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

too, certain great men in the world who serve excellently as touchstones; the men who deal with these give the measure, however unconsciously, of themselves. To prefer Keats to Shelley is to reveal the entire temperamental bias. To prefer Whittier to Swinburne and Browning is to proclaim that one's culture is derived direct from the American public schools.

Walt Whitman has been very adequately handled by John Addington Symonds, John Burroughs and Edward Carpenter, and all the material has been carefully reviewed by Henry Bryan Binns again in his recent, full biography. Mr. Perry's book does not altogether infringe upon these, because, as we lay it down, we do so not so much with any new view of Whitman, or any enthusiasm to reperuse his ever-living work, as with a very adequate picture of Mr. Perry, a very complete idea of his life, his views, his conventions, his habits, his environment, his staying capacity. The subject is a very grandiose one, and undoubtedly, toward the end of the book, the biographer was a little cross and tired, and wanted to say as many disagreeable things as he could. In this behalf he tells an anecdote of Whitman's being "incidentally" invited to deliver the commencement poem at Dartmouth College in 1872, as a sort of joke to plague the faculty. This gossip is said to derive from Professor Charles F. Richardson, of Dartmouth. It reflects no particular credit either upon the person who told it or upon him who repeated it; it has no bearing whatever upon the quality of Whitman's life-work, and is just the sort of small besmirching for which we blame idle and vacant-minded old women when they spice their tea with tattle. It seems a pity to have added that sort of undignified matter to such a book.

Mr. Perry also tells us that Whitman was loose and careless about money matters in various ways, and accepted subscriptions from poor fellow craftsmen when he had ample means to provide for himself. Whitman's closest friend, in the later years of his life and his literary executor, Horace Traubel, resents this statement and demands Mr. Perry's authorities, which Mr. Perry refuses to give; so that, until the matter is more definitely cleared up, the public must simply stand at suspended judgment.

Again, Mr. Perry blames Whitman for not taking into his confidence all his young friends and admirers as to the actual events of his early life. Whitman has told us only, that for the

benefit and protection of others, he kept certain details of his early life secret. It is usually considered the code to keep a secret when that secret protects another. But, apart from that, it is never the great, self-dependent, well-poised, powerful nature that yearns to impart the little events of life. It is the sewing-woman and charman who tell their private affairs. All great men keep their own counsel and use their oil to make their flame burn brighter. It is the flame that belongs to the world, the result of experience, not the steps nor the stumblings.

Poor John Addington Symonds, and even Robert Louis Stevenson, blithe and brave of spirit that he was, are branded as "nervous invalids." To be sure, both these men died of a slow consumption; but all men must die of something, and it would be difficult to hear the call in the midst of greater industry, more indomitable energy and higher courage than distinguished these two fine writers when it came to them.

On the whole, Mr. Perry's book is an exceedingly uncomfortable one to read. The virtues of an editor and a college professor are too widely different from those of a great original genius to admit of mutual comprehension. One feels like the little girl who, hearing her father make a verbal slip in reciting the psalms, sighed and said: "Never mind; it is not *your* sad business to know the psalms." It is not Mr. Perry's sad business to recognize force and original genius.

So vital a difference in product means too vital a difference in temperament and taste to span. Mr. Perry thinks that if Walt Whitman had not been a mystic he would have been a better writer, and would have lived more effectively, overlooking the fact that the greatest mystics are the most practical and enterprising of mankind—witness St. Augustine, St. Theresa, St. John of the Cross. The wider the background the more accurate is the sense for proportionate values. If Mr. Bliss Perry, for example, had been a mystic, he would not have undertaken a life of Whitman. Whitman was practical enough to hew out his own path, to live free and untrammelled, with plenty of leisure, and in full communion with himself; whereas the average mortal must live and await promotion at his neighbor's dictate, and few there be who to the measure of Walt Whitman can pass on, possessing their own souls.

LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX.

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON.

LONDON, *April, 1907.*

No monthly commentator on English affairs can be in much doubt as to what subject at the present moment should claim his preeminent attention. There are, indeed, various matters of the first consequence now under discussion in this country. There is, for instance, Mr. Haldane's Army scheme, the most luminous and concentrated effort that has been made in our time, not only to provide England with the army she needs, but to enlist the interest and sympathies of the average Englishman in its creation and support. There is Mr. Asquith's Budget, an essay in constructive finance which so largely accords with what I may call Rooseveltian principles that a word or two on it may interest Americans. For the year 1906-7 the Chancellor of the Exchequer found himself in possession of a realized surplus of some \$27,000,000. All realized surpluses go automatically to the redemption of the National Debt. For the current year, 1907-8, Mr. Asquith estimated a surplus of slightly over \$20,000,000. This surplus he proposes to dispose of (1) by remitting a quarter of the income tax in cases where the earned income—Mr. Asquith is the first Chancellor to attempt to differentiate between earned and unearned incomes—does not exceed \$10,000 a year; and (2) by increasing the death duties so that, in future, estates of over \$750,000 and under \$1,250,000 will pay 7 per cent. duty, estates over \$1,250,000 and under \$2,500,000 will pay 8 per cent., estates between \$2,500,000 and \$3,750,000 will pay 9 per cent., and estates between \$3,750,000 and \$5,000,000 will pay 10 per cent., while estates between \$5,000,000 and \$7,500,000 will pay 10 per cent. on the first \$5,000,000 and 11 per cent. on the remainder; estates of \$10,000,000 will pay 10 per cent. on the first \$5,000,000 and 12

per cent. on the second; and estates of over \$15,000,000 will pay 15 per cent. on everything over the first \$5,000,000. So far, I imagine, Mr. Roosevelt would be in hearty agreement with Mr. Asquith. He would also applaud as a matter of sound finance the Chancellor's determination to set aside \$7,500,000 for the redemption of the Debt. But I doubt very much whether he would approve the proposal to dedicate the sum of \$12,250,000 to a nucleus fund for old-age pensions, especially as the recipients of the fund are not, as in Germany they are, to be made to contribute to it in any form. This is a blot, a moral and social as well as a financial blot, on a Budget which otherwise is a careful and businesslike venture in national bookkeeping.

Besides Mr. Haldane's Army scheme and Mr. Asquith's Budget there are all the problems of high Imperial administration and policy suggested by Lord Cromer's resignation. I cannot stay to dwell on these except to indicate the opinion that England is nearing a moral crisis not only in Egypt, but in India, and, indeed, wherever she is in contact with alien and dependent races. The crisis consists, roughly speaking, in the fact that the work of Imperial creation has reached a point where it must now proceed side by side with the infinitely more arduous and delicate work of Imperial assimilation. By her magnificent success in all the material ends of government, Great Britain is everywhere implanting among the natives she rules a desire to share in and to direct that government themselves; and the question of how she is to meet that desire, without a loss of administrative efficiency and control, is one of the master-issues of Imperial politics. It is in Egypt, I imagine, that the problem will first take on an aspect of more than local seriousness, and Sir Eldon Gorst, who succeeds Lord Cromer, will need all the balance and all the mental accessibility which his friends know him to possess, if he is to further and not hinder its solution.

Then, again, among the subjects that are engaging the thoughts of the English people, a foremost place should be given to King Edward's tour from France to Spain and from Spain to Italy, and to the ill-natured and almost virulent criticisms that have been passed upon it by the German press. Walter Bagehot used to declare that the constitutional rights of the English sovereign were three in number—the right to be consulted, the right to encourage, and the right to warn; and he shrewdly added that a

king of great sense and sagacity would need no others. King Edward has availed himself of these rights, just as Queen Victoria did, with admirable judgment and effect. Nothing can be falser than to suppose that the occupant of the British throne plays in public affairs a part that is merely passive and ornamental. He is entitled to full knowledge and full discussion of all public transactions. He cannot overrule the Cabinet's decisions, but he may criticise, and so alter or modify, them. He may suggest amendments, raise doubts, propose alternatives, and thus help to clarify the ministerial mind. And in all such consultations it should not be forgotten that the King has some special advantages. He is permanent and his Ministers are fugitive; he is an onlooker, and they are the combatants; he can take a calm and leisurely survey, while they are blinded by a thousand bewildering details. King Edward has allowed none of his prerogatives to rust from disuse. He has even on more than one occasion pushed them so far as to provoke murmurs from the stricter Constitutionalists. The abandonment of coercion in Ireland, the appointment of Sir Antony MacDonnell, and the pushing on of that great measure of appeasement which will be known through all Irish history as the Wyndham Act, were directly the result of the King's insistence; and his influence has been not less an inspiration and a support to Mr. Haldane in his task of military reform.

But it is, I think, in foreign affairs that the King has made himself felt with the greatest effect. To the three constitutional rights enumerated by Walter Bagehot, King Edward has added a fourth—that of acting as the representative, but unofficial, Ambassador of his people to the nations of Europe. Here, again, an English King has some peculiar advantages. As a constitutional but not an autocratic ruler he can speak for England while committing her to nothing; and this condition of privileged liberty, with its endless opportunities for the play of personality, is precisely the condition that King Edward knows how to make the most and best of. An excellent judge of men and affairs, learning and assimilating with extraordinary quickness, devoid of prejudices except a certain wholesome prejudice against waverers and fools, a past master at staving off friction and bringing men together and putting them at their ease, at home everywhere, always discreet, pacific and full of *bonhomie* and enjoyment, and

with what is scarcely less than a genius for knowing both what to do and say and what not to do and say, and for holding his tongue when it is all over—King Edward is perhaps better fitted than any living statesman for the function of moderator and healer. The country has watched his latest pilgrimage of peace with a growing recognition of the manifold services the King has rendered to British prestige. Compare England's position to-day with what it was in 1901, when Queen Victoria died, and you will at once become aware of a change that is little less than a revolution. In each stage of that transformation King Edward has played a part, often the leading part. If England and France have ceased to scowl at one another from Egypt to Siam, and are now on terms of unique friendliness and confidence; if English relations with Austria-Hungary and Portugal have been re cemented and strengthened; if Anglo-Italian good-will has now resumed its old traditional closeness; and if Spain has both forgotten and forgiven the outpouring of British sympathy with America during the war of 1898—the credit of these successes belongs preëminently to King Edward. And in her present mood Great Britain does not relish these successes any the less because they seem to disturb the equanimity of Germany. The fact is significant. It may even be taken as an indication of a quarter where the King's mellow and reconciling diplomacy may find further scope for its activities. But whether it is possible yet a while to arrange, or rather to rearrange, Anglo-German relations on a basis of rationality is to my mind extremely doubtful. I am more inclined to think that King Edward will rather turn his thoughts towards helping on the solution of the questions that still remain outstanding between Great Britain and Russia. The common sense of England does not understand a friendship with France that leaves the ally of France out in the cold; diplomatic negotiations with Russia are always more readily conducted with the Tsar in person than with the Foreign Office, because the Tsar alone can speak for Russia; and it is quite on the cards that King Edward may yet duplicate in St. Petersburg the inspiring triumphs he has already won in Paris, Vienna, Rome, Lisbon and Madrid. For the present, I merely wish to register the fact that his two months' tour in the Mediterranean has brought fully home to Englishmen a national consciousness of the rare diplomatic qualities that unite in their sovereign.

Another subject which is engaging the public mind, and will engage it still more in the future, is that of land reform, both urban and rural. The Liberals, backed up, as I believe, by the overwhelming approval of the nation, have entered simultaneously upon two great crusades, the one, a comparatively simple one, against the land speculator in the towns, the other against feudalism in the country. And it is upon this issue—for the two crusades, while conducted separately, form parts of a single programme—that the struggle with the House of Lords will ultimately be joined. Neither the education question, nor Temperance, nor Irish Devolution will furnish the Government with the popular momentum that can only enable them to assault the great stronghold of legislative privilege with any chance of success. But all reformers of whatever kind are at one in their attitude towards the problem of the land; and all people, in town and country, though they may not always be conscious of it, are directly or indirectly affected by it. Round the land, too, gather a vast array of national questions. Just as in America it seems impossible to approach the problem of the Trusts by any route that does not sooner or later bring you face to face with the problem of transportation, so in England any serious inquirer into the question of the unemployed, or of housing, or of physical degeneration, finds himself before long confronted by the question of the land; and, if the reforms contemplated by the Liberals are rejected or mutilated by the Lords, I fancy we shall see such an outpouring of indignation as will sweep something more than the ancient land-tenure system of this country away with it.

In the towns, the problem is to secure to the community a larger share of the wealth which its growth and industry have created. The Liberals propose to solve it by a Valuation Bill that will ascertain the value of land apart from buildings or improvements, and enable local authorities to tax it or purchase it on that value. In this way, the towns will for the first time have some control over their own development, the rating system will be remodelled, the housing question will be simplified and industry will be released from an essentially vicious and anti-social handicap. In the country districts, where society is ordered along lines of equal pleasantness and injustice, where the number of laborers has decreased by thirty per cent. in the last twenty years, where an aristocracy of birth or wealth cultivates all the

amenities of sport and a landless peasantry steadily drifts into the towns, where gamekeepers are the only class on the increase, and where magnificent estates spread their smooth lawns and coverts to the very doors of villages that are three-quarter slums, the Liberals are resolved to vest both local and national authorities with compulsory powers for the purchase of land, so that for the future a small holding may never be beyond the reach of any Englishman able and willing to cultivate it. If by these means an independent peasant proprietary can be established, leasing their holdings from the state, and if the Government bring to their assistance the indispensable equipment of cooperative societies and local land banks, and if, at the same time, the housing question in the villages is grappled with, not only will the whole structure and spirit of English rural life be revolutionized, but English agriculture will be penetrated with a new hope and a new activity. In a fine figure, in which there is equal truth and imagination, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has been described as "leading Englishmen to the invasion of England."

In addition to these questions, there is one that is never for long allowed to remain in the background. I refer, of course, to Ireland. By the time this letter appears in print, Mr. Birrell will probably have introduced his Devolution Bill. Little beyond a purely speculative interest is taken in it because everybody assumes that it will be rejected without ceremony by the House of Lords. But there is a minor Irish question which has considerably interested people over here, and which may perhaps serve to explain to those Americans who concern themselves with Irish problems, why it is that opinion, both in England and in Ireland, is being steadily alienated from the Irish Nationalists. The name and work of Sir Horace Plunkett are, I take it, as well known to Americans as to Englishmen. His services to his native country have been incalculable. It was he who, amid inconceivable difficulties, introduced into Ireland the principles and practice of agricultural cooperation, that great movement which promises to raise Ireland to the competitive level of Denmark, and the moral results of which have been of even greater benefit than the material. It was he, again, who brought together representative Irishmen of all classes, parties and creeds in a non-political effort to formulate a constructive programme of industrial and agricultural betterment. Out of that effort sprang the Irish Department

of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, a popularly governed Department—the only one of its kind in Ireland or, for that matter, in the British Isles—working through councils and local committees on which two-thirds at least of the members are elected, and bringing for the first time expert assistance and advice to the peasant proprietor. Sir Horace Plunkett devised that Department, suggested the form its constitution should take, launched it, and from its inception, seven years ago, until to-day has directed it with an enthusiasm, an ability and a complete contempt for “politics” that are quite without precedent in the history of Irish administration. And now the Irish Nationalists have banded together to oust him from office, and it is not yet certain that they may not succeed in doing so. Their ostensible objection to his retention in the post of Vice-President of the Department is that he has not a seat in Parliament and is not a Liberal. Their real objections are that he has refused to job his patronage, that he has built up a non-political following throughout the country which the Nationalist “machine” is desperately anxious to capture, and that the Department under his advice—which it was entirely free to disregard—has subsidized the cooperative movement, a movement to which the gombeen men and publicans, to whom nine out of every ten of the Nationalist M. P.’s owe their seats, are hostile. Nothing could better show the pitiful pass to which the Irish Nationalists are reduced than that, for reasons so sordid as these, they should be endeavoring to drive from office the only Irishman of his generation who has done something enduring for the economic development of his country.

But, as I began by saying, all these subjects, attractive and momentous as they are, must yield in popular interest and in Imperial consequence to one other. That other is, of course, the Colonial Conference. Already—I write in the last week of April—it has proved itself by the resolutions it has adopted a business-like and a statesmanlike body. Already it has achieved results that must profoundly affect the structure and the evolution of the Empire. But I propose to reserve till my next letter, when they can be reviewed as a whole, the full consideration of the problems it has faced and of the solutions it has found for them.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

WEDNESDAY, *May 8.*

The War on the Constitution.

MR. WILLIAM V. ROWE, in his article on "National Tendencies and the Constitution," seeks to establish two propositions. He holds, in the first place, that the Federal Government, which we have imagined our own to be, was not really established by the Constitution, but that a national, or centralized, republic was in fact established, although, he must confess, with some obscurity of phrase; in the second place, that the National Government, with the assent of the people, is actually now engaged in ousting the States from the sovereign powers which heretofore have been widely, often judicially, recognized as belonging to them, and that this is right and essential in order that the Federal Government shall exercise supreme and exclusive control over all but strictly local interests, upon all business, including commerce, for example, that in any way, directly or indirectly, may be, or may enter into, commerce "with foreign nations, and among the several States." In a word, the logical outcome of his contention would be the recognition of the National Government as an all-pervasive and exclusive sovereign, exercising paternal control over all political or social subjects which do, or may, interest the whole country or the people of more than one State.

This may seem like an exaggerated statement of Mr. Rowe's position, but it is, after all, merely the formulation of the conclusion to which his essential contentions lead. It may be that Mr. Rowe, and his associate antagonists to the rights of the States—those rights that have heretofore been recognized as such by both schools of constitutional interpretation—will not care, at least now, to discuss the question which they have raised in its

ultimate terms, but those who believe that the Federal principle is essential to the maintenance of the American republic—large as it is and varied as are its interests—and who are impressed with the value, material as well as moral, of the freedom of the individual, artificial as well as natural, must insist upon carrying on the debate, the subject swelling, as it now is, into one of chief importance, with the necessary effect of the conclusion upon our constitutional government constantly in view.

Mr. Rowe not only advocates a change in the character of the United States Government, but he insists that the people have already made that change. It is one of the well-marked beliefs of the modern anti-constitutional school that the Constitution is not only obsolete or outgrown, but is not binding, and, especially, that the provisions of the amending clause need not be followed. Mr. Roosevelt, speaking through Mr. Root, would amend by judicial constructions; Senator Beveridge would amend by legislation; while Mr. Rowe would have both courts and law-makers consult the sentiments of the people. That those who hold such an attitude on this subject are unwilling frankly to debate the inevitable consequence, and the moral character, of their contention is shown, perhaps unconsciously, by Mr. Rowe. Speaking of the attitude of the people generally, he warns those who differ from him that "discussion" would be "useless," while he impliedly threatens his opponents in saying that it will be "prejudicial." The single point of which Mr. Rowe is here speaking is that the people, acting on his constitutional theory, have determined that economic activities shall be governed by the exercise of their political power. That opposition to the policies of the administration has been prejudicial to some we know; and perhaps it is not to be wondered at that punitive practice has so stirred the imaginations of some associates and defenders of the President as to lead them to warn off all who have the hardihood to put themselves in the way of the progress towards an absolute paternalism.

Mr. Rowe accepts the current assertion that the people of the United States are the victims of the depredations of wealth and property, and he warns us of the harm that we may do ourselves if we deny and discuss the further proposition that the people will, in consequence of these depredations, take the control of all wealth and property into their own hands and manage it

through the agency of the National Government. With some indistinctness, or subtlety, whichever may be the term that Mr. Rowe prefers, he argues, as he is forced to do, that Congress may do anything it may please to do under the "general-welfare" clause. This is an argument which has been employed a good deal during the history of constitutional discussion, but by no one who has not been seeking an end not granted or denied by the Constitution. It was not, however, the doctrine of Hamilton or Marshall or Jefferson or Madison. Hamilton and Marshall argued strongly and well in support of the doctrine that a large discretion has been bestowed upon Congress in exercising or authorizing implied powers for the effective execution of expressed powers; but both insisted that there could be no implied power not "necessary and proper" to make effective an expressed power. Madison said of the assertion of the universality of the "general-welfare" clause that "No stronger proof could be given of the distress under which these writers labor for objections than their stooping to such a misconstruction." Jefferson contended that the assertion that the "general-welfare" proposition gave complete legislative power to Congress over all subjects would, if sustained, "render all preceding and subsequent enumerations of power completely useless." In fact, it is an axiom that, if upon the National Government was bestowed the power to do all that it may conceive to be for the "general welfare" of the country, then no further constitutional provisions were needed, while some of those which were adopted were, when not the fruit of folly, contradictory of the universal, exclusive and absolute power granted by the general phrase.

When Madison wrote his opinion of the men who contended for the wide meaning of the "general-welfare" power, he was engaged, in company with Hamilton, in the endeavor to secure the adoption of the Constitution by the people, primarily by the people of the State of New York. Both men were of the opinion that their Constitution would be rejected if the popular belief was that the Constitution gave to Congress the large power to do anything which, in its discretion, it determined to be for the "general welfare." Now we have a new school of constitutional interpretation, the members of which are insisting, contrary to the belief of the framers of the Constitution, that the power was in fact granted, although we have contemporaneous evidence of

the universal conviction that, if it had been expressly and frankly bestowed by the document upon the National Government, the Constitution would not have been adopted. There is no other interpretation to be put upon Mr. Rowe's contention than that he holds that all particular grants, perhaps prohibitions, shall give way before the "general-welfare" power. He is convinced that the time has come when all restraints upon the Federal Government must yield to its own discretion, and that this discretion must also be recognized as dominant over the powers which were reserved by the States and the people to themselves. Indeed, it is Mr. Rowe's conviction that the people have already assented to the setting aside by the Federal Government of constitutional restraints, "and are, now, constantly promoting the assumption by the central authority — the National Government — . . . of a great part . . . of the real police powers and functions of government."

Undoubtedly, the aggressiveness of those who have for their purpose the annulment of constitutional restraints has succeeded, for the moment, in putting to sleep the constitutional consciousness and instincts of a large body of the people. It has succeeded in inflaming the imaginations of men at the expense of their judgments. There are some, possibly, who are so hypnotized that they will agree with Mr. Rowe that the States have no rights but merely powers; that, therefore, a power is not a right; that this power is really that of the people, who may take it away from the States, as if they could not also take away the powers granted to the United States. It is possible, too, that some people will be persuaded to accept the theory that the Constitution has actually been amended because some other people, moved by the aggressive preaching and conduct of the anti-constitutionalists, have shown a disposition to amend it. There is precedent in English history showing that constitutional changes may be effected, momentarily, by deliberate violation of the laws. The English Parliament not only acquiesced in the loans forced from subjects by Henry VIII, but enacted a law forgiving him his debts thus lawlessly contracted. It not only acquiesced in the enforcement of his proclamations as if they were statutes of the realm, but it passed an act giving to such proclamations the force of law. In Elizabeth's reign, and for a time under the Stuarts, the constitutional rights of Parliament and the people were further

invaded, and, as Hallam says, there was asserted "a paramount supremacy, called sometimes the King's absolute or sovereign power, which sanctioned commands beyond the legal prerogative, for the sake of public safety." The exceeding popularity of Henry VIII and of Elizabeth was used by them to take from the English people rights and powers for which the nation had contended, against the Crown, for nearly five hundred years. But when the popular Tudors were followed by the Stuarts the people regained their political consciousness and instincts. For all the arbitrary and hateful acts of James and of Charles I, there were precedents in the reigns of Henry and Elizabeth, but in the time of the Stuarts men went willingly to jail for resisting royal acts which they had authorized in the days of the Tudors, and the nation at last beheaded Charles because of arbitrary conduct for the like of which they had applauded the great predecessors of his family. In the end the powers which had been usurped by the King were taken back by the nation. The right to exercise them and other and larger powers was assumed and fortified by the establishment of responsible government. The King himself became the servant of the people, who, by the agency of their own representatives, indicated the man whom they desired to be the real head of the executive machinery of the Government. It will not do to assume that the momentary disposition of the people, especially when they are under the spell of one whose brain and exciting activities absorb their interest, indicates a fixed desire to change the nature of their Government, a willingness permanently to surrender rights and powers the history of which is the history of a struggle against excessive government, a struggle as old and continuous as the Teutonic occupation of England.

Mr. Rowe's reason for desiring to read into the Constitution a larger national power over subjects that have heretofore been left to the States is that these subjects and their problems affect "most seriously the 'general welfare' and 'domestic tranquillity' of the whole people," and "cannot be dealt with satisfactorily by the several States, but must be cared for by the nation itself, which was constituted for the express purpose of dealing with subjects of that nature." Mr. Rowe exaggerates and distorts the purpose of the creation of the nation in order that the necessities of his argument may be met. He desires to put political power over economic law; to give to government a paternal power over busi-

ness and social relations, and to confine political control of this kind to the National Government. Such control has always been the foster-mother of evils greater than those which Mr. Rowe enumerates, as now injurious to our free life. In this country, national control of the great industries would involve the grant of power over the complicated needs of the products in manufacturing and commercial States to those familiar with the simple needs of agricultural and pastoral States alone. Moreover, complete national control over the commerce among the States and its instruments is already given by the Constitution and is enforceable by the United States. The courts may lay down the uniform rule which Mr. Rowe desires; and laws which, according to the decision of the United States Supreme Court, permit the National Government to prohibit the transportation of immoral lottery tickets by express companies, need no further strengthening or enlargement by new legislation. But if it be wise to give to government paternal control of business it is also wise in each instance to make the political family circle as small as possible. A canton of Switzerland would be a less terrifying parent than the whole republic would be, and a State would cherish where the United States would inconsiderately destroy. The end proposed is bad even if the Constitution permitted it to be pursued. To distort the Constitution in order to gain it would be to compass folly by indirection.

THURSDAY, *May 9.*

The Approaching Esperanto Congress.

THOSE of us who are interested in the success of Esperanto cannot but rejoice in the glowing reports published from month to month by the Committee of Three in "The British Esperantist." The committee was entrusted with the task of arranging all the details of the approaching Esperanto Congress, to be held from August 12th to 17th, at Cambridge, England.

"On Sunday, August 11th," says the committee in a recent number of the "Esperantist," "the Esperanto Divine Services will be held. The Rev. J. Cyprian Rust, chairman of the Ecclesiastical Committee, has already prepared an able translation from the English Book of Common Prayer, which we shall shortly publish, together with a selection of hymns suitable for well-known tunes."

The committee also announces that "a great exhibition of British sports will take place on Thursday afternoon, August 15th, and also the ringing of the chimes will be heard from the celebrated bells of Great St. Mary's Church."

The mere fact that the Esperanto Congress, which will have hundreds of representatives from every part of the globe, will be held on British soil is of tremendous importance to the idea. For no international project, if it is to be universal, can succeed without the support of the English-speaking peoples, and the English-speaking peoples are so constituted that they cannot take things on trust or by hearsay. They must see with their own eyes thousands of men and women, gathered from all over the world, to do battle for one great idea; hundreds of aliens worshipping in an English church, indeed, but in a common tongue. The coupling of British sports with the idea of Esperanto shows no less insight on the part of the committee. Bring Esperanto into the intimate life of the British public, and the idea is bound to take hold in Great Britain as it has in France. We hope, too, that many Americans will find it possible to attend the Congress, and convince themselves of the excellence and practicality of the idea of an international tongue.

FRIDAY, May 10.

Faith and Intellect.

It has usually been the method of religion to disparage the use of the mind; and, certainly, in matters of religion, the intellect does not carry one very far. In the end, in religion as in friendship, and in general human relations and conduct of life, the function of the intellect is to examine and to judge, and that of the heart to carry on, in faith and with courage, the work thus begun.

Doubtless, any attempt to fathom the scheme of the universe, to cope, intellectually, with its vast, unsearchable issues, must result in failure, and usually disastrous failure; and yet, that whatever creative Providence rules over us demands from us the active use of the intellect is quite evident, for we suffer the consequences of our mistakes as well as of our sins. Let a man build him a life on an erroneous theory, and every attempt to move forward will lead him to disaster as surely as if he were deliberately pursuing a career of crime. To accept on faith, and without questioning, any dogmatic scheme of ethics or theory of creation

will invariably lead into a morass. The intellectual act must both follow and precede the emotional. Desire incites thought, and thought demands faith in activity; demands a definite trust that the universe, however stubborn it may seem, is yet plastic to the will, to effort. Life is, at every step, a problem; and to apply intellect to the problem is literally the making of man and the extinction of the tiger and the ape. There is reward, too, in hard thinking, just as there is reward in exercise. There is pleasure in feeling the mental fibres grow stronger; there is in mental effort an open door out of ourselves into larger worlds; and to escape out of ourselves is to escape the suffering of limitation.

So any religion which discourages the application of intellect to the problems of life and death makes a mistake. To make out what we can of the meaning of life, and then to act upon such knowledge as we have, whether for success or for failure, is the essence of a true religious life. It is of religion to accept failure as educative, and success, however great, as partial, and to pitch our faith in a future higher than any attainment now possible.

SATURDAY, May 11.

Servants.

THIS is doubtless to women the most engrossing theme upon earth; and perhaps the greater part of its charm lies in the fact that, where servants have not disappeared altogether, they are fast disappearing.

A generation ago there began to be signs of a radical change in the conditions of domestic service, and the changes have progressed rapidly since then. When men learned to declare themselves free and equal, whatever the differences of inheritance, ability, position, education, when a nation took as its motto "*Liberté, fraternité, égalité*" the death-blow was struck at domestic service. The insistence upon the badges of service—livery, buttons, caps—helped to add to the prejudice against it.

As things stand to-day, it is patent that household industry, as Mrs. Gilman says, "in that tenth of our homes not served by the housewife, is in the hands of ignorant and inferior young women, *under conditions of constant change*." Ignorant and inferior, because, with the slightest education and ability, young women can find lighter work and higher wages as typewriters, secretaries, dressmakers, sewing-women; and, despite the fact

that household labor is comparatively light and unexacting, the average young woman of mean abilities prefers factory work, offering as it does sociability and a less precise overseer than housework. Moreover, the house-servant is always temporary. She looks forward to a change of scene and of methods, when not to marriage and a house of her own as complete release from serving a stranger's household gods. In the small household of medium means, not more than two or three servants are kept, and the duties of these require that they be in different parts of the house. Thus the first defect of household labor, as carried on in a small city house, is that it is dull. An educated person of mental resource prefers solitary labor, a certain amount of loneliness, but children and servants need constant companionship for their development. The loneliness of household labor is therefore one disadvantage; the very lightness of the work, combined with the long hours during which domestics must be ready to serve if necessary, is a disadvantage. England, we hear, has set up a "Servants' League," a combination whereby servants have set a standard of wages, and a definite amount of service and limit of hours for the wages received. Probably there will be soon a Housewife's League to consider sensibly and carefully the demands of the servants and, above all, how to lend household labor the charm and the dignity which will make it seem a desirable occupation, and how to adjust the tastes and demands of refined ideals of living to the coarse and unskilled laborer's ideals of necessity.

MONDAY, *May 13.*

The Weather.

THE weather is a matter for which we are not half grateful enough. Its advantages and graces and charms are so unobtrusive that we are only half-way conscious of them. First, it is probably the one thing that can be uninterruptedly complained of without retaliating. Secondly, its infinite variety never grows stale; it can never be truly forecast, and the element of unexpectedness is always there to keep us from growing weary and unobservant.

But these are the lighter excellencies of weather. It has graver and more enduring charms. It has inspired, it is fair to say, a large proportion of the world's lyric poetry; rain and the wind, the sky with all its shifting scenery, the "obscure clouds moulded of the casual air," the birth and death of seasons, the lightning

flashes illuminating sudden small islands of life, and all the lesser phenomena of the weather have kept the poets busy since time and poets began. When a man has his intelligence keenly set to see, there is no end to the wonderful modulations of light and shade, of color and motion, the weather will prepare for him. A great mistake, however, is to fancy that sunshine, with its genial warmth, is the only kind of beautiful weather. The spring winds capriciously spurting from all corners at once, a heavy veil of slate-gray rainfall, a howling, shrieking, destructive wind scattering everything in its mad career and sending the dust up in clouds that grow thinner and catch the light toward the upper edge, all these have their own beauty of aspect and of sound. The crisp tingling of the Northern winter and the soft, glowing, languorous heat of a Southern summer spread various beauty about the world.

"So we stumbled through the marram-grass," writes an observant essayist, "back to the spot where a shape of light shot up into the darkness from the cabin skylight of our boat. After dinner we went on to the slippery deck, where the snow and hoarfrost glittered; the clouds were gone; the moon was electric in brilliance; all the world was white and dazzling. The smooth shining mud round us was like lava; one could fancy it sweeping irresistibly past. And farther away a mud-bank reared up its back like a whale as the water stealthily fell away from its flanks. We leaned across the boom and wondered. Is it really true? Is the incredible beauty of this solitude seen by us alone?"

Yes, the weather is a great spendthrift of incredible beauty, slinging it forth lavishly on all sides, and now and then a poet sees and hears.

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CHAPTERS FROM MY AUTOBIOGRAPHY—XIX*

BY MARK TWAIN.

PREFATORY NOTE.—Mr. Clemens began to write his autobiography many years ago, and he continues to add to it day by day. It was his original intention to permit no publication of his memoirs until after his death; but, after leaving "Pier No. 70," he concluded that a considerable portion might now suitably be given to the public. It is that portion, garnered from the quarter-million of words already written, which will appear in this REVIEW during the present year. No part of the autobiography will be published in book form during the lifetime of the author.—EDITOR N. A. R.

From Susy's Biography of Me.

March 23, '86.—The other day was my birthday, and I had a little birthday party in the evening and papa acted some very funny charades with Mr. Gherhardt, Mr. Jesse Grant (who had come up from New York and was spending the evening with us) and Mr. Frank Warner. One of them was "on his knees" honys-sneeze. There were a good many other funny ones, all of which I dont remember. Mr. Grant was very pleasant, and began playing the charades in the most delightful way.

Susy's spelling has defeated me, this time. I cannot make out what "honys-sneeze" stands for. Impromptu charades were almost a nightly pastime of ours, from the children's earliest days—they played in them with me when they were only five or six years old. As they increased in years and practice their love

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for the sport almost amounted to a passion, and they acted their parts with a steadily increasing ability. At first they required much drilling; but later they were generally ready as soon as the parts were assigned, and they acted them according to their own devices. Their stage facility and absence of constraint and self-consciousness in the "Prince and Pauper" was a result of their charading practice.

At ten and twelve Susy wrote plays, and she and Daisy Warner and Clara played them in the library or up-stairs in the school-room, with only themselves and the servants for audience. They were of a tragic and tremendous sort, and were performed with great energy and earnestness. They were dramatized (freely) from English history, and in them Mary Queen of Scots and Elizabeth had few holidays. The clothes were borrowed from the mother's wardrobe and the gowns were longer than necessary, but that was not regarded as a defect. In one of these plays Jean (three years old, perhaps) was Sir Francis Bacon. She was not dressed for the part, and did not have to say anything, but sat silent and decorous at a tiny table and was kept busy signing death-warrants. It was a really important office, for few entered those plays and got out of them alive.

March 26.—Mamma and Papa have been in New York for two or three days, and Miss Corey has been staying with us. They are coming home to-day at two o'clock.

Papa has just begun to play chess, and he is very fond of it, so he has engaged to play with Mrs. Charles Warner every morning from 10 to 12, he came down to supper last night, full of this pleasant prospect, but evidently with something on his mind. Finally he said to mamma in an appologetical tone, Susy Warner and I have a plan.

"Well" mamma said "what now, I wonder?"

Papa said that Susy Warner and he were going to name the chess men after some of the old bible heroes, and then play chess on Sunday.

April 18, '86.—Mamma and papa Clara and Daisy have gone to New York to see the "Mikado." They are coming home to-night at half past seven.

Last winter when Mr. Cable was lecturing with papa, he wrote this letter to him just before he came to visit us.

DEAR UNCLE,—That's one nice thing about me, I never bother any one, to offer me a good thing twice. You dont ask me to stay over Sunday, but then you dont ask me to leave Saturday night, and

knowing the nobility of your nature as I do—thank you, I'll stay till Monday morning.*

Your's and the dear familie's

GEORGE W. CABLE.

[*December 22, 1906.*] It seems a prodigious while ago! Two or three nights ago I dined at a friend's house with a score of other men, and at my side was Cable—actually almost an old man, really almost an old man, that once so young chap! 62 years old, frost on his head, seven grandchildren in stock, and a brand-new wife to re-begin life with!

[*Dictated Nov. 19, 1906.*]

Ever since papa and mamma were married, papa has written his books and then taken them to mamma in manuscript and she has expurgated them. Papa read "Huckleberry Finn" to us in manuscript just before it came out, and then he would leave parts of it with mamma to expurgate, while he went off up to the study to work, and sometimes Clara and I would be sitting with mamma while she was looking the manuscript over, and I remember so well, with what pangs of regret we used to see her turn down the leaves of the pages, which meant that some delightfully dreadful part must be scratched out. And I remember one part perticularly which was perfectly fascinating it was dreadful, that Clara and I used to delight in, and oh with what dispair we saw mamma turn down the leaf on which it was written, we thought the book would be almost ruined without it. But we gradually came to feel as mamma did.

It would be a pity to replace the vivacity and quaintness and felicity of Susy's innocent free spelling with the dull and petrified uniformities of the spelling-book. Nearly all the grimness is taken out of the "expurgating" of my books by the subtle mollification accidentally infused into the word by Susy's modification of the spelling of it.

I remember the special case mentioned by Susy, and can see the group yet—two-thirds of it pleading for the life of the culprit sentence that was so fascinatingly dreadful and the other third of it patiently explaining why the court could not grant the prayer of the pleaders; but I do not remember what the condemned phrase was. It had much company, and they all went to the gallows; but it is possible that that specially dreadful one which gave those little people so much delight was cunningly devised and put into the book for just that function, and not

* Cable never travelled Sundays.

with any hope or expectation that it would get by the "exper-gator" alive. It is possible, for I had that custom.

Susy's quaint and effective spelling falls quite opportunely into to-day's atmosphere, which is heavy with the rumblings and grumblings and mutterings of the Simplified Spelling Reform. Andrew Carnegie started this storm, a couple of years ago, by moving a simplifying of English orthography, and establishing a fund for the prosecution and maintenance of the crusade. He began gently. He addressed a circular to some hundreds of his friends, asking them to simplify the spelling of a dozen of our badly spelt words—I think they were only words which end with the superfluous *ugh*. He asked that these friends use the suggested spellings in their private correspondence.

By this, one perceives that the beginning was sufficiently quiet and unaggressive.

Next stage: a small committee was appointed, with Brander Matthews for managing director and spokesman. It issued a list of three hundred words, of average silliness as to spelling, and proposed new and sane spellings for these words. The President of the United States, unsolicited, adopted these simplified three hundred officially, and ordered that they be used in the official documents of the Government. It was now remarked, by all the educated and the thoughtful except the clergy that Sheol was to pay. This was most justly and comprehensively descriptive. The indignant British lion rose, with a roar that was heard across the Atlantic, and stood there on his little isle, gazing, red-eyed, out over the glooming seas, snow-flecked with driving spindrift, and lashing his tail—a most scary spectacle to see.

The lion was outraged because we, a nation of children, without any grown-up people among us, with no property in the language, but using it merely by courtesy of its owner the English nation, were trying to defile the sacredness of it by removing from it peculiarities which had been its ornament and which had made it holy and beautiful for ages.

In truth there is a certain sardonic propriety in preserving our orthography, since ours is a mongrel language which started with a child's vocabulary of three hundred words, and now consists of two hundred and twenty-five thousand; the whole lot, with the exception of the original and legitimate three hundred,

borrowed, stolen, smouched from every unwatched language under the sun, the spelling of each individual word of the lot locating the source of the theft and preserving the memory of the revered crime.

Why is it that I have intruded into this turmoil and manifested a desire to get our orthography purged of its asininities? Indeed I do not know why I should manifest any interest in the matter, for at bottom I disrespect our orthography most heartily, and as heartily disrespect everything that has been said by anybody in defence of it. Nothing professing to be a defence of our ludicrous spellings has had any basis, so far as my observation goes, except sentimentality. In these "arguments" the term venerable is used instead of mouldy, and hallowed instead of devilish; whereas there is nothing properly venerable or antique about a language which is not yet four hundred years old, and about a jumble of imbecile spellings which were grotesque in the beginning, and which grow more and more grotesque with the flight of the years.

[Dictated Monday, November 30, 1906.]

Jean and Papa were walking out past the barn the other day when Jean saw some little newly born baby ducks, she exclaimed as she perceived them "I dont see why God gives us so much ducks when Patrick kills them so."

Susy is mistaken as to the origin of the ducks. They were not a gift, I bought them. I am not finding fault with her, for that would be most unfair. She is remarkably accurate in her statements as a historian, as a rule, and it would not be just to make much of this small slip of hers; besides I think it was a quite natural slip, for by heredity and habit ours was a religious household, and it was a common thing with us whenever anybody did a handsome thing, to give the credit of it to Providence, without examining into the matter. This may be called automatic religion—in fact that is what it is; it is so used to its work that it can do it without your help or even your privity; out of all the facts and statistics that may be placed before it, it will always get the one result, since it has never been taught to seek any other. It is thus the unreflecting cause of much injustice. As we have seen, it betrayed Susy into an injustice toward me. It had to be automatic, for she would have been

far from doing me an injustice when in her right mind. It was a dear little biographer, and she meant me no harm, and I am not censuring her now, but am only desirous of correcting in advance an erroneous impression which her words would be sure to convey to a reader's mind. No elaboration of this matter is necessary; it is sufficient to say *I* provided the ducks.

It was in Hartford. The greensward sloped down-hill from the house to the sluggish little river that flowed through the grounds, and Patrick, who was fertile in good ideas, had early conceived the idea of having home-made ducks for our table. Every morning he drove them from the stable down to the river, and the children were always there to see and admire the waddling white procession; they were there again at sunset to see Patrick conduct the procession back to its lodgings in the stable. But this was not always a gay and happy holiday show, with joy in it for the witnesses; no, too frequently there was a tragedy connected with it, and then there were tears and pain for the children. There was a stranded log or two in the river, and on these certain families of snapping-turtles used to congregate and drowse in the sun and give thanks, in their dumb way, to Providence for benevolence extended to them. It was but another instance of misplaced credit; it was the young ducks that those pious reptiles were so thankful for—whereas they were *my* ducks. I bought the ducks.

When a crop of young ducks, not yet quite old enough for the table but approaching that age, began to join the procession, and paddle around in the sluggish water, and give thanks—not to me—for that privilege, the snapping-turtles would suspend their songs of praise and slide off the logs and paddle along under the water and chew the feet of the young ducks. Presently Patrick would notice that two or three of those little creatures were not moving about, but were apparently at anchor, and were not looking as thankful as they had been looking a short time before. He early found out what that sign meant—a submerged snapping-turtle was taking his breakfast, and silently singing his gratitude. Every day or two Patrick would rescue and fetch up a little duck with incomplete legs to stand upon—nothing left of their extremities but gnawed and bleeding stumps. Then the children said pitying things and wept—and at dinner we finished the tragedy which the turtles had begun. Thus, as will be seen—

out of season, at least—it was really the turtles that gave us so much ducks. At my expense.

Papa has written a new version of "There is a happy land" it is—

"There is a boarding-house
Far, far away,
Where they have ham and eggs,
Three times a day,
Oh don't those boarders yell
When they hear the dinner-bell,
They give that land-lord rats
Three times a day."

Again Susy has made a small error. It was not I that wrote the song. I heard Billy Rice sing it in the negro minstrel show, and I brought it home and sang it—with great spirit—for the elevation of the household. The children admired it to the limit, and made me sing it with burdensome frequency. To their minds it was superior to the Battle Hymn of the Republic.

How many years ago that was! Where now is Billy Rice? He was a joy to me, and so were the other stars of the nigger-show—Billy Birch, David Wambold, Backus, and a delightful dozen of their brethren, who made life a pleasure to me forty years ago, and later. Birch, Wambold, and Backus are gone years ago; and with them departed to return no more forever, I suppose, the real nigger-show—the genuine nigger-show, the extravagant nigger-show,—the show which to me had no peer and whose peer has not yet arrived, in my experience. We have the grand opera; and I have witnessed, and greatly enjoyed, the first act of everything which Wagner created, but the effect on me has always been so powerful that one act was quite sufficient; whenever I have witnessed two acts I have gone away physically exhausted; and whenever I have ventured an entire opera the result has been the next thing to suicide. But if I could have the nigger-show back again, in its pristine purity and perfection, I should have but little further use for opera. It seems to me that to the elevated mind and the sensitive spirit the hand-organ and the nigger-show are a standard and a summit to whose rarefied altitude the other forms of musical art may not hope to reach.

[Dictated September 5, 1906.] It is years since I have examined "The Children's Record." I have turned over a few of its pages this morning. This book is a record in which Mrs. Clemens

and I registered some of the sayings and doings of the children, in the long ago, when they were little chaps. Of course, we wrote these things down at the time because they were of momentary interest—things of the passing hour, and of no permanent value—but at this distant day I find that they still possess an interest for me and also a value, because it turns out that they were *registrations of character*. The qualities then revealed by fitful glimpses, in childish acts and speeches, remained as a permanency in the children's characters in the drift of the years, and were always afterwards clearly and definitely recognizable.

There is a masterful streak in Jean that now and then moves her to set my authority aside for a moment and end a losing argument in that prompt and effective fashion. And here in this old book I find evidence that she was just like that before she was quite four years old.

From The Children's Record. Quarry Farm, July 7, 1884.—Yesterday evening our cows (after being inspected and worshipped by Jean from the shed for an hour,) wandered off down into the pasture, and left her bereft. I thought I was going to get back home, now, but that was an error. Jean knew of some more cows, in a field somewhere, and took my hand and led me thitherward. When we turned the corner and took the right-hand road, I saw that we should presently be out of range of call and sight; so I began to argue against continuing the expedition, and Jean began to argue in favor of it—she using English for light skirmishing, and German for “business.” I kept up my end with vigor, and demolished her arguments in detail, one after the other, till I judged I had her about cornered. She hesitated a moment, then answered up sharply:

“*Wir werden nichts mehr darüber sprechen!*” (We won't talk any more about it!)

It nearly took my breath away; though I thought I might possibly have misunderstood. I said:

“Why, you little rascal! *Was hast du gesagt?*”

But she said the same words over again, and in the same decided way. I suppose I ought to have been outraged; but I wasn't, I was charmed. And I suppose I ought to have spanked her; but I didn't, I fraternized with the enemy, and we went on and spent half an hour with the cows.

That incident is followed in the “Record” by the following paragraph, which is another instance of a juvenile characteristic maintaining itself into mature age. Susy was persistently and conscientiously truthful throughout her life with the exception of one interruption covering several months, and perhaps a year.

This was while she was still a little child. Suddenly—not gradually—she began to lie; not furtively, but frankly, openly, and on a scale quite disproportioned to her size. Her mother was so stunned, so nearly paralyzed for a day or two, that she did not know what to do with the emergency. Reasonings, persuasions, beseechings, all went for nothing; they produced no effect; the lying went tranquilly on. Other remedies were tried, but they failed. There is a tradition that success was finally accomplished by whipping. I think the Record says so, but if it does it is because the Record is incomplete. Whipping was indeed tried, and was faithfully kept up during two or three weeks, but the results were merely temporary; the reforms achieved were discouragingly brief.

Fortunately for Susy, an incident presently occurred which put a complete stop to all the mother's efforts in the direction of reform. This incident was the chance discovery in Darwin of a passage which said that when a child exhibits a sudden and unaccountable disposition to forsake the truth and restrict itself to lying, the explanation must be sought away back in the past; that an ancestor of the child had had the same disease, at the same tender age; that it was irremovable by persuasion or punishment, and that it had ceased as suddenly and as mysteriously as it had come, when it had run its appointed course. I think Mr. Darwin said that nothing was necessary but to leave the matter alone and let the malady have its way and perish by the statute of limitations.

We had confidence in Darwin, and after that day Susy was relieved of our reformatory persecutions. She went on lying without let or hindrance during several months, or a year; then the lying suddenly ceased, and she became as conscientiously and exactly truthful as she had been before the attack, and she remained so to the end of her life.

The paragraph in the Record to which I have been leading up is in my handwriting, and is of a date so long posterior to the time of the lying malady that she had evidently forgotten that truth-speaking had ever had any difficulties for her.

Mama was speaking of a servant who had been pretty unvarnished, but was now "trying to tell the truth." Susy was a good deal surprised, and said she shouldn't think anybody would have to *try* to tell the truth.

In the Record the children's acts and speeches quite definitely define their characters. Susy's indicated the presence of mentality — thought — and they were generally marked by gravity. She was timid, on her physical side, but had an abundance of moral courage. Clara was sturdy, independent, orderly, practical, persistent, plucky—just a little animal, and very satisfactory. Charles Dudley Warner said Susy was made of mind, and Clara of matter.

When Motley, the kitten, died, some one said that the thoughts of the two children need not be inquired into, they could be divined: that Susy was wondering if this was the *end* of Motley, and had his life been worth while; whereas Clara was merely interested in seeing to it that there should be a creditable funeral.

In those days Susy was a dreamer, a thinker, a poet and philosopher, and Clara—well, Clara wasn't. In after-years a passion for music developed the latent spirituality and intellectuality in Clara, and her practicality took second and, in fact, even third place. Jean was from the beginning orderly, steady, diligent, persistent; and remains so. She picked up languages easily, and kept them.

Susy aged eleven, Jean three.—Susy said the other day when she saw Jean bringing a cat to me of her own motion, "Jean has found out already that mamma loves morals and papa loves cats."

It is another of Susy's remorselessly sound verdicts.

As a child, Jean neglected my books. When she was nine years old Will Gillette invited her and the rest of us to a dinner at the Murray Hill Hotel in New York, in order that we might get acquainted with Mrs. Leslie and her daughters. Elsie Leslie was nine years old, and was a great celebrity on the stage. Jean was astonished and awed to see that little slip of a thing sit up at table and take part in the conversation of the grown people, capably and with ease and tranquillity. Poor Jean was obliged to keep still, for the subjects discussed never happened to hit her level, but at last the talk fell within her limit and she had her chance to contribute to it. "Tom Sawyer" was mentioned. Jean spoke gratefully up and said,

"I know who wrote that book—Harriet Beecher Stowe!"

One evening Susy had prayed, Clara was curled up for sleep; she was reminded that it was her turn to pray now. She said "Oh! one's enough," and dropped off to slumber.

Clara five years old.—We were in Germany. The nurse, Rosa, was not allowed to speak to the children otherwise than in German. Clara grew very tired of it; by and by the little creature's patience was exhausted, and she said "Aunt Clara, I wish God had made Rosa in English."

Clara four years old, Susy six.—This morning when Clara discovered that this is my birthday, she was greatly troubled because she had provided no gift for me, and repeated her sorrow several times. Finally she went musing to the nursery and presently returned with her newest and dearest treasure, a large toy horse, and said, "You shall have this horse for your birthday, papa."

I accepted it with many thanks. After an hour she was racing up and down the room with the horse, when Susy said,

"Why Clara, you gave that horse to papa, and now you've taken it again."

Clara.—"I never give it to him for always; I give it to him for his birthday."

In Geneva, in September, I lay abed late one morning, and as Clara was passing through the room I took her on my bed a moment. Then the child went to Clara Spaulding and said,

"Aunt Clara, papa is a good deal of trouble to me."

"Is he? Why?"

"Well, he wants me to get in bed with him, and I can't do that with jelmuls [gentlemen]—I don't like jelmuls anyway."

"What, you don't like gentlemen! Don't you like Uncle Theodore Crane?"

"Oh yes, but he's not a jelmul, he's a friend."

MARK TWAIN.

(*To be Continued.*)

INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

BY HIS EMINENCE, CARDINAL GIBBONS.

THE subject of the following article acquires a special interest from the circumstance that the Conference on International Arbitration is expected to commence its sessions at The Hague during the present summer.

Nearly two thousand years ago, the first words that were uttered to announce the birth of the Saviour of mankind, were those of the angelic anthem containing a proclamation of peace to the world: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good-will." And the first words of the risen Saviour to His assembled Apostles were also a message of blessed peace: "Jesus came and stood in the midst, and said to them: Peace be to you."

Christ's mission on earth was to establish a triple peace in the hearts of men—peace with God by the observance of His commandments, peace with our fellow men by the practice of justice and charity, and peace within our own breasts by keeping our passions subject to reason, and our reason in harmony with the Divine law. He came above all "to break down the middle wall of partition" that divided nation from nation, that alienated tribe from tribe, and people from people, and to make them all one family acknowledging the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Christ. But, looking back and contemplating the wars that have ravaged the Christian world during the last twenty centuries, some persons might be tempted at first sight to exclaim in anguish of heart that the mission of Christ was a failure. My purpose, in the brief remarks that I shall make, is to disabuse the faint-hearted of this discouraging impression, and to show that Christ's mission has not failed, but that the cause of peace has made decisive and reassuring progress, and the advances it has already made are an assurance of its ultimate success.

It is by comparisons and contrasts that we can most effectually gauge the results of Christian civilization.

Let us compare the military history of the Roman Empire, from its foundation to the time of Augustus Cæsar, with the military record of our American Republic, from the close of the Revolution to the present time.

In pagan Rome, war was the rule, peace was the exception. The Temple of Janus in Rome was always open in time of war, and was closed in time of peace. From the reign of Romulus to the time of Augustus Cæsar, a period of seven hundred years, the Temple of Janus was always open, except twice, when it was closed for only six years. It was subsequently closed at the birth of Christ, as if to symbolize the pacific mission of the Redeemer of mankind.

The United States has existed as a sovereign nation for about one hundred and twenty years, since the close of the Revolution. During that period, we have had four wars—the War with England, from 1812 to 1815; the War with Mexico, from 1845 to 1848; the Civil War, from 1861 to 1865; and the recent Spanish War. The combined length of these campaigns was about ten years. Hence, we see that the United States has enjoyed twelve years of peace for one year of war, while the Roman Empire enjoyed less than one year of tranquillity for every century of military engagements. I may remark, in passing, that at least three of these four military campaigns might have been easily averted by peaceful arbitration, and that a large share of the responsibility for them rests at our doors.

What is the history of the Hebrew people, as recorded in the pages of the Old Testament, but a narrative of warfare? The Sacred Chronicle, from Moses to the Maccabees, comprising fourteen hundred years, presents an almost unbroken series of wars of defence, of invasion, or of extermination. So continuous were military campaigns that a sacred writer refers to a time in the year when hostilities were annually resumed: "It came to pass at the return of the year, at the time when kings go forth to war." They had their season for fighting as well marked as we have our seasons for planting and reaping.

But the blessed influence of our Christian civilization has been experienced not only in reducing the number of wars, but still more in mitigating the horrors of military strife.

Prior to the dawn of Christianity, the motto of the conqueror was: "*Væ victis*," "Woe to the vanquished." The captured cities were pillaged and laid waste. The wives and daughters of the defeated nation became the prey of the ruthless soldiery. The conquered generals and their armies were obliged to grace the triumphs of the victors before they were condemned to death or to ignominious bondage. Alexander the Great, after the capture of the city of Tyre, ordered two thousand of the inhabitants to be crucified, and the remainder of the population were put to death or sold into slavery.

How different was the conduct of General Scott after his successful siege of the City of Mexico! As soon as the enemy surrendered, not a single soldier or citizen was sacrificed to the vengeance of the victorious army, and not a single family was exiled from their native land.

During the siege of Jerusalem, in the year 70 of the Christian era, under Titus the Roman general, more than a million of Jews perished by the sword or by famine. Nearly one hundred thousand Jews were carried into captivity. The sacred vessels of the Temple of Jerusalem were borne away by the blood-stained hands of the Roman army. Simon, the Jewish chieftain, with the flower of the Jewish troops, was conducted to Rome, where he graced the triumph of the Roman General, and then a rope was thrown around his neck and he was dragged to the Forum, where he was cruelly tormented and put to death. And yet Titus was not accused by his contemporaries of exceptional cruelty. On the contrary, he was regarded as a benevolent ruler, and was called "The delight of the human race."

Let us contrast the conduct of Titus towards the Jews with General Grant's treatment of the defeated Confederate forces. When General Lee surrendered his sword to Grant at Appomattox Court House, he and his brave army were permitted to return without molestation to their respective homes.

Imagine General Lee and his veterans led in chains to Washington, followed by the spoils and treasures of Southern homes and Southern sanctuaries. Imagine the same Confederate soldiers compelled to erect, in the capital of the nation, a monument to commemorate their own defeat and the triumph of the conqueror. Would not the whole nation rise up in its might and denounce a degradation so revolting to their humanity?

The Roman and the American Generals, in their opposite conduct, were reflecting the spirit of the time in which they lived. Titus, in exercising cruelty towards the vanquished, was following the traditions of Paganism. Grant, in his magnanimity towards the Confederate troops, was obeying the mandates of Christian civilization.

The friends and advocates of International Arbitration are engaged in the most noble and benevolent mission that can engross the attention of mankind—a mission to which are attached the most sublime title and the most precious reward. “Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.”

Consider what progress has already been made in the beneficent work in which they are enlisted.

A hundred years ago disputes between individuals were commonly decided by duels. Thanks to the humanizing influence of a Christian public opinion, these disagreements are now usually adjusted by legislation and conciliation. Have we not reason to indulge the hope that the same pacific agencies which have checked the duel between individuals will, in God’s own time, check the duel between nations?

In our schoolboy days the most odious and contemptible creature we used to encounter was the bully, who played the tyrant towards the weak but cringed before his strong companions. But still more intolerable is a bullying nation that picks a quarrel with a feeble nation, with the base intent of seizing her possessions. This bullying Power is playing towards a weaker neighbor the rôle which the impious King Ahab acted towards Naboth. When the King demanded Naboth’s vineyard, Naboth answered: “The Lord forbid that I should give to thee the inheritance of my fathers.” But there was no Board of Arbitration in those days; might was right with Ahab. He robbed Naboth, not only of his vineyard, but also of his life.

Let the friends and advocates of International Arbitration use every effort to protect the weak against the strong, and then to the ruler of a feeble nation may be applied the words of the poet:

“Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just.”

(1) He is armed with the consciousness of the sacred right of property.

(2) He is armed with the shield of an enlightened public opinion.

(3) He is armed with the conviction that his cause will be adjudicated by the equitable decision of a Board of Arbitration.

This amicable system, while protecting the rights of the weak, will not wound the national pride of the strong, since it does not attempt to trench on the sovereignty of the stronger Power.

I can recall at least five instances within the last twenty years in which international conflicts have been amicably settled by arbitration. The dispute between Germany and Spain regarding the Caroline Islands was adjusted by Pope Leo XIII in 1886. The Samoan difficulty between Germany and the United States was settled by a conference held in Berlin in 1889. A treaty of peace between the United States and Mexico was signed in Washington at the close of Mr. Cleveland's administration. And, a few months ago, a war between France and Germany—perhaps a general European conflict—was averted by the Algeciras conference on Morocco.

Lastly, President Roosevelt, by his timely and tactful intervention, put an end to the late destructive war between Russia and Japan. As a recognition of his daring act of humanity (for failure would have seriously compromised his official dignity), he was presented with the Nobel prize, including a gold medal, which, no doubt, he esteems far less for its intrinsic value than for the memorable historic incident which it commemorates.

If international arbitration helps to avert threatening hostilities, the avoidance of any entangling alliance removes us from the danger of provoking them.

The Father of his Country, in his Farewell Address, which he left as a precious legacy to his countrymen, earnestly exhorts them to abstain from being involved in entangling alliances with other nations, and to cultivate friendship with all of them. This solemn admonition was reaffirmed by Jefferson in his Inaugural Address, and it has been handed down from one Administration to another as a sacred oracle, and has now acquired almost the force and authority of law. Washington wrote:

"Observe good faith and justice towards all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this counsel. It will be worthy of a free, enlightened and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too often novel example of a people always guided by exalted justice and benevolence.

"Nothing is more essential than that inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments to others should be ex-

cluded, and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is a slave to its animosity or to its affections. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. . . .

"Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have no, or a very remote, relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are entirely foreign to our concerns. Hence, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or in the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or her enmities. Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. . . .

"Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? . . . Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, honor or caprice?

"Our policy is to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world."

Since these memorable words were written in 1796, experience and observation, far from weakening their force, have confirmed their wisdom and foresight, and their observance has contributed no small share to our peace and prosperity.

As soon as we form an alliance, offensive and defensive, with any other nation, we make her quarrels and hostilities our own. Her enemies are our enemies. We are tied to her chariot wheels. We must perforce increase our land and naval armament to suit her purposes. She will urge and almost compel us to do so if we are to remain her champion. It is implied in the compact.

By throwing ourselves into the arms of one interested ally we alienate ourselves from other nations, which become inflamed toward us with a spirit of jealousy, or even of open hostility.

The European Powers are impelled to form coalitions for reasons which, happily for us, do not affect our country. Their history is marked by traditional and inveterate rivalries and animosities towards each other.

Each nation has on her borders a formidable Power, one watching the other with a jealous eye, eager to profit by her weakness, and to wrest from her a slice of her territory, if not to absorb it all. Hence, they feel compelled, in self-defence, to be fully armed and to form as many combinations as they can with other nations.

When our forefathers sailed across the Atlantic to this Western World they cut adrift from those long-standing and deep-rooted

national rivalries and encounters in which the mother countries have been embroiled. And, thank God, our own internecine conflict between the States is as much an event of the past as the wars in England between the Houses of York and Lancaster.

Fortunately for us, our geographical situation isolates us from dangerous proximity to aggressive adversaries. We are providentially protected by our natural boundaries. We are bordered on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, on the west by the Pacific, we are bounded on the north by friendly colonies, and on the south by a sister republic, which, far from arousing our apprehension, values our strength as a protection against foreign invasion.

Hence, instead of forming leagues with some other Governments, let us continue to pursue a more humane, enlightened and statesmanlike policy by fostering and developing our commercial relations with all the nations of the world.

Let the streams of commerce flow between Europe and America like invigorating blood coursing through the arteries of the human body, diffusing life and activity, and all forming, as it were, one social organism, each member exulting in the health and growth of the other, and stimulating the remotest parts with renewed energy and activity. Let our business interests with those Commonwealths be so inseparable and reciprocal that the injury to one will be felt by the others, and the prosperity of one will be shared by all.

Besides entering into closer commercial relations with European nations, let us form a still more friendly compact with them by welcoming their thrifty sons and daughters to share our fortunes in this favored country. It cannot be denied that our exceptional prosperity as a nation in the past century has been due in no small measure to the tide of immigration.

We are a composite Commonwealth, evolved from various races, peoples and tongues. The blood of Celt, Teuton and Anglo-Saxon, of Latin and Lithuanian, of Sclavonian and Scandinavian, flows through the veins of Columbia. It would be unnatural for the Mother to be partial to one race at the expense of the others. She would arouse the jealousy of her sons at home, and of their kinsfolk across the seas.

Let us continue to invite the people of Europe to our shores. Let us give them the right hand of fellowship, embracing them as brothers, holding out to them every opportunity of advancing their

material interests, inspiring them with so great an admiration for our civil and political institutions that they may be impelled to be incorporated with us, becoming "bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh," begetting and rearing children who, while they cherish the land of their fathers, will love still more the land of their birth.

May the immigrants become so enamored of our country that they will be eager to exclaim in the language of Ruth to Naomi: "Where you shall dwell, we also will dwell; your people shall be our people, and your God our God."

It is surprising with what rapidity the descendants of immigrants become assimilated with the native population. Climatic influences, intermarriages and education, social, political and business relations, so mould and shape the physical and mental texture of the new generation that it is often difficult to determine to what European nation their grandparents or even their parents belonged, unless their ancestry be disclosed by their patronymic.

When we contemplate the constant and steady stream of immigrants flowing from Europe to this Land of Promise, bent on deeds not of war, but of peace and industry; on a mission not of destruction, but of construction; coming not to exterminate, but to join hands with the descendants of the early settlers in developing the resources of the country; and when we survey this scene, the glorious vision of the Prophet Isaiah is pictured before us: "Lift up thine eyes round about and see: all these are gathered together, they are come to thee; thy sons shall come from afar, and thy daughters shall rise up at thy side. Then shalt thou see and abound, and thy heart shall wonder and be enlarged, when the multitude of the sea shall be converted to thee, the strength of the Gentiles shall come to thee."

Let us cherish the hope that the day is not far off when the reign of the Prince of Peace will be firmly established on the earth, and the spirit of the Gospel will so far sway the minds and hearts of Rulers and Cabinets that international disputes will be decided, not by standing armies, but by permanent courts of arbitration—when they will be settled, not on the battle-field, but in the halls of conciliation, and will be adjusted, not by the sword, but by the pen, which "is mightier than the sword."

JAMES CARD. GIBBONS.

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF SOCIALISM.—IV.

BY W. H. MALLOCK.

THE belief that socialism represents a practicable form of society, as I showed in the preceding article, has been, and still is, defended by its exponents on two different and contradictory grounds. One of these is a doctrine relating to the labor of ordinary men; the other is a doctrine relating to a proposed alteration in the motives which will enable society to secure for itself the services of men who are exceptional.

Socialism in its original form—the socialism of the school of Marx—which is still the socialism preached by socialistic propagandists to the masses, says: “The many do everything in production; the few do absolutely nothing. We need not, therefore, trouble ourselves with considering the position of the latter. We have nothing to do but to dispossess them, and their whole inheritance shall be ours.” The intellectual socialism of to-day, though it promises the same results, rejects this original version of the socialistic gospel with disdain, and is now preaching it in an amended and a totally different form. “We by no means affirm,” it says, “that the exceptional few do nothing, and that ordinary labor, independently of other forces, produces all or even most of the wealth of the modern world. On the contrary, we recognize that the directive ability of the few, which the earlier socialists ignored, produces the larger part of it; and we must get them to exert this ability precisely as they do now. But they shall exert it for us on our own terms; for we will effect such a change in their characters that whatever they produce they will allow us to take away from them, and the whole of their inheritance shall be ours precisely as Karl Marx promised.”

Now, what I propose to point out in the present article is that both these theories of socialism, contradictory as they are in their

details, rest alike on a fallacy, which is in both cases fundamentally the same. This fallacy consists in an ascription to democratic societies, or rather to democratic majorities, if sufficiently large and unanimous, of powers which are beyond the reach of any kind of government whatsoever. Such an ascription of imaginary powers to the so-called "sovereign" people is, however, by no means peculiar to socialists, who are guilty of nothing but pushing it to its full logical consequences; and I will begin with illustrating it by the arguments of a writer who is not a socialist, but who has recently approached, from a more or less conservative standpoint, this precise question of motive with which we have just been concerned ourselves.

A special propriety attaches to my reference to this writer here, for the arguments to which I am about to refer were published last summer in *THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW*;* and the author, who hides his personality under the signature "X," may be said to be one of the best-known and most highly respected of the living philosophers of America. The subject with which he deals in the article from which I am about to quote is the growth in America, not of large, but of colossal, fortunes, which have certainly had no parallel in the past history of the world. The position of "X" is that the growth of such fortunes is deplorable, partly because they are possible instruments of judicial and political corruption, and partly because they excite antagonism against private wealth in general by exhibiting it to the gaze of the multitude in such monstrous and grotesque proportions. In any case, says "X," "it is to the true interest of the multimillionaires themselves to join those who are free from envy in trying to remove the rapidly growing dissatisfaction with their continued possession of these vast sums of money."

Now, though "X" hints that some of the fortunes in question may be open to farther reprehension, on the ground that they have been acquired dishonestly, he by no means maintains that this opprobrium attaches itself to the great majority of them. On the contrary, he admits that the typical huge fortunes of America are based on the productive activities of the remarkable men who have amassed them. The talents of such men, he says, are essential to the prosperity of the country, and it is necessary to stimu-

* I criticised them myself in *THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW*, in an article published shortly afterwards.

late such men to develop their talents to the utmost by allowing them to derive for themselves some special reward for their use of these talents; but he contends that the rewards which they are at present permitted to appropriate are needlessly and dangerously excessive, and ought therefore to be limited. But limited by what means? It is his answer to this question that here alone concerns us.

The means, he says, by which these rewards may be limited are ready to hand, and can be applied with the utmost ease. They are provided by the democratic Constitution of the United States of America. "No one can doubt, for example," he goes on to observe, "that, if the majority of the voters of the State of New York chose to elect a Governor of their own way of thinking, they could readily enact a progressive taxation of incomes which would limit every citizen of New York State to such income as the majority of voters considers sufficient for him. And it would be particularly easy," adds the writer, "to alienate the property of every man at death, for it is only necessary to repeal the statutes now authorizing the descent of such property to the heirs and legatees of the decedent." Here, then, according to "X," is an obvious way out of the difficulty, the feasibility of which no one can doubt. A certain minority of the citizens render services essential to the majority; but these advantages are accompanied by a corresponding drawback. The majority, by the simple use of their sovereign power as legislators, can retain the former, and get rid of the latter. The remedy is in their own hands.

It would be difficult to imagine an illustration more vivid than this of the error to which I am now referring—the common error of ascribing to majorities in democratic communities powers which they do not possess, and which, as I said before, no kind of government possesses, whether it be that of a democracy or of an autocrat. That a majority of the voters in any democratic country can enact any laws they please at any given moment which happen to be in accordance with what "X" calls their then "way of thinking," and perhaps enforce them for a moment, is no doubt perfectly true. But life is not made up of isolated moments or periods. It is a continuous process, in which each moment is affected by the moments that have gone before, and by the prospective character of the moments that are to come after. If it were not for this fact, the majority of the voters of New

York State, "by electing a Governor of their own way of thinking," might not only put a limit to the income which any citizen might possess. It might do a great deal more besides. It might enact a law which limited the amount which any citizen might eat. It might limit everybody to two ounces a day. Besides enacting that no father should bequeath his wealth to his children, it might enact just as readily that no father should have the custody of his children. It might enact, in obedience to the persuasions of some plausible quack, that no one should take any medicines but a single all-curing pill. There is nothing in the principles so solemnly laid down by "X" which would render any of these enactments more impossible than those which he himself contemplates. But, if such enactments were made by the so-called all-powerful majority, through a Governor of their own way of thinking, what would be the result? If a law forbade the citizens to eat enough to keep themselves alive, it might perhaps be obeyed throughout Monday, but it would be broken by Tuesday morning. A law which deprived fathers of the care of their own children might just as well be a law which decreed that no children should be born. A law which decreed that no remedy but the same quack pill should be applied to any disease, whether cholera, appendicitis or smallpox, would be either disregarded from the beginning, or would soon be repealed by a pestilence. In short, if any one of these ridiculous laws were enacted, the very voters who voted for it would disregard it as soon as they realized its consequences, and the work which they did as legislators they would tear to pieces as men. In other words, if we mean, by legislation, legislation which can be permanently obeyed, the legislative sovereignty of democracies, which is so commonly spoken of as supreme, is limited in every direction by another power greater than itself; and this is the double power of nature and of human nature. Just as all laws relating to the food which men are to eat, and the drugs by which their maladies are to be cured, must depend on the natural qualities of such and such physical substances, so do the constitution and propensities of the concrete human character limit legislation generally, and confine it within certain channels.

This is what "X" and similar thinkers forget; and the nature of their error is very pertinently illustrated by an observation of the English jurist, Lord Coleridge, to which "X" solemnly re-

fers, as corroborating him in his own wisdom. "The same power," says Lord Coleridge, "which prescribes rules for the possession of property can of course alter them"; this power being the legislative body of whatever country may be in question. It is easy to see the manner in which Lord Coleridge reasons. Because, in any country, the formulation and enforcement of laws have the will of the governing body as the proximate cause which determines them, it seems to Lord Coleridge that, in this contemporary will, the laws thus formulated and enforced have their ultimate cause also. For example, according to him, the entire institution of property in the State of New York is virtually a fresh creation of the voters from year to year, and has nothing else behind it. But, in reality, all this business of formulation and enforcement is a secondary process, not a primary process at all. Lord Coleridge is simply inverting the actual order of things. Half the existing "rules prescribed as to the possession of property" have, for their ultimate object, the protection of family life, the privacy of the private home, and the provision made by parents for their children. But family life is not primarily the creation of prescribed rules. It is the creation of instincts and affections which have developed themselves in the course of ages. Instead of the law creating family life, it is family life which has gradually called into being—which has created and dictated—the rules and sanctions protecting it. The same is the case with bequest, marriage, and so forth. The conduct of civilized men is bound to conform to laws, but the laws must first conform to general human practice. They merely give precision to conduct which has a deeper origin than legislation. Laws, in fact, may be compared to soldiers' uniforms. These, within certain limits, may be varied indefinitely by a war-office; but they all must be such as will adapt themselves to the human body and its movements. The will of a government may prescribe that the trousers shall be tight or loose, that they shall be black or brown or bright green or vermilion. But no government can prescribe that they shall be only three inches round the waist, or that the soldiers' sleeves shall start, not from the shoulders, but from the pockets of the coat tails. The human body is here a legislator which is supreme over all governments; and just the same thing is true with regard to the human character.

Now, the curious thing with regard to "X" is that he is all

along assuming this fundamental fact himself; though he utterly fails to put two and two together, and see how this fact conflicts with the omnipotence which he ascribes to legislation. Let us go back to the assertion, which embodies his whole practical argument, that the majority of the voters in New York State could, without interfering with the activity of any one of its citizens, limit incomes in any manner they pleased, and alienate with even greater ease the property of every man at his death; and let us see what he hastens to say as the sequel to this oracular utterance.

These powers of the sovereign majority, which he is apparently so anxious to invoke, would, he says, be practically much less formidable in their action than timid persons might anticipate. And why would they be less formidable? "Because," says "X," "although each man, by reason of his manhood alone, has an equal voice with every other man in making the laws governing their common country, and regulating the distribution of the common property . . . yet immense and incalculable differences exist in men's natural capacities for rendering honest service to society. Encouragement should, therefore, be given to every man to use all the gifts which he possesses to the fullest extent possible; and, accordingly, reasonable accumulations and the descent of these should be respected." They should, he says, be respected. Yes—but for what reason? Because they encourage exceptional men, whose services are essential to society, to develop and use their capacities to "the fullest extent possible"; and this is merely another way of saying that, without the motive provided by the possibility of accumulation and bequest, the exceptional faculties would not be developed or used at all. Moreover, the amounts which may be accumulated and bequeathed, although they will be strictly limited, must, "X" says, be considerable. He suggests that incomes should be allowed up to forty thousand dollars, and bequeathable property up to a million dollars. And here we come to a question which is still more pertinent than the preceding. Why must the permissible amounts of income and of bequeathable property be of proportions such as those which he contemplates? Why does he not take his bill and write down quickly a thousand dollars of income instead of forty thousand, and limit bequeathable property to ten thousand instead of a million? Because he evidently recognizes that the men whose possible services to society are "im-

mensely and incalculably greater" than those of the majority of their fellow citizens would not be tempted by a reward which, reduced to its smallest proportions, would not be very largely in excess of what was attainable by more ordinary exertions. In his formal statement of his case, he says that the amount of the reward would be entirely determined by what *ought* to be sufficient for the purpose in the estimation of the voting majority; and he mentions the sums in question as those on which they would probably fix. And it is, of course, quite imaginable that the majority, in making either these or any other estimates, might be right. But what "X" fails altogether to see is that, if the majority of the citizens *were* right, such sums would not be sufficient because the majority of citizens happened to think that they ought to be. They would be sufficient because they were felt to be sufficient by the minority who were invited to earn them, at whose feelings the majority would have made a shrewd or a lucky guess. A thousand men with fishing-rods might meet in an inn parlor and vote that such and such flies were sufficient to attract trout. But it lies with the trout to determine whether or no he will rise to them. It is a question, not of what the fishermen think, but of what the trout thinks; and the fishermen's thoughts are effective only when they coincide with the trout's.

So long, then, as society desires to get the best work out of its citizens, and so long as some men are, in the words of "X," "immensely and incalculably" more efficient than the great mass of their fellows, and so long as their efficiency requires, as "X" admits that it does, some exceptional reward to induce these men to develop it, these men themselves, in virtue of their inherent characters, must primarily determine what the reward shall be; and not all the majorities in the world, however unanimous, could make a reward sufficient if the particular minority in question did not feel it to be so. The majority might, by making a sufficient reward unattainable, easily prevent the services from being rendered at all; but, unless they are to forego the services, the majority can only obtain them on terms which will depend on the men who are to render them.

Now, in what I have been urging thus far—which practically comes to this, that the sovereignty popularly ascribed to democratic majorities is an illusion—not socialists only, but other advocates of popular government also, will alike be against me,

as the promulgator of some blasphemous paradox. It will be easy, however, to show them that their objections are quite mistaken, and that the exceptional powers of dictation which have just been ascribed to a minority are so far from being inconsistent with the real powers of the majority that the latter, when properly understood, are seen to be their complement and their counterpart. For, though socialists and thinkers like "X" ascribe to majorities powers which they do *not* possess, we shall find that majorities do actually possess others, in some ways very much greater, of which such thinkers have thus far taken no cognizance at all. I have said that minorities can dictate their own terms to majorities which desire to secure their services, the reason being that the former are alone competent to determine what treatment will supply them with a motive to exert themselves. What holds good of minorities as opposed to majorities holds good in essentials, though in a somewhat different form, of majorities as opposed to such minorities.

Let us turn again to a matter to which I have referred already—namely, the family life of the citizens of any race or nation. This results from propensities in a vast number of human beings which, although they are similar, are in each case independent. These propensities give rise to legislation, the object of which is to prescribe rules by which their satisfaction may be made secure; but the propensities are so far from originating in legislation that no legislation which seriously interfered with them would be tolerated. Socialists themselves have continually admitted this very thing. The Italian socialist, Giovanni Rossi, for instance, who attempted about fifteen years ago to found a socialistic colony in Brazil—an attempt which completely failed—attributed its failure largely to this particular cause, namely, the impossibility of inducing the colonists to conform to any rules of the community by which family life was interfered with. Here we have an example of democracy in its genuine form, rendering powerless what affected to be democratic legislation. We have the cumulative power of similar human characters compelling legislation to limit itself to what these characters spontaneously demand. And now let us go a step—a very short step—farther. The family propensities in question show their dictatorial power, not only in the limitations which they impose on positive laws, but also in the character which they impose on the material surround-

ings of existence, especially in the material structure of the dwellings of all classes except the lowest. All are constructed with a view to keeping the family group united, and each family group separate from all others. Further, if the natural family propensities thus affect the structure of the dwelling, other propensities, more various in detail, but in each case equally spontaneous, determine what commodities shall be put in it.

And this fact brings us back to our own more immediate subject—namely, the power of the few and of the many in the sphere of economic production. The man of exceptional industrial capacity becomes rich in the modern world by producing goods, or by rendering services, which others consume or profit by, and for which they render him a return. But, in order that they may take, and render him this return for, what he offers them, the goods and the services must be such that the many desire to have them. All the highest productive ability that has ever been devoted to the business of cheapening and multiplying commodities, or rendering social services, would be absolutely futile unless these commodities and services satisfied tastes or wants existing in various sections of the community. The eliciting of such wants or tastes depends very often, and in progressive communities usually, on a previous supply of the commodities or services that minister to them—as we see, for example, in the case of tobacco, of the telegraph, and of the bicycle; but, when once the demands have been elicited, they are essentially democratic in their nature. Each customer is like a voter who practically gives his vote for the kinds of goods which he desires to have supplied to him. He gives his vote under no compulsion. He is under the manipulation of no party or wire-puller; and the men by whose ability the goods are cheapened and multiplied are bound to determine their character by the number of votes cast for them.

Thus, whilst—so long as the productivity of labor is intensified, as it is in the modern world, by the ability of the few who direct labor—the laboring majority can never be free in their technical capacity of producers; they are free, and must always remain free in respect of their tastes as consumers. In other words, demand is essentially democratic, whilst supply, in proportion to its sustained and enhanced abundance, is essentially oligarchic.

Now, that demand is essentially democratic, and depends on the tastes and characters of those by whom the demands are made, no-

body will be inclined to deny. But if we turn our attention from society, taken as a whole, to the exceptionally able minority on whom the business of supply depends, we shall find that these men, in their turn, form similarly a small democracy in themselves, and make, as suppliers, their own demands also—a demand for an economic reward, or an amount of personal wealth, not indeed necessarily equal to the amount of wealth produced by them, but bearing a proportion to it which is, in their own estimation, sufficient. This demand made by the exceptional producer rests on exactly the same basis as does that of the average customer. It rests on the tastes and characters of the men who make it; and it is just as impossible for the many to decide by legislation that the few shall put forth the whole of their exceptional powers for the sake of one reward, when what they want is another, as it is for the few to make the many buy snuff when they want tobacco, or buy green coats when they want black.

That such is the case will, to those who may be inclined to doubt it, become more evident if they consider with more attention than they are generally accustomed to exercise what the main attraction of great wealth is for the men who in the modern world are the producers of it on the greatest scale. Socialists and similar reformers—the people who principally busy themselves with discussing what this attraction is—are the people who are least capable of forming any true opinion about it. They not only have, as a rule, no experience of wealth themselves, but they are farther generically distinguished by a deficiency of those powers that create it. They are like men with no muscles, who reason about the temperament of a prize-fighter; and their conception of what wealth means for those who produce and possess it is apt, in consequence, to be of the most puerile kind. It is founded, apparently, on their conception of what a greedy boy, without pocket-money, feels when he stares at the tarts lying in a pastry-cook's window. To them it seems that the desire for great wealth means simply the desire for purely sensual self-indulgence—especially for the eating and drinking of expensive food and wine. Consequently, whenever they wish to caricature a capitalist they invariably represent him as a man with a huge protuberant stomach. The folly of this conception is sufficiently shown by the fact that many of the greatest of fortune-makers have, in their personal habits, been abstemious and even niggardly

to a degree which has made them proverbial; and that, even in the case of those who value personal luxury, the maximum of self-indulgence which any single human organism can appreciate, is obtainable by a hundredth part of the fortunes for the production of which such men work. The real secret of the attraction which wealth has for those who create it lies in the fact that wealth is simply a form of power. These men are made conscious by experience, as less gifted men are not, that they can, by the exercise of their own mental energies, add indefinitely to the wealth-producing forces of the community. They feel the machine respond to their own exceptional management of it; they see the output of wealth varied and multiplied at their will; and thus the results of their specialized power as producers are neither more nor less than this same internal power converted into an external, an indeterminate and universalized form; and the reason why they will never produce wealth merely in order to be deprived of it is that no one will exercise power merely in order to lose it, and allow it to pass into the hands of other people. These men, as experience, especially in America, shows us, are constantly willing to use this power for the benefit of their kind generally; but this is no more a sign that they would be willing to allow it to be forcibly taken from them than the fact that a man is willing to give a dollar to a beggar in the street is a sign that he would allow the beggar to steal it out of his waistcoat pocket.

So long as differences in personal power exist, especially in such power as affects the material circumstances of mankind, these differences in power, let governments take what form they please, will necessarily assert and embody themselves in the very structure of human society; and socialists are only able to obscure this fact from anybody either by a childish theory of modern production which they themselves are now repudiating, or else by a psychology even more laboriously childish, which would at once be exposed were it tested by so much as six months' experience. An interesting admission of the truth of this may be found in an unlikely place—namely, a work written some years ago by a socialist of considerable talent, which shows how the errors of at least a number of socialists are due, not to any defect in their reasoning powers, as such, but to a want of balanced knowledge of human nature in general, a want which in certain respects

renders their reasoning futile. The work to which I refer is a work by a socialistic novelist, who was also an accomplished naturalist—the late Mr. Grant Allen. It is called “The Woman Who Did.” The immediate object of the writer was to exhibit the institution of marriage as the cause of what he was pleased to regard as woman’s degradation and slavery; and his heroine is a young lady of highly respectable parentage, who proposes to regenerate womanhood by living with, and having children by, a man, without submitting to the humiliation of any legal bond. She accomplishes her purpose, and has a daughter, whose position, under our false civilization, becomes so disagreeable in consequence of her illegitimate birth, that the mother at last commits suicide, in order to deliver the daughter from the presence of a parent so embarrassing. In the author’s view she is a martyr, and a model for immediate imitation. Ludicrous, however, as the book is in its main scheme and in its object, the author shows great acuteness in a number of his incidental observations. He is, for example, constantly insisting on the fact that the institution of private property, which socialism aims at revolutionizing, is merely one embodiment of a general principle of individualism of which marriage and the family are another, and that the two stand and fall together. But an admission yet more important than this is as follows. So that nothing may be wanting to the bitterness of the heroine’s sublime martyrdom, the author represents her daughter—and he does this with considerable skill—as developing from her earliest childhood all those tastes and prejudices (an instinctive sympathy with those ordinary motives and standards) against which the mother’s whole life, and her education of her daughter, had been at war. “Herminia,” says Mr. Allen, “had done her best” to indoctrinate the child with the pure milk of the emancipating social gospel; “but the child herself seemed to hark back, of internal congruity, to the lower and vulgarer moral plane of her remoter ancestry. There is,” he proceeds, “no more silly and persistent error than the belief of parents that they can influence to any appreciable degree the moral ideas and impulses of their children. These things have their springs in the bases of character; they are the flower of individuality; and they cannot be altered after birth by the foolishness of preaching.” Let us read this passage, with the alteration of only a word or two, and it forms an admirable criticism

of the more recent speculations of the party to which Mr. Allen belonged. There is no more silly and persistent error on the part of socialists than the belief that they can influence to any appreciable degree the moral ideas and impulses of the citizens of any community, or that these things, which are the flower of congenital individuality, can be altered after birth by the foolishness of socialism.

I may appropriately end this survey—in its present form necessarily very imperfect—of socialism, as a scheme for the practical reconstitution of society, with the above criticism, made by one of the socialists themselves, of socialistic speculation in its most recent development. If only socialists would apply to their formal programme and principles the acuteness displayed by some of them when its exigencies are momentarily forgotten by them, they, or at all events some of them, would be accounted their own most destructive critics.

My own criticisms, in a very much more complete form, and supplemented by an examination of the more important replies made by socialists to the lectures which I delivered during the past winter in America, will be published, I hope, as a book, in the course of the coming autumn.

W. H. MALLOCK.

A REVIVALIST OF SIX CENTURIES AGO.

BY G. G. COULTON.

THERE is a charming essay on Religious Revivals in Mediæval Italy among the collected papers of the late J. A. Symonds. He describes in the first place the "Great Alleluia" of 1233, and the marvellous career of John of Vicenza, under whose influence north Italy seemed for a few weeks to have no business but prayer and praise and religious processions. John and his companion friars healed for a time the most inveterate feuds: city after city surrendered to them at discretion, and allowed its statutes to be made or unmade by these wandering preachers. Vivid as is Symonds's description of the Revival, he yet leaves some of the most curious details uncleaned. The Statutes of Parma, for instance, show us the friars cleansing that great cathedral of the corn which, to the scandal of the more devout, was habitually stored in its nave—just as, in the year after Dante's great vision, a Devonshire parson was found using his church as granary and brew-house combined. Again, the Franciscan Salimbene gives us many curious details of the Great Alleluia, which probably determined his own conversion. Sincere believer as he is, he nevertheless describes with great gusto the ingenious bogus miracles which his great friend Brother Gerard of Modena used to concoct in conjunction with John of Vicenza; and he assures us that many were converted by this means. He also describes how Brother John's head was turned by his success. When the great preacher was shaved during a visit to a Franciscan convent he was naïvely disappointed (it appears) that the Brethren did not pounce on the shavings for relics. Such little touches go to explain John's final fall. He demanded to be created Duke and Count of Vicenza, and used his sudden power so recklessly that he was cast into prison, from which he emerged a discredited and

neglected man. For the Great Alleluia had died away as rapidly as it rose; and within a few months family feuds and civil wars were raging worse than before.

Symonds describes other similar revivals in mediæval Italy—half sincere, half theatrical, but always fierce and short-lived. I propose here to speak of a very different mission-preacher of the same age, the greatest perhaps of all the Middle Ages, the German Berthold of Ratisbon. He, too, produced effects difficult to be imagined in these days of widely diffused education; but in him there was no touch of quackery, and his influence outlasted that of his Italian colleagues. The linden under which he preached at Glatz was still famous in the seventeenth century; and his sermons, printed in modern German as a book of living theology, are in their third edition.* Born in 1220 of an upper-class burgher family at Ratisbon, Berthold joined the Franciscans while still a youth, and was the favorite pupil of David of Augsburg, whose writings have often been attributed to St. Bonaventura. In 1250 he was already a famous preacher; until his death in 1272 he tramped from town to town, from village to village, like a Wesley or a Whitefield of later days. In this fashion he traversed Bavaria, the Rhineland, Switzerland, Swabia, Austria proper, Moravia, Bohemia, Silesia, Thuringia and Franconia. His fame was great even in Italy, and is enshrined in the early Franciscan chronicles. At this moment, especially, it may well interest a modern reader to get a glimpse of mediæval mission-preaching.

Of the effect of these sermons we have very marvellous stories, even when due allowance has been made for mediæval exaggeration. The best description of him, as we might expect, is to be found in the autobiography of his contemporary Salimbene, who always gives life to whatever he touches:

“All who have heard him say that, from the days of the Apostles even to our own, there was never his like in the German tongue. He was followed by a great multitude of men and women, sometimes to the number of sixty or a hundred thousand; or, again, the whole populations of more than one city would come together to hear the honeyed and saving words which flowed from his lips. He was wont to ascend a wooden belfry, which he used as a pulpit in country places: and they who set up the structure crowned it with a pennon, that folk might

* Regensburg, Mainz, 1873.

see whither the wind blew, and so seat themselves as to hear most clearly. And, wonderful to relate! he was heard and understood as well by the most distant as by those who sat by his side; nor did any rise to depart until he had made an end of his preaching. And when he preached of the tremendous Judgment of God, all would tremble as a rush quivers in the water; and they would beseech him for God's love to speak no more of that matter; for it grieved them beyond endurance to hear him. One day, when he was to preach in a certain place, a ploughman besought his master for God's sake to let him go and hear the sermon; but his lord answered, 'I myself shall go, but thou shalt go plough in the field with the oxen.' So, when the ploughman had set himself to plough in the field at dawn, straightway by a miracle he heard the voice of Brother Berthold preaching, though he was thirty miles distant; and forthwith he unyoked his oxen and let them feed, and sat down to listen to the sermon. And when the sermon was done he ploughed as much as he was wont to plough with a full day's work."

A precious fragment printed in the appendix to the first volume of the "*Analecta Franciscana*" reports a conversation of Berthold with St. Louis and with the King of Navarre. The latter questioned the great preacher about this reported miracle of the ploughman, and Berthold replied:

"Good my lord, believe it not, and give no faith to tales of this kind which men tell of me as though they were miracles. . . . There are certain men who, either for lucre's sake, or for some other vain cause, follow me among the rest of the multitude, and at times invent such tales and tell them to others."

Yet the real wonders he worked led inevitably to such reports. A noble lady had "followed him for six whole years from town to village, with other women that were of her company, yet could never get speech of him in private." At last, when all her money was spent, she was able to see him and tell him of her distress. He sent her to a banker in the town, who would give her (he said) "the money value of one single day of that indulgence for which she had followed Brother Berthold these six years." The banker, contemptuously humoring her fancy, was astonished to find that all his gold was as a mere feather in one scale so long as the lady breathed into the other; "for the Holy Ghost lent such weight to her breath that no weight of coin could balance that scale." He was converted, as was also a robber-knight so notorious that the burghers of the nearest city had adorned their council-hall with a fresco representing him by anticipation on the gallows.

Berthold, like all mission-preachers, especially in the Middle Ages, appealed most constantly to the simple themes of Heaven and Hell. According to an often-repeated legend, a woman was so overcome by his terrible invectives against her own besetting sin that she gave up the ghost in the middle of his sermon; but his prayers recalled her to life for just long enough to make her confession and her final peace with God. She told the horror-stricken congregation that, out of 50,000 souls which had departed at the same moment with herself, three only had been worthy even of Purgatory, and one of Heaven; the remaining 49,996 having gone straight down to hell! Something of this vivid imagination may be found in Berthold's sermons even after six hundred years. We see him addressing his vast congregations in the open air. At one moment, speaking of the glory of Transubstantiation, he says:

"Grant now that our dear Lady St. Mary, Mother of God, stood here on this fair meadow, while all the Saints and all the Angels found room around her, and that I were found worthy to see this sight. . . . I would rather turn and bow the knee before a priest bearing the Lord's body to the sick, than before our Lady St. Mary and all the Saints of the whole host of heaven."

Again, he answers an objection from his hearers:

"Brother Berthold, thou speakest oft and oft of these devils and all their sleights; yet we never see or hear or touch or feel a single devil."

"Lo, now that is even the worst harm they can do thee: for, hadst thou but once seen a single devil in his true form, I should know for certain that thou wouldst never sin more. . . . If the devil came out at this moment from this forest hard by, and this city that we see before us were a burning fiery furnace heated through and through, then should ye see such a press of folk as never was seen, and never shall be seen in this world, and all thronging headlong into that burning fiery furnace!"

Berthold's sermons give a gloomy view of society even during the years between St. Francis's death and Dante's boyhood. The Pope could make and unmake emperors; Cardinals and Bishops were among the greatest princes of the day; the parish priest had inquisitorial and disciplinary rights over almost every act of his parishioners, yet the people were not only far more ignorant, but had even less of true religion than to-day. "The laity are evil, the religious are evil," is a quotation constantly recurring in Berthold's sermons. He finds himself compelled to advise his

hearers on delicate points of spiritual relationship arising from the numbers of "parson's children" which were to be found everywhere. "It often happens," he continues, "that a Bishop has children, few or many"; yet for 200 years clerical celibacy had been the strict rule of the Church. He complains that bribery and corruption are as rampant in the spiritual as in the lay courts. In consequence of the depredations of robber-nobles, "in places where there might well be two or three parish priests, there is scarce one; and even he may well be found unlearned." The pagan superstition still flourished which held it an evil omen to meet a priest the first thing in the morning. Berthold alludes to the constant tithe-quarrels; as an English bishop of the same date complains that parishioners, indignant that priests should exact tithes even of milk, revenged themselves by bringing their pailful to church and pouring it on the floor before the altar. The priest himself, again, was often excommunicate, and the whole parish involved with him in mortal sin. Nor, with all his nominal authority, could the parson put down the constant habit of Sunday work, or secure regular attendance at church. "Lo, a stinking goat of a Jew has more reverence for his holy days than thou!" The people's religious education also left much to be desired. "Many rise in the morning without even making the sign of the cross, and very likely reach the age of twenty years without being able to repeat the Lord's Prayer." Many, again, are so ignorant of the creed that they fall a prey to the first doubt suggested by the experience of life: "Ah, God! who, then, are in the right—Jews, heathens, or heretics? I know not how things stand, nor who hath the right faith." Of Bible study in the modern sense there was of course no question, nor would it have been permitted even if it had been otherwise possible. The laity are therefore warned against disputing with Jews: "For ye are unlearned, while they are learned in the Scriptures, and they have pondered carefully how they may persuade you; so that ye will be ever the weaker in faith for that dispute." As St. Louis pleaded in the same century, a layman's only valid argument in such cases was "to thrust his sword into the Jew's belly as far as it would go."

But had not the parish clergy strong auxiliaries in the swarms of friars who filled the land? The best influence of the friars was fast waning during Berthold's lifetime, though these new

Orders were scarcely half a century old. Too often the friar and the parish priest were at daggers drawn; or heretics carried on their propaganda in the name of St. Francis, just as the first Franciscan missionaries had been taken for wandering heretics. Berthold's constant and impassioned warnings show clearly (if we did not know it from other sources) how little the Roman faith could claim to reign unquestioned even during this its golden age. He reckons the heretical sects of his time at "a good hundred and fifty," and appeals to his hearers' knowledge of "how many thousand men are led astray by unfaith." The process of perversion, as he describes it, is simple. A heretic is never converted; his heart is turned to stone; "and just as crystal is petrified water, so are heretics petrified Christians: as little, therefore, as the crystal can ever be turned to water again, so little can a heretic be turned back to Christianity, however fresh and green he may be in his heresy."* On the other hand, it is only too easy to make a Catholic into a heretic. The preacher illustrates this through one of his most picturesque, and least accurate, illustrations from natural history. Playing upon the German names for *heretic* and *cat* (*Ketzer*, *Katze*), he says:

"No household beast can work so great harm in so short a time as this, more especially in summer: let all take good heed of the cat. She goes away and licks a toad, under some hedge or wheresoever she may find it, until the toad begins to bleed; then the poison makes her thirsty, and she comes and drinks at the same water whereat men drink, and defiles it, so that many a man is sick for half a year, or a whole year long, or even to his life's end; or it may be that he takes his sudden death therefrom. Or again the cat drinks so greedily that a drop falls from her eye into the water, or that she sneezes therein: and he who uses that water must taste of bitter death. . . . Wherefore, ye folk, drive her away, for the breath that cometh from her throat is most unsound and perilous: let her be driven forth from the kitchen or from wheresoever ye may be, for she is deadly unclean. And thence also hath the heretic his name of *Ketzer*, since in all his ways he is like no beast so much as a cat. He goes as demurely (*geistlich*) to other folk, and speaks as sweetly and can bear himself as softly as any cat; and even so suddenly has he defiled men's bodies. He holds so sweet speech of God and the angels, that thou wouldst swear a thousand oaths that he is an angel himself; yet he is the devil incarnate. And he promises to let thee see an angel, and teach thee to see God with thy bodily eyes:

* The contemporary Dominican preacher, Etienne de Bourbon, complains also that heretics too often know their Bible far better than Catholics, and that, while many are perverted from the faith, practically none are ever reconverted. He explains it ingeniously: wine often turns to vinegar, but never vinegar to wine.

yet he hath swiftly parted thee from thy Christian faith, and thou art lost for evermore. . . . Had I a sister in a country wherein were only one heretic, yet that one heretic would keep me in fear for her, so noisome is he. Therefore let all folk take heed of him. I myself, by God's grace, am as fast rooted in the Christian faith as any Christian man should rightly be; yet, rather than dwell knowingly one brief fortnight in the same house with a heretic, I would dwell a whole year with five hundred devils! What, heretic! art thou by chance in this congregation? I pray to Almighty God that there be none here present!"

These sermons explain, almost more plainly than any other document, the state of mind which drove honest and good Catholics into such wholesale and systematic barbarities as we can scarcely think of without a shudder. If, even in the Age of Faith *par excellence*, faith was so frail as to be shattered by the least breath, and heresy so strong as to resist all orthodox arguments, then persecution was plainly the only resource of men who denied to the heretic the name of Christian, and looked upon him and his as mere food for hell-fire. Nor does Berthold show us only heresy rampant; he constantly alludes to free thought also. But for the stern repression of the Jews, he thinks that they might have succeeded in smothering Christianity altogether. Again, men found it hard to understand why Cato should be in hell with Nero: a point which may explain Dante's promotion of the former to Purgatory. Again:

"Many say, 'the man who is used to hell is more at his ease there than anywhere else.' That is a great lie; for man can never be used to hell. . . . Some also say—I have heard it even from learned folk—that our Lord makes for many a man some mansion and comfort in hell, that no pain may torment him. That again is a lie and a heresy. . . . Many again preach openly that, whether a man do well or ill, he will be saved if he be destined to salvation; and, however well he do all through the world, he must go to hell if hell be appointed for him."

This, of course, is the predestinarian fatalism which many modern writers imagine Calvin to have invented, though Joinville and Salimbene show us how common it was among the sceptical upper classes in the thirteenth century in France and Italy. But the most popular arguments of mediæval sceptics were drawn from the lives of the clergy:

"Men say . . . 'we see none that work such evil as the parsons, nor that do such injustice, as may be seen daily: pay no heed therefore to what the parsons tell thee.' This is the root of almost all unbelief and heresy."

This brings us back again to the body of nominal believers: yet even here the picture is no brighter. The system of Indulgences was comparatively new, and far as yet from that colossal pardon traffic which shocked Luther; yet even Luther scarcely spoke more strongly than Berthold:

"Fie, penny-preacher, murderer of mankind! . . . Thou promisest so much pardon for a single penny or halfpenny that many thousands trust thee and dream they have atoned for all their sins with the penny or halfpenny, as thou pratest to them. So they will never repent, but go hence to hell and are lost forever. . . . Thou hast murdered true penitence amongst us!"

Almost equally fatal was the trust in pilgrimages. Many deliberately ran up a long bill of sins in accordance with the devil's suggestion: "put off (repentance) until thou hast gained and laid up money; and then do penance bravely with a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, or a Lententide in Rome, or a journey to Compostella." Moreover, the pilgrim's extravagance often reduces wife and child to poverty; while he himself "gorges himself so that he comes back far fatter than he went, and has long tales of all that he saw, which he dins into men's ears during service and sermon-time." For the custom which made "Paul's Walk" into a sort of Piccadilly for our Stuart ancestors was simply the survival of a mediæval abuse. St. Bernardino's sermons show us the churches filled with folk who came in and went out when they liked, and scarcely suspended talk and laughter to doff their hoods for a moment at the elevation of the Host. Berthold returns again and again to such irreverences:

"Men talk nowadays in church as if they were at market, calling across to each other and boasting and telling what each has seen in foreign lands; so that one man may easily trouble six or ten who would gladly be silent. . . . And ye women! ye never let your mouths rest from unprofitable babble. One complains to another of her maid-servant, how greedy she is of sleep and how loth to work; another tells of her husband; a third of her children, how this one is a weariness, and that other thriveth not. To what devil art thou complaining thus in church?"

The churchyard was used for fairs and markets, with all their attendant disorders, and for indecent pagan dances that were practised now on Christian festivals; it deserved no longer its old German name of "*Friedhof*," or Court of Peace. Nor were these dances the most painful relics of paganism. The mass

itself had become a mere pagan incantation, to all practical purposes, for the majority of the laity. Berthold is preaching reverence for the Mass, and one of the congregation expostulates with him:

"But, Brother Berthold, we understand not the Mass, and cannot pray thereat so well as we should, nor feel so great reverence as if we understood it. We understand every word of the sermon, but the Mass we understand not, nor know what is being read or sung; we cannot comprehend it."

The preacher therefore spends the rest of his sermon in giving a rough explanation of the service. No wonder that the holy wafer, the holy oils, the holy water in the font, needed to be kept under lock and key from the common people, who used them as engines of sorcery:

"Many of the village folk would come to heaven, were it not for their witchcrafts. . . . The woman has spells for getting a husband, spells for her marriage; spells on this side and on that; spells before the child is born, before the christening, after the christening; and all she gains with her spells is that her child fares the worse all its life long. . . . Ye men, it is much marvel that ye lose not your wits for the monstrous witchcrafts that women practise on you!"

Like all mediæval moralists, he is never weary of gibing at women's dress:

"They take a bit of cloth, and twitch it hither and twitch it thither; they gild it here and there with gold thread, and spend thereon all their time and trouble . . . they will spend a good six months' work on a single veil, which is sinful great travail. . . . They itch for praise, and to hear men say 'Lord! how fair! was ever aught so fair?' Yet our Lady was far fairer than thou, but humble withal; so was St. Margaret, and many saints more."

"'But, Brother Berthold, we do it for the goodman's sake, that he may gaze the less on other women.'"

To which Berthold answers with the pitiless logic of a man and a bachelor. If the goodman be honest, he will care more for your chaste conversation than for your outward adornment; if he be wanton, all your "crimple-crispings" and "christy-crosties" and gold thread will not avail to fix his wandering eyes. Encouraged by these words of sober reason, a man's voice is raised amid the congregation:

"Alas! Brother Berthold, . . . I have oftentimes besought my wife, first kindly and then sternly; but she would never leave her follies. I

fear to tear one gewgaw from her lest she go and buy another twice as dear, and my last loss be worse than the first."

The friar's answer, ungallant as it sounds to modern ears, is the true voice of the thirteenth century, from the king to the beggar, from the moralist to the poet or romancer:

"Come, man, take heart of grace; art thou not a man, and hast not a sword by thy side? Wilt thou be lightly overcome by a distaff? Pluck up thy courage, take heart, and tear it from her head, even though thou tear away a hair or twain therewithal; and cast all together into the fire! Do thus not thrice or four times only; then will she leave her follies. Man should be woman's lord and master."

Berthold has his own definite ideas, too, about children. Why is there such mortality among rich folk's children in especial?

"Because the baby's sister makes him a mess of pap, and coaxes it into him. Now his little belly is soon filled, and the pap begins to bubble out; but she coaxes it in and in. Then comes his aunt, and does the same. Then comes his nurse, and cries, 'Alas, my child has eaten naught this day!' and sets herself to coax the pap in again, as before. Meanwhile the child whimpers and tosses its little limbs."

Don't you know (asks Berthold in another place) how your bodies are made? The stomach hangs in the middle, for all the world like a great caldron; and next it lies the liver, by whose heat the pot is kept boiling. If you fill it too full, what can it do but boil over?—hence come heartburn, fevers, dropsy, and all the ills that flesh is heir to.

An article like this can give only a slight idea of the wealth which Berthold offers to students of the past. There are few works equally accessible and equally rich in hints for the student of manners. The great Revivalist will not teach us pharisaical content with our own civilization; but he may well cure us of impotent hankerings after a dead past.

G. G. COULTON.

THE INTERCONTINENTAL RAILWAY.

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THE scheme for an intercontinental railway has elements of fascination. The idea of a railway, built for the avowed purpose of connecting the capitals of the fifteen nations of the three Americas, seizes the imagination, for it belongs to that class of large-sounding and inclusive schemes another of which is the parliament of the nations to preserve the peace of the world.

Thus far, everybody is in favor of the railway. The time for contributions to finance the scheme has not arrived. This is, furthermore, a time when engineering feats have so nearly approached the miraculous that one of the world's greatest engineers may be pardoned for his recent statement that, given money enough and time enough, nothing is impossible.

This certainly includes the Intercontinental Railway, but there is a great difference between what is possible and what is feasible; and, in the writer's opinion, it is the neglect to give proper weight to this difference which has caused this railway scheme to be heralded as belonging to the practical class.

It was surveyed in 1891-93, as a result of Mr. Blaine's first Pan-American Congress. It is most natural that that body should have favored it. It could, indeed, scarcely have been otherwise. A Pan-American Congress can develop much enthusiasm over the scheme. Representation and voting are by nations, and most of the nations, having a meagre supply of railways, and a yet more meagre supply of funds, see a possibility of having their lands developed by a railway built by outside interests. Such desire resides in all communities.

New industries are always welcomed. Enthusiasm among

the people to be benefited by a railway is not the surest guarantee of its early construction. A better guarantee of this is to be found among those who must furnish the funds.

The writer happens to own an abandoned farm on which he occasionally seeks summer repose. The farm cost nearly four dollars an acre, buildings included. If the warring interests of Goulds and Vanderbilts should find that that tract of land appeared to be necessary for some transcontinental scheme, the prospect of their paying about a hundred dollars an acre for part of it, and putting a town on the rest, would probably develop on the part of its owner some enthusiasm for the new railway. By the same reasoning, it is easy to see why a practically bankrupt Spanish-American nation should favor the railway project at Pan-American Congresses. The population of the nation probably comprises a few hundred thousand people, of whom the overwhelming majority are illiterate Indians and half-breeds. They have practically no capital, the building of several hundred miles of very expensive railway would employ the available labor for years, and the consequent expenditure of millions of good international gold would produce cheerfully trickling streams of commerce in the place of the present stagnation.

The first thing to be done by any set of railway promoters is to examine into the traffic possibilities of the proposed route, and, before proceeding with the expenditure of capital, to assure themselves that there will be sufficient employment to enable it to earn adequate returns.

The idea of an intercontinental railway has the necessary counterpart of intercontinental traffic for it to carry, or there is no use for the completed road. Unless the traffic between South America and North America would use such a railway, it would be a shameful waste of money to complete the road; and the writer of this paper claims that there is practically no traffic future for such a road under any conditions now discernible.

Such a prediction about proposed enterprises is not new. It has been made about each of our transcontinental roads in turn, and yet they have eclipsed even the most roseate hopes of their ardent champions. Their success has come about by the unexpected development along their lines of industry and traffic which no other agency could transport. The essential difference between these roads and the Pan-American is the fact that increase of in-

dustry along the line of the latter does not make through-freight for it. That will be carried down to the sea by a hundred little local railways and transported in ships.

Before the railway could be graded, the Panama Canal will probably be open to the shipping of the world. The problem then becomes one of competition between a water route and a land route, with all the handicaps on the land route.

An examination of an accurate map shows how hopelessly the railway route is distanced as a connection between New York or Washington and any South-American capital. Strange to say, the west coast of South America is practically a continuation in longitude of the east coast of the United States. The longitude of New York is the longitude of Peru, and Chile actually lies to the east of the American metropolis. The Gulf of Mexico penetrates fully half the width of the northern continent, and the land route must circle around it. The proposed intercontinental trunk line from the United States enters Mexico at Laredo, a point west of Chicago, west of the Missouri River, even west of Topeka, Kansas; and then the line must gradually work its way eastward again through Mexico, Central America and the Isthmus of Panama to the longitude of New York. In bold outline, the proposed railway route from New York to Peru has the suggestive shape of a huge reversed question-mark. In addition to this bold continental curve, we must consider the thousands of local deviations necessary to the fitting of a railway line to the inequalities of the rough land surface. In amazing contrast to this is the almost straight line by which a ship will drop down the longitude from New York to western South America, which will actually become as near as Europe. Brought down to figures, these are the distances: from New York to Guayaquil, the port of Ecuador, by railway about 6,500 miles, by the Panama Canal 2,864; to Callao, the port of Lima, the adjacent capital of Peru, by rail, about 7,600 miles, by Panama Canal 3,359 miles. A little thinking on these figures shows the utter hopelessness and uselessness of the railway as a through carrier for anything but the leisurely traveler who, in search of novelty, might happen to fancy such a route.

The railway is superior to the ocean as a means of transport in one respect—speed. There is always a certain amount of traffic that will go by the quickest route, regardless of cost; as a consequence, railroads can thrive in populous regions with waterways

alongside. Such lines as the Trans-Siberian and the American Transcontinental roads can get through traffic because the competing sea routes are much longer and slower. Yet the sea routes, though longer, have their place, for they are cheaper for the user. A vast traffic can afford to go no other way, or can at least make a profit by taking the longer and slower route. Witness, in proof of the truth of this statement, the great procession of steamers from Chicago to Buffalo. These two ports are connected over a nearly straight level route by a dozen railway tracks less than two-thirds as long as the water route, yet the water route prospers, and the people of New York have decided to expend a hundred millions of dollars to continue it to the Hudson, although even that expenditure will only give a canal floating a barge one-tenth as capacious as a good lake or ocean steamer. Because of this fundamental factor of cheapness in water transportation, our ever-increasing and prosperous continental railways have not lessened the demand of the American people for the cheaper but slower Panama Canal route.

But, while the canal route from New York to Ecuador and Peru is cheaper than the rail route, the overwhelming part of the argument is that it is so much shorter than the rail route that it will be also quicker. The route possessing the dual advantages of cheapness and speed is economically unassailable.

Inasmuch as neither route is complete, proof should follow this statement of sea advantages, and in this proof present actualities should receive due consideration. Present practice gives small promise for the future railway. It is true that an express-train can run nearly three times as fast as a steamship, but there is a great difference between the express-train speed that can be made on a trunk-line railroad in the eastern United States or on the Great Plains and on such a new mountain road as most of the Pan-American will be. The famous Trans-Siberian is again open to travellers. It amazed the world by its traffic performance under an American trained man during the Japanese War, and a well-known agency is now offering to put tourists through with continuous run in sleeping-cars from Moscow to Vladivostok, 5,261, miles, in fourteen days, if the train is on time. Freight-trains would probably be slower than a sleeping-car express. Such are the delays of freight-trains, shiftings and freight-yards, that it takes about three weeks for goods to cross the American continent un-

der the best calculations; and on the main lines of the Pennsylvania and of the Baltimore and Ohio railroads, on the level plain from Philadelphia to Baltimore, the freight-steamer that goes poking through the canal by night insures quicker delivery than do the railroads, because the boats always go from wharf to wharf overnight, and the freight-cars sometimes get delayed in the yards.

We have some exceedingly instructive comparisons on the Pan-American route which this railway proposes to serve and aid. The steamship line from New York to Colon makes the mail time from New York to that port, 1,920 miles, between six and seven days. To the City of Mexico (by rail) it is five days—the distance, 2,989 miles—over American railways that were built for commercial purposes over comparatively level country. That leaves the Pan-American railway but a day and a half in which to overtake the steamers at Panama, and in that day and a half it must pass over 2,100 miles of jungle, swamp, mountain and plain—a clearly impossible feat for a day and a half. Yet the innocent victor in this race, the Panama steamship line, is not noted as a speedy one. If the traffic required it, there would be little difficulty in raising the speed to that of second-class trans-Atlantic steamers and cutting the time down to five days, the same as the railway mail time to Mexico City, 2,100 miles to the northwest.

The rather startling discovery has recently been made that, of the ten-thousand-odd miles of railway needed to connect New York and Buenos Ayres, nearly two-thirds were already completed in the various links now existing in the thirteen countries *en route*. Laying aside for a moment all questions of distance, the character of the uncompleted links is forbidding in the extreme.

Every one of these is either thoroughly tropical or thoroughly mountainous. Some of them maintain both of these characteristics, and several are covered by tropic forest, jungle and swamp. For this latter class of difficulties, the history of enterprises at Panama is a great teacher. The Panama railway is forty-seven miles long, and cost eight million dollars (\$170,000 per mile). No one knows the number of lives that this railway cost. In sixty days an importation of Chinese coolies was reduced from a working force of 1,000 to 200. Present sanitary knowledge has made such conditions unlikely for the future, but the occurrence is not the

less suggestive. According to geographers, this is not the worst part of the Isthmus. In the Choco, a region farther east, where the Isthmus bends around toward South America, it is declared that it rains almost continuously. The experience of the Inter-continental Railway commission's surveying corps there was interesting. The forests and jungles were so thick that the commission proceeded in a sail-boat from Panama to the Gulf of San Miguel, 110 miles east. Streams flowing into this body of water from the east and west were ascended as far as possible; and then, desiring to get into the basin of the Atrato, seventy-five miles away in Colombia, the corps discreetly declined to attack a trackless wild, but decided upon a flank movement. They sailed back to Panama, crossed to Colon, took a European steamer to Cartagena, three hundred miles east on the Colombian coast, and came back to the Atrato in a coasting steamer.

This is not narrated in criticism of the surveying corps. They were a plucky group. I have rarely read more heroic tales than their account of that survey; but they had a certain ground to cover and a limited amount of time and money, and their survey of the Panama region, with its difficulties, had to be more theoretical than real. And Panama stretches its weary length for six hundred and twelve miles, according to the survey, and the same physical conditions reach over into Colombia for two hundred miles more before reaching the uplands of Colombia. The deep and swamp-flanked Atrato River must also be crossed here.

Another physical drawback is found in the fact that the unconstructed road must run for most of its length across drainage systems. Any one who has either looked out of car windows in travelling or has examined on maps the location of railways has observed that it is the custom for the railway in a hilly land to follow streams. This is as true for the Altai or the Alps as it is for the Appalachians or Rockies. The railway that crosses the mountains follows up the natural incline made by a stream eroding its valley, and, passing through a gap, goes down the other side in like manner. Such is the method of our Rocky Mountain roads. But from Mexico to Argentina the proposed Pan-American route must go parallel to the ocean and parallel to the mountain ranges in a region that is usually mountainous, and the road-bed must be carried most of the distance across the continuous succession of valleys made by the streams running from the

mountains to the sea. Two alternatives exist. Uneven surface may be avoided by following the shore plain. This has the disadvantage of crossing the streams where they are large, requiring much expense for bridges. These plains close to the sea are usually sparsely peopled in comparison with the upland, are often marshy and are subject to flood. A twenty-four-hour shower visited one of the camps of an Isthmian Canal Commission surveying corps in Nicaragua in 1899, and during its progress twenty-three inches of rain fell. The Chagres River in Panama, the great problem of the canal-builders, has been known to rise fifty feet in a few hours. These are suggestive facts for the coast-swamp railroad builder.

The other alternative in track location is to follow the plateau where the population is centred, and cross the streams where they produce a succession of deep valleys and sharp intervening ridges. In Central America, the route selected is usually near the shore. In most of Colombia it has the good fortune to follow the longitudinal valleys between the Andean ranges; but, when the Ecuadorian boundary is reached, a shore-plain route is so palpably useless that the survey commission boldly essayed a chaos of mountains in the mighty Andes. This system already possesses the highest railroad track in the world, not excepting the cog-wheel climbers of Pike's Peak and the Alps. The building of eighty-six miles of the Oroya line in the Peruvian mountains cost twenty-seven million dollars, three hundred thousand dollars a mile, and the lives of seven thousand men. This is about enough men to conquer all Europe if the battle losses of the Spanish war should be taken as a true guide.

The proposed twenty-four hundred miles through Ecuador and Peru are through a region unique among mountains. The Andean system here consists of two or more huge ranges, with intervening valleys cut up by cross-ranges which connect the main ranges as the rungs of a ladder connect the uprights. These intervening short valleys are drained by streams breaking through the main ranges and flowing off to the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The track must climb from river system to river system over these cross-ranges. In Ecuador alone the continental divide is crossed by the projected line so often that the road is divided into ten parts, four of them draining to the Pacific and six into the Atlantic. In 500 miles of proposed Ecuadorian location to the

south of Quito the elevations of these continental divides are as follows, and the accompanying table shows the intervening depth to which the track sinks:

Divides.	Valleys.	Difference
11,540	8,604	2,936
10,813	7,632	3,181
10,888	8,100	2,788
9,370	7,100	2,270
10,080	7,138	2,942
8,250	5,476	2,774
9,390	3,000	6,390

Intervening spurs are also often crossed between these continental divides, making the actual climbing much greater than the difference - table indicates. But the grand engineering prize of the whole system should probably be withheld for the builder of the link that is planned to connect the railway from Lima with the one to the Lake Titicaca basin. This line is badly entangled with the head streams of the Amazon system. The 1,338th mile south from Quito has an elevation of 14,715 feet; fourteen miles beyond is a river at 5,759; twenty-two miles farther is another ridge of 12,900, and the next stream is 6,050. It is not surprising that the thirty-six miles of distance between those two ridges becomes ninety-two as the track is planned to make the 16,000 feet of descent and ascent from ridges to stream. In addition, also, are minor grades across minor ridges. This region is only to be classed with the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. The ninety-two miles of road are an endless climb along the precipitous sides of the sharp and unpeopled valleys, bridging a succession of gullies, chasms and gorges. At one place, a single straight line on the map will cross the track thirteen times as it bends and twists upon itself and winds and burrows in the earth in the wild endeavor to cross a cañon four miles wide where the stream has an elevation of 6,000 feet, and one bank 7,000 and the other 10,500 feet.*

In comparison with this particular Andean specimen, and it is only a specimen, the crossing of the Alps and Rockies seems like child's play. The St. Gothard pass is 6,936 feet above the sea, Great Bernard 8,110 feet, Simplon 6,590, the Brenner 4,490. The plain on the north side of the Alps is about 2,000 feet alti-

* Those persons wishing to examine the detail maps are referred to maps 45 and 46, Report of Corps 3, Intercontinental Railway Commission.

tude, and but one of the Alpine passes has a railroad through it, although there are several tunnels; yet this one Peruvian Cordillera, with no particular name, imposes upon the Pan-American builder a climb higher than from the sea-level to the highest of the Great Alpine passes. The Rocky Mountain railroads start from a plateau which reduces their greatest climbing to two-thirds, and usually much less than two-thirds, of that required by the nameless Cordillera of Peru.

The Pan-American railway, as planned with its double switchbacks, its corkscrew tunnels and flying bridges, probably calls for more mountain-climbing than all the railroads of the Rockies or the Alps, and may equal the two combined. Time and again, it must overtop Pike's Peak. It passes for hundreds of miles along the face of steep mountain slopes—an ideal location for rockfalls and landslides, avalanches and washouts. It runs also through jungle, swamp and flooded plain lands empty and uninhabitable, and from the economic standpoint more forbidding than Sahara. As a through carrier between the North and South, it will have to compete with the majestic steamer proceeding at will, and but half as far, over the toll-less and peaceful Pacific, with but a twelve-hour delay at Panama, and then onward over the well-known tracks to New Orleans or New York.

It is claimed that the road should be built, anyhow, for local need. Much of it should be built for this purpose; but it must be remembered that the prime transport need of this whole region, from Mexico southward, is for the railroads to go on as they have begun and multiply the already numerous small lines that run from a port directly inland, and give the land as soon as possible the priceless and unrivalled boon of water transportation. For a thousand miles of road in the region of Panama, and another thousand in the defiles and plateaus of Peru, there is no need for local traffic.

There is not even the call for local trade from country to country *en route*. There would of course be some travel, but goods are exchanged between regions having differences in production. The economic sameness of the Spanish-American countries is amazing—in the highlands minerals, hides and wool, in the lowlands coffee and the same round of tropical produce. Each Central-American country is like its neighbor, and all are like the adjacent parts of Mexico. Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia are

as much alike as Colorado, Wyoming and Montana, and among them they produce nothing of importance that is not also produced in Central America. The great natural basis for trade on this route is in the exchange of the products of temperate North America and the tropics, especially South America, and for this exchange the sea will apparently always suffice. This road proposes to make the Isthmus an economic connecter of the two continents. It is really much in the way. It is a commercial hindrance, not a commercial link; it has, from its discovery in 1519, been so regarded, and the American nation is now wisely engaged in spending two hundred millions of treasure to tear a shipway through it.

Might the Pan-American railway save the continent, in case a clash of arms had arisen over the Monroe Doctrine? The road would certainly be of no use before we lost control of the seas, and it would be equally useless afterward, for its defence would be impossible. The part of it on foreign soil is longer than the Trans-Siberian Railway.

No warfare could be much simpler than for parties of marines to land and break the track somewhere, indeed almost anywhere, between the boundaries of Mexico and Peru. In places, it could be successfully bombarded from war-ships and gunboats.

There appears to be little real reason to anticipate investment for the complete Pan-American railway either by private capital, by the United States Government, or by the countries to be traversed by the proposed line.

J. RUSSELL SMITH.

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW.

BY ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

SOME time ago, in a letter to M. Augustin Filon, I expressed my regret that he had never committed himself upon the unsafe subject of Mr. Bernard Shaw. Although M. Filon's "The English Stage" was published in 1897, it contains no reference to Mr. Shaw as a dramatist; yet the omission was scarcely an oversight. While a number of Mr. Shaw's plays had by that time already been produced in England, the "Plays, Pleasant and Unpleasant," in two volumes, were not published until May, 1898. Owing to many contradictory aspects of Mr. Shaw, M. Filon found it no easy matter to form a just opinion of him; but, at last gathering courage for the daring act, he wrote a long and penetrating critique for the "*Revue des Deux Mondes*."* This essay, he afterwards graciously wrote me, was due in no small measure to my suggestion. The real reason, however, for the appearance of such an article was the remarkable prominence so suddenly gained by Mr. Shaw as a dramatic artist, and the clamorous demands by the most cultured of London's playgoers for the production of his principal plays. Mr. Shaw was thus "canonized" in France; his genius had been recognized in Great Britain a few months before by an exhaustive and highly sympathetic essay in the safe and sane "Edinburgh Review."† These two able appreciations were not merely adventitious tributes to Mr. Shaw's genius; they were, so to speak, barometric indications of the state of the literary atmosphere. As produced by Mr. Arnold Daly and Mr. Robert Loraine, a number of Mr. Shaw's best known plays achieved a gratifying measure of popular success in the United States — a popular success unparalleled even by Mr.

* "*M. Bernard Shaw et son Théâtre*," November, 1905.

† "The Plays of Mr. Bernard Shaw," April, 1905.

Richard Mansfield's rarely artistic productions of "Arms and the Man" and "The Devil's Disciple" of the previous decade.

These various tributes to the signal abilities of Mr. Shaw, both as literary artist and as popular dramatist, were in themselves sufficient to stamp him as a notable figure in the pantheon of contemporary letters. But unto all these things was added the final seal of authority, the production of his plays upon the greatest stages of German Europe. Late in 1902 the translation into German of three of his plays appeared from the pen of Herr Siegfried Trebitsch, the Viennese novelist and dramatist; and, shortly afterwards, Dr. Georg Brandes, among the two or three greatest living literary critics, hailed the advent into European circles of "the most advanced of contemporary British dramatists." The brilliant Viennese dramatist, the author of "*Der Apostel*," Herr Hermann Bahr, wrote an epochal critique of Mr. Shaw and his works, which went far to assure Mr. Shaw a gracious hearing in Vienna. "*Ein Teufelskerl*" ("The Devil's Disciple") was produced at the Raimund Theatre, Vienna, on February 25th, 1903; "*Der Schlachtenlenker*" ("The Man of Destiny") at the Schauspielhaus, Frankfort a. M., on April 21st; "*Candida*" at the Königliches Schauspielhaus, Dresden, on November 19th. That greatest of modern actor-managers, Max Reinhardt, produced "*Candida*" and "*Der Schlachtenlenker*" at the Neues Theatre, Berlin, in the spring of 1904, Germany's leading actress, Agnes Sorma, assuming the principal feminine rôles. Mr. Shaw's plays continued to appear upon some of the most artistic stages of Germany and Austria; *Candida* was interpreted by Sorma, Petri and Salbach, Bluntschli by Sommerstorff and Jarno, Dudgeon by Wiene and Wehrlin, Napoleon by Reinhardt, Morell by Reicher, Valentine by Korff, Cleopatra by Eysoldt, and Cæsar by Steinrück. "*Helden*" ("Arms and the Man") was successfully produced at Copenhagen by its Danish translator, the distinguished scholar, Dr. Carl Mantzius; and "*Ein Teufelskerl*" met with favor on the principal stage of Buda Pesth. "*Candida*" was praised in Paris as a new solution of the feminist problem; and in St. Petersburg reviews, Mr. Shaw was rated far above Pinero and Jones, and elevated to the pedestal of European fame. In England, justly enough, in view of the injustice long done Mr. Shaw by the es-

tablished theatrical managements of London's West End, a veritable "Shaw festival" was inaugurated at the Royal Court Theatre in 1904-5, under the auspices of Mr. J. E. Vedrenne, a manager of high artistic sensibility, and Mr. H. Granville Barker, one of England's most brilliant and versatile young actors of the modern school. "John Bull's Other Island," dubbed a "masterpiece of comedy" by staid old "Blackwood's," captivated the culture and fashion of London, headed by the King, the premier, Mr. Balfour, and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. Since that time the ablest plays of Mr. Shaw, especially those which are distinctly *du théâtre*, have been successfully produced under the Vedrenne-Barker management. Mr. Shaw's plays are now being translated into French, German, Danish and Norwegian; and a comprehensive biography of him promises within the year to appear simultaneously in England and America.*

Not lightly to be dismissed is this mass of evidence in support of the contention, made in certain quarters, that Mr. Shaw is the ablest among living British dramatists. Yet, such a contention could scarcely be expected to pass unchallenged in England, where Mr. Pinero is still enthusiastically hailed—by that audience to whom he has shrewdly made so many concessions—as the premier dramatist of Great Britain. It is only necessary to cast one's eyes over the whole group of British dramatists and briefly consider their reception abroad as interpreters of the world-movement, in order to dispose of their claims, as against those of Mr. Shaw. Every now and then, it is true, one sees on a foreign stage such broadly popular plays as "Charley's Aunt," "Trilby," "Sweet Lavender," "The Middleman" and "When We Were Twenty-One"; certain plays of Mr. Barrie and Mr. Phillips have recently been seen upon the German stage. When Mr. Henry Arthur Jones's "*Schattenspiel*" ("Masqueraders") was produced abroad it was regarded, aside from a few clever Ibsenic observations which it contained, as little better than crude melodrama. Mr. Pinero's "The Gay Lord Quex," produced at the Lessing Theatre, Berlin, on January 13th, 1900, was pro-

* The principal productions of Mr. Shaw's plays during the past dramatic season are as follows: "Man and Superman," Berlin and Vienna; "Mrs. Warren's Profession," Vienna; "Candida," Brussels; "The Doctor's Dilemma," Court Theatre, London (Granville Barker); "Captain Brassbound's Conversion," New York (Ellen Terry); "Cæsar and Cleopatra," New York (J. Forbes-Robertson).

nounced to be "*reichlich langweilig und . . . ein bedauerliches Zeichen für den Tiefstand des englischen Geschmack.*" After a visit to England for the purpose of studying the contemporary British drama, a prominent dramatic critic of St. Petersburg wrote a series of critical articles in the most advanced of Russian reviews, in which he railed at Mr. William Archer for claiming, on the strength of Mr. Pinero and Mr. Jones, that England does not now shrink from comparison with Continental Europe in matters dramatic. In this Russian critic's opinion, Mr. Shaw alone among contemporary British dramatists has struck a new note and brought a message for this and the coming generation. Mr. Pinero and Mr. Jones he finds Philistine to the core, attributing their success to their unconscious fidelity to the sentiments and prejudices of the middle class. Of the plays of Mr. Pinero, "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," "The Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith," "Iris," "The Gay Lord Quex," "The Profligate," "The Magistrate," "Sweet Lavender" and possibly two or three more, have been produced abroad, with varying success, and sometimes virtual failure. Only "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," however—the toast of Archer, Brandes, Courtney, Filon—has taken a high and fixed place in Continental repertory, it appears; and upon this play alone, regarded by many able critics as lacking in the essential elements of great tragedy, rests Mr. Pinero's claim to recognition, by foreign critics and public, as the premier dramatist of Great Britain. Fittingly enough, Mr. Shaw's only rival in the matter of European laurels is his fellow countryman and fellow townsman, Oscar Wilde, generally regarded abroad as a "World-Poet." Not without its touch of humor is the significant circumstance that the British drama gains its greatest stage triumphs abroad, not through the works of English dramatists championed by Archer, Walkley and Courtney, but through the works of countrymen of Swift and Sheridan, Goldsmith and Lever—of two Irishmen!* It may, of course, be true, as able

* As testimony to the entrance of Wilde and Shaw into European place and fame, compare the recent utterance of the distinguished critic, Dr. Carl Hagemann ("*Aufgaben des modernen Theaters*"): "*Neben den anerkannten Vertretern der Bühne der Lebenden (Ibsen, Hauptmann, Schnitzler und andere—im Musikdrama: Wagner) müssen auch die Jünger und Jüngsten erscheinen (alle die Wedekind, Hoffmannsthal, Vollmoeller, Eulenberg, Wilde, Shaw, Strindberg—im Musikdrama: Strauss, Schillings, Humperdinck, Weingartner, Pfitzner, Blech, Siegfried Wagner).*"

critics have asserted, that Mr. Henry Arthur Jones is "the most English of living dramatic authors, the one who expresses most brilliantly and most sincerely the spirit of his generation and his race"; and that Mr. Arthur Wing Pinero is "the one English playwright in whom the realistic genius of the nineteenth century finds full and adequate expression." The attitude of Mr. Jones is best summed up in his own view that, in all matters of the modern drama, England is no better than a parish, "with 'parochial' judgments, 'parochial' instincts, and 'parochial' ways of looking at things"; yet not the width of his views, nor the breadth of his ideas, nor the solid forthrightness of his art has yet enabled his plays successfully to span the Channel. With all his debonair and facile skill, his rhythmical undulation of emotional process, his intuitive instinct for dramatic values, and, above all, that "immense correspondence with life" which he effects with such realistic, yet artistic, sincerity, Mr. Pinero lacks the indispensable intellectual detachment, the supreme volitive conviction which must ineffaceably stamp the philosophic interpreter of modern life. Eye on the public, ear to the ground, these two men of talent dare to write plays which have conclusions but no *dénouements*, lightly and cynically compromise with morality, and find much profit in tossing huge chunks of crudely Philistine religious sentiment to that coy monster, the British public.

Mr. Shaw, it seems to me, is the most versatile and cosmopolitan genius in the drama of ideas that Great Britain has yet produced. It is not enough to say that his own frankly egoistic view of himself indubitably supports this estimate. The question here is not what Mr. Bernard Shaw may chance to think, or at least say he thinks, about himself: it is a question of fact. As a playwright, Mr. Shaw demands a distinct redistribution of dramatic values; lacking this, his dramatic career is a mere comedy, and he the Autolycus of the piece. Sympathetically appreciated in the spirit of the evolutionary trend of modern, even ultra-modern, drama, he is a figure of unusual significance. Rigidly judged according to the conventional and popular canons of dramatic art, he runs the risk of being regarded as a charlatan and an impostor.

Whether as yet accurately formulated in standard works of dramatic criticism or not, the fact remains that a clear and demarcative line of division runs across the drama of to-day. On

one side of this line fall that vast majority of plays—serious drama, comedy, melodrama, farce—which accord more or less rigidly with the established canons and authoritative traditions of dramatic art. On the other side fall the persistently crescent minority of plays which break away from the old conventions and set up new precedents for formulation by the Freytag of the future. In the first class are found those works of art which are founded upon emotion, live solely in and for the dramatic moment, and treat of the universal themes of time and age, character and destiny, life and death. They receive their impulse from eternal and enduring, rather than from topical or transitory, aspects of human life; and draw their inspiration as much, if not more, from the literature of the past as from the human pageant of the present. In the second class are found those works which start into life through the quickening touch of the contemporary; which seek an interpretation of society through the illuminative, transmutative intermediaries of all that is newest, most vitally fecund, most prophetic in the science, sociology, art and religion of to-day; and which endeavor, through faithful portraiture of the present, to detect and reveal the traits and qualities of human nature in its permanent and immutable aspects. The authors of such works find their themes chiefly in the crucial instances of to-day, the conflict of humanity with current institutions, of human wills with existent circumstances, and they have for their end a humanitarian ideal: the exposure of civic abuse, the redress of social wrong, and the regeneration, redemption and reform of society—not less than artistic fidelity to fact, satiric unmasking of human folly, and veritistic embodiment of human passion. To the one class belong Shakespeare, Calderon, Schiller, Rostand; to the other, Charles Reade, Ibsen, Gorki, Brioux. It is a fundamental characteristic of Bernard Shaw that he belongs to the second class—in this respect he is sealed of the tribe of Rousseau, Dumas *filis*, Zola and Tolstoi.

Through the powerful social thrust of modern art, there has forged to the front a new and disquieting force. As an isolated phenomenon, this force has occasionally made its appearance in the past; but as a distinct genus it may justly be regarded as a creation of the new social order. To scoff at rather than to study, to dismiss cavalierly rather than to examine conscientiously, this new force, were as short-sighted and senseless as to deny its exist-

ence. We are in duty bound to consider and to weigh, carefully and critically, the claims of this "dramatist of the future" as opposed to the classic virtues of the dramatist working frankly in the manner of tradition. The dramatist who conforms to popular and critical standards is an artist facile in revealing either character in action or action in character, invariable in interpreting life from the side of the emotions, and resolute in imaging drama as a true conflict of wills—in a word, the artist gifted with what the French so aptly term *la doigté du dramaturge*. He recognizes the drama as the most impersonal of the arts, and sedulously devotes himself to the realization of Victor Hugo's dictum that dramatic art consists in being somebody else. On the other hand, the new type of dramatist—the dramatist of the future, if you will—is no less an artist than the other; his primal distinction is his demand for that large independence of rules and systems which Turgenev posited as the indispensable requisite of great art. Just as Zola enlarged the conception of the function of the novel, sublimating it into a powerful and far-reaching instrument for social and moral propagandism, so this new dramaturgic iconoclast demands the stage as an instrumentality for the exposition, diffusion and wide dissemination of his views and theories—upon standards of morality, rules of conduct, codes of ethics and philosophies of life. With him there is no question of importing the methods of the blue book into the drama; nor would he, in any broad sense, idly shirk what Walter Pater terms the responsibility of the artist to his material. He accepts the natural limitations, not the mechanical restrictions, of his art; he does not seek to appropriate the privileges, while refusing to shoulder the responsibilities, of his medium. His distinction arises from his discovery of the hackneyed, but ever-alarming and heretical, truth, that life is greater than art. For art's sake alone he refuses to exist, with strange perversity insisting that he lives not only for the sake of art, but also for the sake of humanity.

That subtle critic, Mr. A. B. Walkley, writes:

"After all, we must recall this truth: the primordial function of the artist—whatever his means of artistic expression—is to be a purveyor of pleasure, and the man who can give us a refined intellectual pleasure or a pleasure of moral nature or of social sympathy, or else a pleasure which arises from being given an unexpected or wider outlook upon life

—this man imparts to us a series of delicate and moving sensations which the spectacle simply of technical address, of theatrical talent, can never inspire. And this man is no other than Bernard Shaw.”*

It is vivid, then, that Bernard Shaw does not appeal to us primarily as a dramatist. In his plays we look almost in vain for those crucial emotional conjunctures, those climactic soul crises, which dramatic critics announce to be the criteria of authentic drama—the *scène à faire* of a Sarcey or a Brunetière. His fundamental claim to our attention consists in his effort toward the destruction of false ideals and of the illusions which obsess the soul of man. The false ideals which lead men astray and blind them to a sense of the real truth are the bane of his existence. He conceives it his function to tear the mask of idealism from the face of fact. In his attack upon illusions, he is neither so blind nor so narrow as not to realize their far-reaching, and oftentimes beneficent, effect. A few years ago, Mr. Shaw wrote in “*L’Humanité Nouvelle*”:

“Suppress that phase of human activity which consists in the pursuit of illusions, and you suppress the greatest force in the world. Do not suppose that the pursuit of illusions is a vain pursuit: on the contrary, an illusion can no more exist without reality than a shadow without an object. Unfortunately the majority of men are so constituted that reality repels, while illusions attract them.”

With acute psychologic insight, he draws a distinction between two classes of illusions: those which flatter, and those which are indispensable. By flattering illusions he understands those which encourage us to make efforts to attain things which we do not know how to appreciate in their simple reality; either they reconcile us to our lot, or else to actions we are obliged to take against our conscience. These are, indeed, deplorable consequences in the eyes of the humanitarian meliorist who believes that to be reconciled to one’s lot is the worst fate that can befall mankind, and who once said that the one real tragedy in life is the being used by personally minded men for purposes which you yourself recognize to be base. He does, however, recognize the value of a certain class of illusions, the indispensable illusions—the masks that must clothe reality before it can awake the interest of man, or attract his attention, or even be perceived by him. Such, for appropriate example, is the illusion of the Socialist, who always sees Labor as a martyr crucified between the

* “*Le Temps*,” August 28th, 1905.

two thieves of Capital; his enthusiasm is kept at fever-heat by the consciousness that the laborer is always a model of thrift and sobriety, while the capitalist is a tyrant, an assassin and a scoundrel! Were Socialism compelled to stand or fall upon the strength and stability of its economic stamina and sociologic structure alone, instead of upon its illusive appeal to the passion of humanity for a cause, with the concomitant allurements of an impending revolution, its fate would indubitably be sealed.

The *métier* of Bernard Shaw is the destruction, not of the indispensable illusions which support the social structure and ultimately make for the uplift of humanity, but of those treacherously flattering illusions which ensnare men in the toils of an existence for which they have not the requisite passion, courage, faith, endurance and self-restraint. "In my plays," Mr. Shaw recently said in the Vienna "*Zeit*," "you will not be teased and plagued with happiness, goodness and virtue, or with crime and romance, or indeed with any senseless thing of that sort. My plays have only one subject: life; and only one attribute: interest in life." It is a mistake of the distinguished German dramatic critic, Herr Heinrich Stümcke, to aver that the quintessence of Shaw is *nil admirari*. It would be far nearer the truth to say that he wonders at everything in this demented, moonstruck world. He taps the moral coin of the realm, only to find it a base counterfeit. He examines the pages of history, with all its boast of science and philosophy, and is staggered by its injustice, its heartless half-truths, and the colossal error of its presentation merely as the biographies of great men. This born enemy of the Cornelian tragedy, as the brilliant German, Alfred Kerr, has termed him, dangles the heroes of history before our horrified eyes and, with inexplicable irreverence, exhibits the Supermen of the world as human beings, rather than fantastic figures in a pantheon—as human creatures in whom the elements are strangely mixed, of good and evil, of cowardice and bravery, of vanity and simplicity, of cruelty and clemency, of pettiness and greatness. In rebuttal he sounds the pæan of the nameless—the obscure genius, the unknown hero, the rare forgotten spirit—some stern, silent Carton or some mute, inglorious Milton. The law of contrasts is the *motif* of his art. He is never so brilliant as in the portrayal of opposites.

With the transcendent egotism of the genius, he unhesitatingly

claims to see more clearly than humanity at large, having ever fought illusion, denied the ideal, and scorned to call things by other than their real names. As Hermann Bahr has said, Bernard Shaw possesses in rich measure the remarkable and exceptional talent of the great artist-critic: the ability to arouse the whole state, the whole nation against him. In his capacity of realistic critic of contemporary civilization, he is neither surprised nor confounded to encounter scepticism on all hands. Indeed, he is wise enough to expect it, since he has observed that, when reality at last presents itself to men nourished on dramatic illusions, they have lost the power to recognize it. This opposition only fires Shaw the more; like the kite, as some one has said, he rises most successfully when the *popularis aura* is against him. Thus we see him always in search of what Walter Pater was fond of calling "*la vraie vérité*," challenging the old formulas with the new ideas, transvaluing moral values with Nietzschean fervor, and bidding humanity stand from behind its artificial barriers of custom, law, religion and morality, and dare to speak and live the truth. Like a highwayman, he is ever "holding up" humanity with his insistent and vastly annoying "Stand and deliver!"

Bernard Shaw, as Alfred Kerr has put it, is a distinct ethical gain for our generation. His prime characteristic as a propagandist—and his deficiency as a dramatist, so called—is found in his assertion that the quintessential function of comedy is the destruction of old-established morals. Hence it is that his plays are conceived in a militant spirit—in the Molièresque key of "*Les Précieuses Ridicules*," or the Ibsenic key of "An Enemy of the People." Opposition is the very breath of his nostrils. In his comedies he hales the seven cardinal virtues before the bar of his "cynical" realism, and exposes the moral fraudulency which they conceal. Against the ideal of self-abnegation, the Christian ideal that supreme goodness is supreme martyrdom, he sets the ideal of self-realization, the Nietzschean ideal that supreme greatness is supreme individualism. Romantic sentiment—synonymous in his opinion with the sensualistic caterwaulings abhorred of Thomas Huxley—he would replace by pure science in physics—the attitude of a Lester Ward or a Westermarck. To the ideal of heroism—the search for the bubble reputation at the cannon's mouth—he opposes the practicality of common sense, the efficient and executive ability of a Kitchener or a Grant. To the

evolutionary hypothesis of a Darwin, the survival of the fittest of a Spencer, he opposes the selective breeding of a Galton, the predeterminative creation of a Burbank or a Nietzsche.

The startling feature of his plays is their argumentative and controversial character. They are expository lectures, in dramatic form, on the "Shavian philosophy." One of his plays he has actually sub-entitled: "A Discussion in Three Acts." And yet, with consummate shrewdness, Mr. Shaw fully realizes that, if the dramatist take sides in a dramatic wrangle, he is lost. A sense of the most absolute fairness and impartiality pervades and dominates his plays. Every character has his say without let or hindrance; and the whole play is signalized by the "honesty of its dialectic." By means of elaborate elucidative prefaces, lacking which certain subtler intentions in his plays would pass unnoticed, by means of elaborate stage directions, which mirror with remarkable delicacy and finish the minutest features of the author's conception, Mr. Shaw adds vastly to the effectiveness and carrying power of his plays, creating of his readers a sort of Shavian microcosm. Mr. Shaw's brilliant essays at writing *die Komödie der Zeit* lead Hermann Bahr to hope that he will influence "our whole German development," and impel him to rank Shaw without hesitation as the equal of Hauptmann and Schnitzler. "He teaches us the lesson of renunciation—to know that we never can know all that most intimately concerns us, to know that we cannot grasp absolute truth, but only our perception thereof—never reality, but only appearance, the appearance of an actual life which leaves a bitter-sweet after-taste upon our tongue." In common with the critic G. K. Chesterton, Shaw possesses in rare degree the gift of adapting means to end—the unerring sense for the right word in the right place. Like the ablest French writers, notably Henry Becque, he has learned the secret of reaching the clearest solution by the simplest means.

From the standpoint of the dramatic critic, the chief defect of Mr. Shaw as dramatist is that his plays often exhibit not so much character in conflict as views of life in animated opposition. It is Mr. Shaw's *idée fixe* that, since Ibsen has lived and written, the drama can never be anything more than the play of ideas. Doubtless because of his belief that philosophic content is the touchstone of real greatness in art—that Bunyan is greater than Shakespeare, Blake than Lamb, Ibsen than Swinburne, Shaw

than Pinero—his plays have something of the rigidity of theses. The plays of this ideologue always *donnent à penser furieusement*. His intellect is so radioactive, his psychic prevision so acute that his plays not infrequently suffer from the malady of the *à priori*; sometimes they are even stricken down with what Wagner called the incurable disease of thought.

In Bernard Shaw we discern the marvellous versatility of the modern critic, capable of making himself at home in any nationality and in any age. But whether he is giving us an Offenbachian Egypt, a comic-opera Bulgaria, a melodramatic America, or an imaginary Morocco, the result is the same: a portrayal of human nature, a criticism of life, penetrating, engaging, true. He possesses in rich measure the supreme faculty of the critic: "*in fremden Seelengehäuse hineinzuschlüpfen*," as Dr. Max Meyerfeld, the German champion of Wilde, has neatly put it. One of his most diverting traits as a humorist—and a defect as a dramatist—is his idiosyncrasy for self-mockery and self-puffery. There is nothing, not even himself, about which he will not jest; for, to use an Oscarism, he respects life too deeply to discuss it seriously. He is a master of that art of burlesque which, in Brunetière's harsh characterization, consists "in the expansion of the ego in the joyous satisfaction of its own vulgarity." One of the truest words, spoken in jest, is Mr. Shaw's confession that the main obstacle to the performance of his plays has been—himself! In contradistinction to the classic formula—that the drama should be the most impersonal of the arts—Mr. Shaw's drama may be defined as a revelation of the personality of Mr. Shaw. It is his claim that he sees life clearly; but how strangely unfamiliar many things appear after they have been filtered through the Shavian temperament! "We must agree with him," concludes M. Filon, "and accept—or reject—the dramatic work of Mr. Shaw as it is, namely, as the expression of the ideas, sentiments and fantasies of Mr. Shaw!"

Of one thing at least there can be no question: that Bernard Shaw is the most versatile and cosmopolitan genius in the drama of ideas that Great Britain has yet produced. No juster or more significant characterization of this man can be made than that he is a penetrating and astute critic of contemporary civilization. He is typical of this disquieting century—with its intellectual brilliancy, its ironic nonsense, its flippant humor, its devouring

scepticism, its profound social and religious unrest. The relentless thinking, the large perception of the comic, which stamp this man, are interpenetrated with "the ironic consciousness of the twentieth century." In him rages the dæmonic, half-insensate intuition of a Blake, with his seer's faculty for inverted truism; while the close, detective cleverness of his ironic paradoxes demonstrates him to be a Becque upon whom has fallen the mantle of a Gilbert. In the limning of character, the mordantly revelative strokes of a Hogarth, shaded by the lighter pencil of a Gavarni, pronounce him to be a realist of satiric portraiture. The enticingly audacious impudence of a Robertson, with his mercurial transitions and electric contrasts, is united with the exquisite effrontery of a Whistler, with his devastating *jeux d'esprit* and the *ridentem dicere verum*. If he is a Celtic *Molière de nos jours*, it is a Molière into whom has passed the insouciant spirit of a Wilde. If Bernard Shaw is the Irish Ibsen, it is, as Eduard Bernstein has said a laughing Ibsen—looking out upon a half-mad world with the riant eyes of a Heine, a Chamfort, or a Sheridan.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

ENGLISH STYLE.

BY JOSEPH S. AUERBACH.

"Well do they play the careful critic's part,
Instructing doubly by their matchless art;
Rules for good verse they first with pains indite,
Then show us what are bad, by what they write."

It is idle to ignore the deep, far-reaching significance of the fact that to-day many even well-educated persons indicate by their speech and writing an increasing indifference to anything approaching a due regard for English style. Such indifference is by no means a trivial or negligible matter, since, as a rule, a feeble, faulty style is associated not only with platitude, but frequently with intellectual error, as well as with a disregard, if not contempt, for true culture. As Mr. Benson says:

"Very few people are on the lookout for style nowadays. The ordinary reader is quite indifferent to it, and the ordinary critic is quite unaware what it is. . . . The mistake is to think that there is much intellectual or artistic feeling abroad. . . . Indeed, the appreciation of intellectual and artistic excellence has distinctly decreased in the last fifty years; and probably the reason why there is a lack of great writers is that we do not at the present time want them. We want a sparkling, heady beverage; not an old, fragrant, mellow vintage. It is an age of cigarettes, champagne, golf, motors,—brisk, active, lively, brief things; not an age of reflection or repose."

Matthew Arnold says, in speaking of our intolerance of any supervisory body like the French Academy:

"We like to be suffered to lie comfortably in the old straw of our habits, particularly of intellectual habits, even though the straw may not be very clean and fine."

If we are mindful of our duty and even of our interest, we must not be content until we have done what lies in our power to correct

such deplorable conditions. Especially in America are we charged with this responsibility.

We have many magazines which provide entertainment along with their pages of advertisements of wares and nostrums; and we give inadequate support to only one or two publications of a high order of literary excellence; and articles of distinct merit even in these are not by any means the rule. We can measure the extent of such a loss when we consider that volumes and volumes on our library shelves, constituting a priceless part of our literature, represent merely contributions to the magazines of the authors' day now bound together as books. It is a long catalogue of splendid names, among which are to be numbered those of Carlyle, Macaulay, Addison, Arnold, Stevens and Johnson. "There were giants in the earth in those days."

It is at best doubtful whether our universities are doing their share of the work of correction. From the curriculums of some of them the classics, with all their qualifications for intellectual training and for the inculcation of an understanding and love of what is true style, have been largely omitted. Our universities are teaching many things; just how much of what they are teaching can be fairly regarded as a substitute, if there be any substitute, for that which has been thus omitted is quite another question.

Apparently, a special department for the teaching of English will not suffice. President Thwing of the Western Reserve University says, in a late number of *THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW*:

"Oxford has no special chair devoted to the training of students in the art of English composition. For thirty years and more, the American College has been emphasizing this department and form of instruction. The Oxford system presupposes that the writing of English is an art and a science in which it is a duty of every instructor to give tuition. The department is not a department. It does not represent segregations. It must be confessed that the results of the two systems seem to favor the Oxford interpretation and method. One comprehensive deficiency of the American system is found in the lack of a sense of style which most of the writing done by American students shows."

So keen an observer as Mr. Howells, in one of his recent books, contrasts the "slovenliness" of speech of the best type of the American undergraduate with "the beauty of utterance" of the Oxford student.

While it is true that to our over-devotion to the exacting de-

mands of trade and commerce, and to neglect in the home circle and in the preparatory school, is to be traced much of our indifference to English style, and therefore to culture; yet, in the opinion of those qualified to speak authoritatively on the subject, some of our great educational institutions are blameworthy and must accept their share of the responsibility.

It is not presumptuous, therefore, for one with only such information on the subject as is possessed by persons of ordinary education, to call attention to existing methods which neither meet with the approval of the observant scholar nor accomplish the desired results.

Moreover, not only does the Oxford student speak the English language better than the American student, but the graduate of our best universities not a score of years ago spoke it with a grace and precision compared with which the conversation of many a graduate of the present day is a close approach to a kind of jargon. There has been of late years a distinct decadence in literary expression. With our undue striving after "practical" things and results, we have established in some of our universities the form of a drill or routine instruction for the writing of correct English, but apparently we are content with the form. It would seem, at best, doubtful whether appropriate prominence has been given to the development of a love for English literature.

It is not meant by this statement to suggest that text-books on rhetoric can be dispensed with. Quite the contrary. They are essential to the mastery of the art of writing, though the knowledge acquired from a study of them should not be displayed offensively, any more than need the decalogue be referred to with ostentation by the man of honor as his guide to right conduct.

The text-books, however, should be those which, both by precept and example, teach the principles of English composition, and not merely a series of ungraceful, though correct, directions strung together as rigid rules. They must be books which are the product of the scholar's effort, and which will persuade the student to turn to the open page of literature, whence will come the incentive and inspiration to grace and vigor of expression. The standard works on rhetoric accomplish this result and are not lightly to be cast aside; if any new treatise is to be written, it must supplement these works, and not attempt to supplant them.

The whole subject receives a fresh interest by reason of the issue from the publication office of Harvard University of a pamphlet containing among other things illustrations of errors in the writing of English by students applying for admission to Harvard College. Many of the sentences, it is true, are sorry exhibitions of a total lack of a knowledge of English style on the part of the ordinary American student, though some of them, it may be suggested, do not deserve the censure they receive. But, while it is made abundantly clear that there are students incapable of writing anything approaching graceful, forceful English, a cursory examination of the pamphlet discloses the fact that more than one sentence of its authors cannot be said to be above reproach.

The chief significance of the pamphlet, however, lies in the fact that it goes out of its way to commend a work on "English Composition," by the Professor of English Literature in Harvard University, considered sufficiently meritorious to justify its recent republication by the Messrs. Charles Scribners' Sons of New York City, and its use as a text-book for Harvard students.

It is of deep import, not only to the instructor and the student, but also to the general reader, to know whether this book, by the Professor of English Literature in our representative university—who is himself sufficiently prominent to have been selected to deliver a course of lectures on literary subjects at Oxford and Paris—is entitled to be regarded as an authority on English composition. If it ought not to be so regarded, then we should endeavor to arrive at a correct estimate of the merits of such a book, uninfluenced in our judgment by its authorship, its commendation, or the use to which it is devoted.

For, as has been said by Mr. Moon in his masterpiece of criticism, "The Dean's English":

"By influential example it is that languages are moulded into whatever form they take; therefore, according as example is for good or for evil, so will a language gain in strength, sweetness, precision and elegance, or will become weak, harsh, unmeaning and barbarous."

And Macaulay says, in defence of his rather merciless review of Robert Montgomery's poems, that

"The opinion of the great body of the reading public is very materially influenced even by the unsupported assertions of those who assume the right to criticise."

It would be reasonable to expect that, under the conditions

stated, this work on "English Composition" would be a worthy publication, and compare favorably with the standard books on rhetoric, and even with treatises on style by such distinguished men of letters as Arnold and Pater and Hazlitt and De Quincey. Yet it can be confidently asserted that this reasonable expectation is not realized; that neither for its precept nor for its example is the book justly entitled to be commended; and that in it are found emphasized many objectionable methods of imparting instruction in English writing.

Some new definitions are attempted, but these are neither particularly happy nor comprehensive. Along with some rather solemn insistence upon principles the correctness of which is generally conceded, we find a certain finality in statements concerning things about which men have agreed there may be a justifiable difference of opinion, while many obvious facts are described in detail as if the author were announcing to the world some great intellectual discovery. We find crudities, inaccuracies, mistakes of grammar and exhibitions of at least questionable scholarship. There are also some enigmatical observations as to the art of writing; but, as Mr. John Morley has said, "a platitude is not turned into a profundity by being dressed up as a conundrum."

There is little in the book indicating an abounding charity, or even a fair consideration, for the views of others; men and things unwelcome to the author are treated with scant courtesy.

The author says that particularly journalists, along "with most of us, generally speak or write hastily, without leisure to consider details of style." There are, however, in the city of New York several newspapers in which no editorial so loosely and so inartistically put together as the greater part of this book, is ever printed. Legal language is referred to as associated with "bewildering, slovenly masses of words." Yet, the brief of many a trained advocate at the Bar of New York is written with more idiomatic, graceful, forceful English than is characteristic of this book.

Wendell Phillips, whose name is found high on the roll of great orators, is called "the cleverest of our oratorical tricksters." Of Emerson the author says, "Emerson's indubitable obscurity to ordinary readers I take to be a matter of actual thought." The sentence which the author quotes in illustration of his assertion is the following, which he "fails to understand at all":

"The simplest person who in his integrity worships God becomes God; yet forever and ever the influx of this better and universal self is new and unsearchable."

As we read on in "English Composition" we shall have cause to wonder what would have been the result if the author had undertaken to restate the great spiritual truth expressed by Emerson in such simple, impressive words.

There are long rambling references to things which are at least trivial. On pages 35, 36 and 37, in the discussion of the sentences "Nero killed Agrippina," and "*Nero interfecit Agrippinam*,"—with the commentary, among other things, that it is the convenient final "m" which "does Agrippina's business,"—as in the discussion on pages 107, 108 and 109 of the sentence, "I started up, and a scream was heard," with its variations "I started up and screamed" and "I started up with a scream," it is made clear *ad nauseam* that the most obvious conclusions are defensible.

Much of the treatment of the subject cannot be said to be on a very elevated plane. We are told about "our present business," "our next business," "the chief part of our business"; "the matter in hand," "the chief matter in hand" and "the real matter in hand." Things "at bottom" are of this or that character; the writer's art is a "trade with tricks"; we have "pieces of style" as well as "pieces of writing" and "pieces of literature"; "clauses are thrown into grammatical form"; words are "pitched upon," and ideas are referred to as "packed," not only within prose sentences, but into exquisite lines of verse.

Even in quotations by the author we find inaccuracy and looseness.

On page 295 we read: "No man is great to his body-servant, you remember." No one remembers this. What we do remember is that "No man is a hero to his valet," a fairly accurate translation of a French line.

In speaking of Emerson, the author says, on page 208: "Consistency, if I remember aright, he somewhere declares to be the chief vice of little minds." The author did not remember aright. What Emerson wrote was that "A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds."

The following statement is fairly typical of some of the attempts to deal with the subject after a scholarly method (pages 56 and 58):

"Etymology, in short, is a most interesting study or pastime; and the history of this *potpourri* of an English of ours makes the fit words for simple ideas—ideas of fighting, for example, or of spontaneous aspiration—chiefly Saxon in their origin; but the same history makes the fit words for more contemplative ideas—ideas of literary criticism, for example, or of deliberate meditation—chiefly Latin. . . . Big words are apt to be Latin, and little to be Saxon; *acknowledge* and *damn* to the contrary notwithstanding."

To condemn any such statement we do not need to contrast it with the language of the scholar, as found in books like "Words and Their Ways in English Speech," by Professors Greenough and Kittredge of Harvard. In comparison with even the common knowledge possessed by all persons reasonably well informed as to the genesis of English speech, the statement quoted lacks seriousness.

Again, on pages 282 and 283, there is a discussion as to the choice of the word "Elegance" for the title of one of the chapters of the book. The use of this obvious word needed no defence, and as matter of fact the author admits he adopted the three divisions of his subject, "Clearness, Force and Elegance," from Professor Adams S. Hill's book. The author, however, insists on justifying his choice of the word by a reference to what is termed its derivation from "*ex*" and "*lego*," which he says "mean literally to pick out, to choose from among some great mass of things the one thing that shall best serve our purpose, etc." The author by such a method could have justified for the title of his chapter the use of "Election," which much more directly than "elegance" is derived from "*ex*" and "*lego*." The fact is that our word "elegance" is probably traceable directly or indirectly to the Latin "*elegans*," to which was already attached its figurative meaning before it was adopted into our language; and "*elegans*" was not derived from the verb "*lego*" of Latin literature, but from an obsolete verb of the first conjugation. The whole discussion absolutely and relatively is misleading.

Such resort to etymology is, as a rule, of little aid in determining the precise meaning which usage attaches to words. Mr. Marsh in his "Lectures on the English Language," and Mr. Greenough and Mr. Kittredge, in their book above referred to, have an emphatic condemnation of "such false linguistic doctrine."

On page 46 there is this sentence:

"And I know that there are few more unidiomatic absurdities than those of the gentlemen who insist on spelling Alfred Aelfred, and Virgil with an *e*, and otherwise on impairing that irrational, spontaneous variety which people who love English know to be one of its most subtle charms."

That such a peculiarity in spelling has anything to do with an idiomatic absurdity will be news to most persons; and, in the thoughts of some unamiable reader, the author's rather flippant assumption of superiority to the scholars who insist that "*Vergil*" is a correct spelling may well seem to border on a kind of arrogance.

The expression "*it is me*" is defended as idiomatic for the reason that "*it is I*" is conceived to be pedantic. The distinction in the use of the auxiliary verbs *shall* and *will* is by no means forcibly or fully stated.

While it is true that some accepted rules of writing are correctly set forth, they are found as well if not better expressed by other authors; and perhaps it may not be unfair to say, as to this part of the book, what Webster said of the Free-soil party:

"I have read their platform, and though I think there are some un-sound places in it, I can stand upon it pretty well; but I see nothing in it both new and valuable: what is valuable is not new, and what is new is not valuable."

When, however, we consider the style of the book, it is exceptional to find sentences which are not censurable for their feeble or ungraceful structure; and the quotations which follow—reproduced as printed, except that words are italicized in order to emphasize errors—are selected from among similar sentences almost at random.

The methods which, after a reflection of ten years, the author adopts and recommends for intellectual production are, to say the least, novel; some persons might pronounce them not serious.

"On separate bits of paper—cards, if they be at hand—I write down the separate headings that occur to me, in what seems to me the natural order. Then, when my little pack of cards is complete—in other words, when I have a card for every heading which I think of—I study them and sort them almost as deliberately as I should sort a hand at whist; and it has very rarely been my experience to find that a shift of arrangement will not decidedly improve the original order. . . . A few minutes' shuffling of these little cards has often revealed to me more than I should have learned by hours of unaided pondering."

There are, however, other methods, for on page 211 we read:

"My method of clearing my ideas is by no means the only one. I have known people who could do it best by talking; by putting somebody in [*sic*] a comfortable chair and making him listen to their efforts to discover what they really think."

Certainly the listener undergoing such an ordeal is entitled to a comfortable chair; for the people intent on clarifying their ideas might all talk at once.

The author of this book has shown by some of his literary work that he is not without the ability to present a subject attractively. The most indifferent writing, however, seems to be good enough for this book.

On page 120 we have an example of what is considered good English:

"A *sentence* which on analysis proves *sensible* is generally good English. By the same token, a *paragraph* *sensibly* composed is beyond cavil a *good paragraph*."

To it, however, should be added this sentence from page 35:

"A style that sticks together is coherent; a style whose parts hang loose is not";

and also the following intellectual nugget from page 193:

"In the first place, any *piece* of style appeals to the *understanding*; we *understand* it, or we do not *understand* it, or we are doubtful whether we *understand* it or not; in other words, it has an intellectual quality."

Sentence after sentence will be found ending with "what not" and "and so on," long before the expression of the thought has approached completion. For instance, on page 112 we read:

"As I utter these words in combination, the pronoun calls up certain individualities of face and form and manner and dress, *and what not*."

On page 167 we read:

"There may be living occasional individuals who have resisted the impulse to skip the endless lucubrations of Dryasdust *and what not*; but I do not remember having met one."

On page 89 we read:

"I have said enough, I hope, to show that the *fundamental difference* between periodic sentences and loose is about the same as the *fundamental differences* we discussed between *different* kinds of words,—Latin and Saxon, big and little, *and so on*; it is a *difference* of effect."

On pages 76, 125, 128 and 190 we have more of these "*and so ons.*"

Clearly, the reader is entitled to know the author's meaning, and to insist that he be not foreclosed of information by these meaningless "what nots" and "and so ons." There is about as much propriety in this kind of writing as there was in the conduct of the country minister who, after reading in Genesis of the genealogy of the patriarchs, how Adam begat Seth and Seth begat sons and daughters, summed up the remainder of the chapter by the rather novel and yet comprehensive assertion: "And so they kept on begetting to the end of the chapter."

Here are illustrations of favorite but quite indefensible expressions distributed throughout the book:

"Are not short sentences preferable to long? What long sentences are, and short, I leave to your common sense; what anybody can perceive needs no definition" (page 89).

"From this, two or three conclusions follow, sometimes laid down as distinct rules. Obviously a short sentence is less apt to stray out of unity than a long; a periodic than a loose" (page 98).

"If our object be to ramble, then not to ramble were to blunder; but in general our object is to produce a definite effect and not a nebulous" (page 162).

"Perhaps the simplest way to show the superiority of carefully planned work to carelessly, is to compare," etc. (page 181).

Repetition of the same words is persisted in, as in one of the sentences just quoted, when its avoidance is required by euphony and the rules of graceful writing. We read:

"And the *more* you analyze your impressions of style the *more* you will find, unless your experience differs surprisingly from *most*, that," etc. (page 8).

"In a book on rhetoric I lately read is a long *quotation* from some respectable *man of letters* concerning what the career of a *man of letters* ought to be; and at the end of the *quotation* he who *quotes* writes thus" (page 205).

The following quotation is from the chapter on "Elegance":

"And whoever should say that passionate writing cannot have the trait before us now—the *quality* that pleases the taste—as well as the intellectual *quality* clearness, and the emotional *quality* force, would obviously say something that would make his *notion* of the *quality* very different from the *notion* I am trying to lay before you."

Perhaps a frivolous and provincial person might say by way of paradox, that this sentence lacks "quality."

On page 71, there is this sentence:

"It is not what it seemed at first,—simply to *pitch* upon a word by which good use has agreed with reasonable approximation to *name* the idea he wishes to *arouse*. *It is equally, if not more,* to make sure that the word he chooses shall not only *name* the idea distinctly enough to identify it, but also *name* it by a *name*—if such a *name* is to be found—which shall *arouse*," etc.

We can all recall from the great books of literature the impressive and often electric effect of judicious repetition, but it is of a different quality from that so lavishly displayed in "English Composition."

Throughout the book the relative pronoun "that" is over and over again used to excess where the employment of "which" is demanded by good usage or euphony. Evidently the author has determined to deny "The humble petition of WHO and WHICH" against being supplanted by the "jack sprat THAT," as playfully submitted by Steele in "The Spectator."

There are attempts like the following to contribute to the sum of our knowledge. On page 32 is this sentence:

"What distinguishes *written words* from *spoken*, literature from the colloquial language that precedes it, is that *written words* address themselves to the eye and *spoken words* to the ear. Though this fundamental physical fact has been neglected by the makers of text-books, I know few more important."

It may be said that the fact referred to has not been neglected by the makers of text-books, if by the "makers of text-books" we are warranted in guessing that the author meant to describe the writers of books on Rhetoric and Composition; and having in mind the well-known lines of *Ars Poetica* we may add that the oft-pointed-out distinction is as old as Horace and the hills.

On page 209 we have the following:

"To be clear in narrative, or in exposition, or in argument, or in any kind of discourse whatever, we must evidently *proceed* from what is known to what is unknown; and if at any point in this *process* we permit our style to become vague or ambiguous or obscure,—in other words, *so to express ourselves* either that our meaning may *rationaly* be mistaken or that we may *rationaly* be supposed to have no meaning at all,—we may resign ourselves," etc.

Aside from the characteristic faults of the author, it may be stated that the "so to express ourselves" is inadmissible. The context requires the expression "if we so express ourselves," etc.; or the "to" before "express" must be omitted.

There are many sentences exhibiting an ingenious variety of infelicities in the choice and use of words fatal to a correct and pleasing style; but lack of space forbids more than this passing reference to them.

Then, too, an indefensible order of words produces at times an effect almost grotesque.

On page 94 we read:

"Of course, these few examples indicate the development of style in a very rough way."

On page 23, the italics being the author's, we read:

"'I noticed a dirty *gamin*,' writes a student; and another, using a word now confined at Harvard College to street urchin, describes the same small boy as a *mucker*."

Perhaps one may suggest that the confinement had not been very rigorous; for clearly the word has broken jail and is enjoying its liberty in street talk and sometimes elsewhere.

On page 33 we are edified with this rather surprising statement:

"Or again, remark a fact that is becoming in my literary studies comically general: familiar quotations from celebrated books are almost always to be found at the beginning or the end. 'Music hath charms' are the opening words of Congreve's 'Mourning Bride.' Don Quixote fights with the windmill very early in the first volume; he dies with the remark that there are no birds in *last* year's nests near the end of the *last*."

The advice to the shoemaker to "stick to his last" does not work well when applied literally in authorship.

On page 183 we are regaled with this utterance:

"Perhaps the cleverest variation of all is that by which such treason to a friend as *makes* Proteus odious is *made*, simply by attributing it to Helena, a woman, a very venial matter."

Mr. Choate, with his inimitable humor, dismissed the claim of the equality of woman to man by the statement that woman at best was but a "side issue." It was reserved for the author of "English Composition," however, to assert that woman is "a very venial matter."

With the following sentences, which embody much that is typical of the author's style, together with what may not im-

properly be regarded as a fitting commentary on "English Composition," the limit of quotations for a magazine article will have been reached.

"All the carelessness of habitual speech and *writing* rarely suffices to make a *note* of *something* recent by any means as indistinct as a *note* of the same *thing* after an interval. While sometimes a mere *matter* of style, *vagueness* is oftener an actual *matter* of thought. In a *general* way, a *vague writer* does not know what he wants to say, and so *generally* says *something* that may mean a great many different *things*."

The author properly enough, as one will see who inspects the two books, has acknowledged his obligations to the text-book of Professor Hill, in which are printed side by side many examples of incorrect and correct sentences. To Professor Hill's work could be added no mean supplement devoted entirely to the reconstruction of faulty sentences from "English Composition." For such use the author may properly claim he has written an acceptable text-book entitled to an extended circulation;

*Ergo fungar vice cotis, acutum
Reddere quae ferrum valet exors ipsa secandi.*

It can be said without exaggeration that the foregoing sentences are fairly illustrative of the unfortunate methods employed in this book. In the true sense it cannot be said to have any style at all. Errors in scores of its sentences are apparent even to the most inexperienced writer; and it is the exception to find thoughts expressed with either grace or vigor. Even in the quality of clearness, the book is full of transgressions, while to the precision and niceties and beauty of the English language it seems quite oblivious. Yet at Harvard University, which prides itself upon its method of instruction in the study of our language, "English Composition" is commended by its faculty and used as a text-book. In one of our great institutions of learning, therefore, the judgment of Addison that no critical writer "has ever pleased or been looked upon as authentic who did not show by his practice that he was master of the theory" seems obsolete. And the pity of it all is the author has made it clear by his other publications that he could have written a worthy book on English composition.

Sed quis custodiet ipsos custodes?

Assuredly the time has come for the educated people of the community to express in no uncertain voice their disapproval of

such conditions. In the possession of what Emerson terms our great metropolitan English speech and of our English literature, we are the trustees of a splendid and priceless treasure. It is our duty and our privilege to transmit it at least undisfigured and unimpaired to succeeding generations; while the few who are fitted for the task are bound to do what lies in their power to increase that possession in volume and in charm.

It is to be feared, however, that we are unable to render a very creditable account of our stewardship, and that our indifference to literary expression and to culture is but a symptom of much that is of evil import.

As we have been directing our restless energy towards commercial supremacy, made possible by laws which have perhaps been too prodigal in their promotion and protection of industry, we have, in order to insure our success, cast out of our life much of its composure and its true rewards; we have failed often to discern the relative importance of things, or to appraise them at their real value; we have even fallen short of many duties we owe to our neighbor and the State. As we have grown fat with material prosperity, we have starved ourselves spiritually. It will profit us much to exchange some of our "practical" aims and results for a few old-fashioned standards of ideals and of conduct.

Then, too, if it be not yet taught from the pulpit, it is beginning to be recognized that in the divine order of the world there never has been and never will be a place for the intervention of miracle or accident, and it is reasonably certain that new beliefs and readjustments will enter into our religious faith. We must seek out some compensation for the consequent loss.

More and more, as these thoughts are brought home to us, the great books of literature, of which the Bible is supreme,—whether we regard their never-failing springs of intellectual joy, their lofty aspirations after truth and beauty, their deep insight into the perplexing problems of the world or their conception of righteousness—should come to occupy a revered place and assert a controlling influence in the lives of men.

Nor ought we to consider our higher education complete until a just appreciation of what is best in the classic authors has become part of it. As Mr. Woodrow Wilson said, in his inaugural address as President of Princeton University:

"The classical literatures give us, in tones and with an authentic accent we can nowhere else hear, the thoughts of an age we cannot visit. They contain airs of a time not our own, unlike our own, and yet its foster parent. To these things was the modern thinking world first bred. In them speaks a time naïve, pagan, an early morning day when men looked upon the earth while it was fresh, untrodden by crowding thought, an age when the mind moved as it were without prepossessions and with an unsophisticated, childlike curiosity, a season apart during which those seats upon the Mediterranean seem the first seats of thoughtful men. We shall not anywhere else get a substitute for it. The modern mind has been built upon that culture and there is no authentic equivalent."

We must promote these tendencies unless we are prepared to witness consequences that are for the benefit neither of ourselves nor of the Republic; and to promote them we must be intolerant of such books as "English Composition," which with their confusion of expression persuade no one to a love and a reverence for letters.

For that which distinguishes great authors above their contemporaries is the style of their work. That which gives even to Shakespeare his surpassing excellence is not only that intellectually he was more perfectly equipped than all the goodly company of which he was a part, but also that he wrote with a nobility and splendor of expression which made him "not of an age, but for all time."

Great thoughts and great emotions find their true interpretation and are made manifest in the infinite variety of the style of illustrious, creative minds, as the several strings of a musical instrument are waked to harmony by the touch of genius. There is the *Leit-Motif* in letters as there is in music. Style is not something separate and apart from literature, any more than, in the conception of the devout worshipper, is God Himself a being outside of and aloof from the throbbing life of His universe. Style is not a mere ornamentation and adornment of the written word, but its very soul; and it will find eloquent and persuasive utterance when, as though within a great temple, men shall have consecrated themselves anew to the spirit of culture.

JOSEPH S. AUERBACH.

THE NEGRO SOLDIER IN WAR AND PEACE

BY STEPHEN BONSAI.

THE negro soldier is no new thing even in these brand-new United States. Some of them fought with clubbed muskets at Bunker Hill, and others were eulogized by Washington for their conduct at Red Bank. Old Hickory himself, who had ideas about the proper place of the black man which are no longer sanctioned by the Constitution, speaks appreciatively of the services rendered by his Sambos in the Creek War. In the history of our Mexican adventure, there is little or no mention of the negro as a fighting-man, and this I take to be one of the surest indications that the color feeling had arisen and the race question was presented as never before.

During the Civil War, close on to two hundred thousand negroes, for weal or woe, became "Uncle Sam's boys" and wore the blue. Their services were, as was to have been expected, good, bad and indifferent. When the War was over and negro volunteers lorded it over the capitals of the conquered Southern States, the question inevitably arose as to what part the negro was to play in our future civic and military life. At this time, words of great wisdom were spoken by Agassiz:

"No man has a right to what he is unfit to use. Our own best rights have been acquired successively. I cannot, therefore, think it just or safe to grant at once to the negro all the privileges which we ourselves have acquired by long struggles. History teaches us what terrible reactions have followed too extensive and too rapid changes. Let us beware of granting too much to the negro race in the beginning, lest it become necessary hereafter to deprive them of some of the privileges which they may use to their own and our detriment."

Yet, later, even this scientific seer was carried off his feet; for when, as Mr. Rhodes relates, Colonel Higginson returned from the war and said that his black soldiers had behaved ad-

mirably both in camp and under fire, Agassiz exclaimed: "Then they must vote, of course. The man who risks his life for his country has the right to vote in it."

When Lincoln died, his plan of restricting the franchise to the very intelligent colored men and to those who had fought gallantly in the Union army was dropped. The Reconstruction acts, shaped by the raging Stevens in one wing of the Capitol and the furious Sumner in the other, became the law of the land; and, with the unrestricted ballot, the musket was logically given also. By statute it was provided that colored men only should be enlisted for two regiments of cavalry and two of infantry; for the first time in history, the negro entered the regular military establishment, and the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry, the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry were formed. From that day to this, these organizations have invariably been quartered in the Southern States or upon the alkali plains of the Far West. Whenever, by the routine of the War Department, a colored troop or a colored company was assigned for duty in a New England post, the Representatives in Congress of the threatened State have intervened and the unwelcome orders have been cancelled. No less important a personage than the late Senator Proctor, of Vermont, is said to have admitted that the most arduous struggle of his whole career was the one during the Cleveland administration to keep negro troops out of Fort Ethan Allen. However, he succeeded. Of course, in some sections of the South there is a feeling against colored regiments, not unnatural in view of what occurred during the unhappy years of military government in which they were made to play a conspicuous part; and upon the frontiers there are or were cow-punchers quick to shoot and greasers prone to handy strokes with knives; but, with all due consideration for these circumstances, no one who reads the list of brutal outrages committed by negro troops upon white civilians, which Congressman Slayden has culled almost exclusively from the cold, unemotional records of the War Department, can deny that it furnishes a by no means flimsy foundation for his demand that the enlistment of negroes for military service be discontinued.

In Army circles, however, certain merits of the negro recruit are conceded. You can make him look and act like a soldier more quickly than the white man, it is said. More than is the

case with the white soldier his conduct depends upon the fitness of his officers for command. The War Department, enlightened by Civil War experience, recognized that the negro soldier required at once firm and delicate handling, and the best officers have always been sent to serve in colored regiments, a system which accounts for the fact that the behavior of the colored troops has been as good as it has been, and for the interesting circumstance that, with perhaps the single exception of General Chaffee, the officers who have reached high rank and distinction in the last decade have passed their regimental years with colored organizations. Curiously enough, the best company officers of the negro troops have generally been of Southern birth and breeding, men like Shipp and Smith and Augustin, whose fathers wore the gray, but who died leading their black soldiers to victory on the slopes of San Juan no less gallantly than did Shaw in a previous generation and in a greater war.

The Spanish War afforded the negro regulars their first opportunity to show their metal as trained troops upon the theatre of actual war; and, as soon as the Santiago land attack was decided upon, the four black regiments were ordered to join the expedition. Unfortunately, even at such a moment, the Twenty-fifth Infantry added another disgraceful episode to its already chequered record. Several days before General Shafter's army sailed, a corporal and an enlisted man of this regiment were brought to jail in Key West by the city police charged with an assault with intent to kill. A few hours later, shortly after midnight, the jail was surrounded by about forty men of the Twenty-fifth, armed and in uniform. Here, as at Brownsville, they seem to have had no difficulty in getting hold of their rifles. They overpowered the sheriff, liberated their comrades and, after smashing up the jail, departed. From that day to this, the County of Monroe and the State of Florida have been unable to secure any satisfaction for this outrage. Apparently, their complaints have received no attention from the Federal authorities.

But, once in the enemy's country, the negro soldiers found themselves. Their record throughout the campaign is exceptional. Comparisons of this description are particularly odious; still, it certainly was the opinion of many competent officers that the services of the negro regiments, from the landing to the surrender, exceeded in value that of any other four regiments in

the army. The orders given to the colored regiments brought them well to the front in the different divisions to which they were assigned, and their courage and soldierly efficiency kept them there. They may have been, they certainly were, favored by the fortune of war, but in the sequel they showed that they were worthy to receive such favors. The Twenty-fifth fought at El Caney under Lawton, and shared with the white men of the Twelfth Infantry the honor and the losses incident to capturing the old stone fort. This was the key to their position, and the Spaniards defended it with a stubborn valor that moved all observers to admiration. Indeed, the defence and capture of this fort have often been characterized as the most striking exploit of the campaign. At San Juan, on the left flank, the blacks of the Twenty-fourth were brigaded with the Ninth and Thirteenth, both white regiments. Under Colonel Liscum, until he fell severely wounded, and later under Major Markley, they went up San Juan Hill, and they share with the white men of the Sixth and the Sixteenth, the Ninth and the Thirteenth Infantry regiments in the honors of its capture. The men of the Ninth Cavalry, though they lost their colonel, the gallant Hamilton, early in the day, and the men of the Tenth Cavalry, though they lost early in the fighting twelve officers, a loss greater than that of any other organization, proved steady under most trying circumstances, and were not behind their white comrades in arms in the advance of the cavalry division under Sumner.

But the crowning service of the negro troops was performed outside of their military duties. On the evening of July 16th, shortly after the news of the surrender of the Spaniards, to take place the following morning, had been received, the Twenty-fourth Infantry were ordered to proceed to the rear, to leave the front in the moment of triumph, and march down to Siboney to do guard duty at the fever hospital. General Shafter made this selection because he hoped that the negroes would prove less susceptible than white men to the contagion of yellow fever and the other pernicious fevers that were creating such havoc in his small force. When the regiment reached the hospital, conditions there were found to be deplorable. Men were dying every hour for the lack of proper nursing. A conference took place between Major Markley commanding the regiment and Doctor LaGarde in charge of the hospital; then the men were drawn up in line

and the doctor addressed them. He explained the urgent need of help; at the same time, he clearly set forth the danger to men, not immune, of nursing yellow-fever patients. Major Markley then said that, if any one wished to volunteer to nurse in the hospital, he could step forward. The whole regiment stepped forward. Sixty men were selected from these volunteers; and, within forty-eight hours, forty-two of these brave fellows were down with yellow or pernicious malarial fever. Again the dwindling regiment was drawn up in line, and Major Markley spoke to his men much as before. Again the whole regiment volunteered. When sent down from the trenches, the regiment consisted of eight companies averaging about forty men each. Of the officers and men on duty during the forty days in Siboney, only twenty-four escaped without serious illness. Of this handful not a few succumbed to fevers on the voyage home and at Montauk. Captain Charles Dodge and thirty-five privates died in the yellow-fever hospital in the performance of service purely optional.

In the Philippines, the services of the negro regiments have not attracted much favorable comment, though I believe that, under fire and in the open field, their behavior has been soldierly. In the early days of the occupation, it was a subject of congratulation among officers that the colored troops got quickly and into closer touch with the native populations than did their white brothers in arms. Many of the negroes learned Tagal and Visayan with surprising facility. Soon, however, these acquirements came to be regarded as anything but a subject for congratulation. While the white soldiers, unfortunately, got on badly with the natives, the black soldiers got on much too well. To the little brown brothers, and particularly to the little brown sisters, they became united by the tenderest of ties, until the time came, in 1901, when many observant officers expressed the opinion that the color line had been drawn again to our disadvantage, and that the negro soldiers were in closer sympathy with the aims of the native populations than they were with those of their white leaders and the policy of the United States.

The desertions from the negro regiments were large—much larger, I believe, than from the white organizations; and these desertions were invariably of a different character. The white man deserted because he was lazy and idle and found service life

irksome. Sometimes he joined the insurgents; but he did so, evidently, because that was the only way in which he could attain his dream of becoming a wild man of the woods. But the negroes deserted in scores and for the purpose of joining the insurgents, and many of them, like the celebrated Fagan, became leaders and fought the white troops or their former comrades with zest and ability. Such acts as they are charged with committing are the acts of savages, and have only been laid to the door of white men when blinded by racial hatred or religious prejudice. Some stern critics of our *régime* in the Philippines say that the only one of our institutions that would survive our withdrawal for more than twelve months is the love of "plug" tobacco; but they have overlooked the color feeling and the race question which we have imported, and which grows luxuriantly where it never grew before. To-day the Chinese merchants of the Pasig quarter in Manila divorce their wives by the most summary procedure if their babies are not as blond as they think they should be.

In 1902, all the negro troops were sent away from the Philippines. They went practically together and, I believe, out of their regular turn. This step was generally applauded in the army, and many reasons for a somewhat unusual course were assigned. Nothing official was ever divulged, but Captain Steele, of the United States Army, writing in a recent number of this REVIEW, says that the colored troops were sent back to the United States upon the demand of the Civil Governor. Be this as it may, it is certain that the white population, military as well as civil, breathed a sigh of relief upon their departure.

In enumerating the disorderly outbreaks of the Twenty-fifth Infantry, it is only fair to say that the records of the other negro regiments in time of peace are little, if any, better; so that the history of this regiment may be taken as typical of them all. In 1885, they shot up the town of Sturgis in Dakota, killing several men. They marched as an organized body and responded to the usual commands. In Winnemucca, Nevada, a train-load of the men of the Twenty-fifth, on their way to the Philippines in 1899, halted for supper. They took possession of the saloons, shot a bar-keeper and in every way terrorized the town. All efforts to identify the perpetrators of the outrage failed, the negroes maintaining their characteristic conspiracy of silence. Four months

later, at the San Carlos agency in Arizona, men of the Twenty-fifth made repeated murderous assaults upon peaceful Indians. General Merriam, who commanded the Department, asked that the negroes be replaced by white men. This was done, and the offending organization was sent on to El Paso, Texas. Here, a few weeks later, they took the rifles from the racks, went to the city jail where two soldiers were held for trial by the city authorities, and fired into the jail, killing a policeman on duty there. Later in the night, they returned to the jail with guns and axes, and made another attempt to release their comrades. Eight army rifles, it developed, had been taken from the gun-racks, and this was the clue that led to the discovery and punishment of some of the marauders. At about the same time, men of the same organization were guilty of an atrocity at Fort Niobrara, Nebraska, which was later characterized by the chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee of the district as "wanton and cold-blooded murder."

In the instances enumerated, and in a score of others with which the records of the War Department are stained—going back to the mutiny of troop E of the Ninth Cavalry in 1867, when the troopers, under the lead of their first sergeant, murdered one white officer and seriously wounded two others—the behavior of the accused has been invariably the same, and has been marked by open hostility to all investigation, perfect indifference to the good name of their regiment, contempt for their enlistment oath, entire sympathy with men of their own color, whatever their acts may have been, and a sullen antagonism to their white officers in the performance of their duties.

STEPHEN BONSAI.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY PHILIP LORING ALLEN AND JAMES HUNEKER.

NORMAN DUNCAN'S NEW NOVEL.*

THE paradox of Norman Duncan as a writer is that his fondness for situations, characters and incidents odd and whimsical to the verge of grotesqueness, should be supported by an imagination so fine, so tender and so poetic. If he could be imagined as executing some mad contract to take the subject-matter of a novel bodily from the comic weeklies, there would still be nobility and dignity in the book as it came from his pen. On the other hand, the most sodden or lugubrious theme could similarly be lightened by his true and human touch.

Nothing that Mr. Duncan has written illustrates better this characteristic blending of qualities than his latest book, "The Cruise of the 'Shining Light.'" Humor it has, and pathos, but not in the conventional "flashes" or "touches." Both are pervasive, which is perhaps only another way of saying that, for all its fantasies, the book delineates real life. It is hard to speak critically of this story without pointing a parallel to Dickens. But to be fair the comparison must begin and end with the material in the novelist's hands. We can imagine that master story-teller seizing with delight almost every element of this story and then abandoning himself to it in such a way as to make a totally different book, probably lacking, after all, that blending and background which give Mr. Duncan's work so much of its charm. One might quote of it Aldrich's quatrain:

"Black Tragedy lets slip her grim disguise
And shows you laughing cheeks and roguish eyes;
But when, unmasked, gay Comedy appears,
How wan her cheeks are, and what heavy tears."

* "The Cruise of the 'Shining Light.'" By Norman Duncan. New York and London: Harper & Brothers.

And that these dainty lines should apply so aptly to one who writes of the toil and struggle of uncouth men in a wild northern land is a second anomaly.

We have here the story of Skipper Nicholas Top, of Twist Tickle, a misshapen, scarred old mariner who, in fulfilling a promise made to a dying shipmate, the lad's father, is bringing up young Dannie Callaway by the letter of Chesterfield's maxims, and his own creed of "standin'" by. "He've wonderful good ideas on the subjeck o' manners," says the Skipper of Chesterfield, "an' a raft of un, too; but the ideas he've got on souls, Dannie, is poor an' sort o' damned scarce." How the means were provided for the rearing of the elegant and bejewelled young gentleman is the "wretched puzzle" which runs through the story. Mr. Duncan left his readers no clue to the mystery of "Dr. Luke of the 'Labrador.'" The reader is glad, however, that Dannie, who is made the narrator in this book, insists on a full understanding of his circumstances before offering himself to Judith, the little maid with whom he had played on the deck of the "Shining Light."

Some episodes, by the way, are practically separate stories. Such are the accounts of the death-bed conversion of Judith's erring mother, and the quest for a wife of the fool of Twist Tickle. The former is a grim sketch of a type of Newfoundland parson, inflexible with others and himself a martyr to duty, who orders child and friend from the room in order to force the dying woman to "repent" with her last breath. The fool's wooing is a bit of tragi-comedy which invites the comment of the Virginian on the career of the "Emily Hen"—"It ain't so damn funny, after all."

We have Mr. Duncan's word for it that Nicholas Top, first conceived as a minor character, forced himself, so to speak, against his creator's will, into the chief place. Yet the treatment of that lovable troglodyte remains a capital illustration of the author's scrupulous restraint, and in this case his restraint is in another sense an expression of sympathy. He will not let us laugh at the old man, no matter what preposterous or wrong-headed thing he may be doing. Dannie, as he appears here in the first person, tells his story like one who is willing to explain all, and knows that some of it is amusing, but would resent on the instant any sneer at his benefactor. The obligation of respect is impressed

upon the reader, just as it was upon the London tutor brought to Newfoundland to teach the boy:

"My uncle stumped on ahead, his wooden leg as blithe as the sound one, and was waiting in his humble quarters, with gnomelike leer of expectation, when we entered. Neither my watch, set with its shy jewels, nor my sparkling fingers, nor the cut and quality and fit of my London-made clothes, which came close to perfection, nor anything concerning me, had caused my tutor even so much as to lift an eyebrow of surprise; but the appearance of the table, laid in the usual way, gave him an indubitable fit of amazement; for, as was our custom on the neck of land by the Lost Soul, at the one end, where sat the luxurious Dannie Callaway, by no will of his own, was the glitter of silver, the flash and glow of delicate china, a flower or more from our garden, exquisite napery, the bounties of the kindly earth, whatever the cost; but at the other (the napery abruptly ceasing at the centre of the table because of the wear and tear that might chance) was set out, upon coarse ware, even to tin, fare of common description, forecastle fare, fisherman fare, unrelieved by any grace of flower or linen or glitter of glass, by any grace at all, save the grace of a black bottle, which, according to my experience, was sufficient to my uncle and such rough folk as dined with him. 'Twas no cause for surprise to me, to whom the enigma had been familiar from the beginning; but my tutor, come suddenly against the puzzle, was nonplussed, small blame to him.

"'Parson,' says my uncle, '*you—goes steerage!*'"

"My tutor started, regarded my uncle with a little jerk of astonishment; and his eyebrows went high—but still conveyed no more than polite inquiry. 'I beg your pardon?' he apologized.

"'Steerage, parson!' my uncle repeated. 'Steerage passage, sir, the night!'

"'Really!'

"'Tis the same as sayin',' I made haste to explain, 'that you dines along o' Uncle Nick at *his* end.'

"'Sit ye!' says my uncle, 'an' fall to!' his face all broke into smiles. 'Fall to, parson, an' spare nothin'. Better the salt-junk o' toil,' he improvised, in bold imitation of the Scripture, to my tutor's further astonishment, 'than the ice-cream o' crime.'"

It would be just as improper to laugh in the face of little Judith when she pictured her maker as:

"A rotund, florid old gentleman, with the briefest, most wiry of sandy whiskers upon his chops, a jolly double chin, a sunburned nose, kindly blue eyes forever opened in mild wonder (and a bit bleared by the wind), the fat figure clad in broadly checked tweed knickerbockers and a rakish cap to match, like the mad tourists who sometimes strayed our way."

"I come down from heaven one year an' five months after God sent you," said Judith after she had called Dannie a fool and he

had quoted Scripture; "an' God *told* me, Dannie, before I left Un at the Gate, that He'd changed his mind about that." There is chivalry mingled with the amusement of the lad who tells it. Clearly drawn as are the other characters, they are not more alive than this same Dannie. If he was a product of Nicholas Top's upbringing, that would alone go far to the old skipper's redemption.

There is no "cruise" in the book save a very brief one in pursuit of Judith, and this does not furnish a tenth part of the tale. So it is not properly a sea-story, but one about seafaring people. Mr. Duncan has been the interpreter of Newfoundland to American readers. For this function he has never depended on photographic description, but rather on a peculiar gift for conveying spirit and atmosphere. He has here attempted what is essentially a new task for him in portraying the sea. He has few equals to-day in expressing its terror, its grim and savage moods. His best piece of short fiction, "A Beat to Harbor," which tells the story of a captain afraid of the sea and reckless for the very reason that he had so accurately measured his enemy's strength against his own, is a study that perhaps no other living writer could have compassed. But here he must write as a joyous lover of the ocean:

"Born as I am—a Newfoundlander to the marrow of my body and the innermost parts of my soul—my heart puts to sea, unfailingly, whatever the ease and security of my place, when the wind blows high in the night and the great sea rages. 'Tis a fine heritage we have, we outport Newfoundlanders—this feeling for the toss and tumult and dripping cold of the sea: this sympathy born of self-same experience. I'd not exchange it, with the riches of cities to boot, for the thin-lipped, gray, cold-eyed astuteness, the pomp and splendid masks of the marts and avenues I have seen in my time."

It cannot be said that Mr. Duncan interprets this mood so successfully as those more sombre. Stout hearts and brave spirits he knows, but the promised note of exultation is hardly audible in what is written here of the perils of the sea. Possibly the cry of,

"... give to me the snoring breeze
And white waves heaving high,"

was never heard on the real "world of waters." But the cruise with Norman Duncan as skipper is invigorating, and it ends in a sunny haven.

PHILIP LORING ALLEN.

MAX STIRNER.*

WHAT shall it profit a man if he gains the whole world but loses his own Ego? That is practically the question put by Max Stirner in his once celebrated, forgotten and now resuscitated book, "The Ego and his Own" ("*Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum*"). Some one has called man a metaphysical animal; he is either a Platonian or an Aristotelian. Nowadays you are either a Socialist or an Individualist. You may not care a straw for either party, yet fate, your temperament and social position, settles the matter without asking, by your leave. Under which King? Dr. Butler has spoken of an intellectual aristocracy and service—which is only Nietzscheism attenuated by slumming; Nietzsche would have naught to do with such merciful condescension. For him it was like Brand—All or Nothing. In the Stirner case we descend into a lower Dantean circle. The Ego is the frame of the human picture in this airless, sublimated atmosphere. Yet once breathed, even Nietzsche's mountain top seems thin, rarefied and bloodless by comparison. Never has the hymn to Self to the Will been sung in such firm, cool tones; never logic more infernal—or celestial. (Under which King?) A homely motto for Stirner might be Walt Whitman's, "I find no sweeter fat than sticks to my own bones."

Who is Max Stirner? We knew nothing of him until John Henry Mackay, the Scottish-German revolutionary poet, dug up his buried book and with it, after incalculable pains, a few isolated facts. Stirner was a nickname because of his high forehead; Johann Caspar Schmidt was his real name. He was born in Bayreuth, 1806, and died in Berlin, 1856. He had a university education, though he did not distinguish himself, by taking a doctor degree. He taught in a fashionable girls' school, contracted an unhappy marriage, died in poverty and obscurity. He met for a decade or so many radical thinkers at a certain circle in Berlin, yet he was more influenced by the Hegelian philosophy than by the revolutionary spirit of 1848. He loathed politics. He feared and hated socialism. He was a solitary by nature. Temperament tells in a philosopher as well as a poet. A hesitating, timid man, a sufferer doubtless from *aboulia*, as was

* "The Ego and his Own." By Max Stirner. Translated from the German by Steven T. Byington, with an introduction by Dr. James Walker. New York: Benjamin R. Tucker.

Amiel, Stirner in his book (1845) enjoyed a psychic victory over his weakness of volition. It was the one vigorous affirmation of his will to live.

For those who love to think of the visible universe as a cozy corner of God's footstool, there is something bleak and terrifying in the isolated position of man since science postulated him as an unimportant bubble on an unimportant planet. The soul shrinks as our conception of outer space widens. Thomas Hardy describes the sensation as "ghastly." There is said to be no purpose, no design in all the gleaming phantasmagoria revealed by the astronomer's glass; while on our globe we are a brother to lizards, bacteria furnish our motor force, and our brain is but a subtly fashioned mirror, composed of neuronie filaments, a sort of "dark room" in which is pictured the life without. Well, we admit, for the sake of the argument, that we banish God from the firmament, substituting a superior mechanism; we admit our descent from plasma and ascidian worms, we know that we have no free will, because man, like the unicellular organisms, "gives to every stimulus without an inevitable response." That, of course, settles all moral obligations. But we had hoped, we of the old sentimental brigade, that all things being thus adjusted we could live with our fellow man in (comparative) peace, cheating him only in a legitimate business way, and loving our neighbor better than ourselves (in public). Ibsen had jostled our self-satisfaction sadly, but some obliging critic had discovered his formula—a pessimistic decadent—and with consoling verbal bones we worried the old white-haired mastiff of Norway. Only a decadent! It is an easy word to speak in the mouth of the mediocre, and it means nothing. With Nietzsche the case was simpler. We couldn't read him because he was a madman; but he, at least, was an aristocrat who held the bourgeois in contempt, and he also held a brief for culture. Ah! when we are young we are idealists, altruists; as Thackeray says, "Youths go to balls; men go to dinners."

But along comes this dreadful Stirner, who cries out: Hypocrites all of you. You are not altruists, but selfish persons, who, self-illuded, believe yourselves to be disinterested. Be Egoists! Confess the truth in the secrecy of your mean, little souls. We are all Egotists. Be Egoists. There is no truth but my truth. No world but my world. I am I. And then Stirner waves

away God, state, society, the family, morals, mankind, leaving only the "hateful" ego. The cosmos is frosty and inhuman, and old Mother Earth no longer offers us her bosom as a reclining-place. Stirner has so decreed it. We are suspended between heaven and earth, like Mahomet's coffin, hermetically sealed in Self. Instead of "smiting the chord of self," we must reorchestrate the chord that it may give out richer music.

Nevertheless, there is a magnificent honesty in the words of Max Stirner, that proclaims him to be no vendor of prophylactics. We are weary of the crying in the market-place, "Lo! Christ is risen," only to find an old nostrum tricked out in socialistic phrases; and fine phrases make fine feathers for these gentlemen who offer the millennium in one hand and perfect peace in the other. Stirner is the frankest thinker of his century. He does not soften his propositions, harsh ones for most of us, with promises, but pursues his thought with ferocious logic to its covert. There is no such hybrid with him like "Christian Socialism," no dodging issues. He is a Teutonic Childe Roland who to the dark tower comes, but instead of blowing his horn—as Nietzsche did—he blows up the tower itself. Such an iconoclast has never before put pen to paper. He is so sincere in his scorn of all we hold dear that he is refreshing. Nietzsche's flashing epigrammatic blade often snaps after it is fleshed; the grim old Stirner, after he makes a jab at his opponent, twists the steel in the wound. Having no mercy for himself, he has no mercy for others. He is never a hypocrite. He erects no altars to known or unknown gods. Humanity, he says, has become the Moloch to-day to which everything is sacrificed. Humanity—that is, the State, perhaps, even the Socialistic state (the most awful yoke of all for the individual soul). This assumed love of humanity, this sacrifice of our own personality, are the blights of modern life. The Ego has too long been suppressed by ideas, sacred ideas of religion, state, family, law, morals. The conceptual question, "What is Man?" must be changed to "Who is Man?" I am the owner of my might, and I am so when I know myself as *unique*. What then is my property? Nothing but what is my power. I empower myself. Man is free. *Things*—property—are not. Therefore the State is my enemy, it does not allow me to compete. The poor are to blame for the rich. We should all be the rich. All is for all. I am an owner of property, but property is not sacred. My power is my

property; my power give me property; I am myself my own power, and therefore my own property.

Stirner is not a communist—so long confounded with anarchists—he does not believe in force. That element came into the world with the advent of Bakounine and Russian nihilism. Stirner would replace society by groups; property would be held, money would be a circulating medium; the present compulsory system would be voluntary instead of involuntary. Unlike his great contemporary, Joseph Proudhon, Stirner is not a constructive philosopher. Indeed, he is no philosopher. A moralist (or immoralist), an *Ethiker*, his book is a defence of Egoism, of the submerged rights of the ego, and in these piping times of peace and fraternal humbug, when every nation, every man embraces his neighbor preparatory to disembowelling him in commerce or war, Max Stirner's words are like a trumpet-blast. And many Jericho-built walls go down before these ringing tones. His doctrine is the Fourth Dimension of ethics. That his book will be more dangerous than a million bombs, if misapprehended, is no reason why it should not be read. Its author can no more be held responsible for its misreading than the orthodox faiths for their backsliders. Nietzsche has been woefully misunderstood; Nietzsche, the despiser of mob rule, has been acclaimed a very Attila—instead of which he is a culture-philosopher, one who insists that reform must be first spiritual. Individualism for him means only an end to culture. Stirner is not a metaphysician; he is too much realist. He is a Hegelian *à rebours*, a political pyrrhonist. His Ego is his Categorical Imperative. And if the Individual loses his value, what is his *raison d'être* for existence? Make your value felt, cries Stirner. The minority may occasionally err, but the majority is always in the wrong. Egoism must not be misinterpreted as petty selfishness or as an excuse to do wrong. Life will be ennobled and sweeter if we respect ourselves. "There is no sinner and no sinful egoism. . . . Do not call men sinful; and *they are not*." Freedom is not a goal. "Free—from what? Oh! what is there that cannot be shaken off? The yoke of serfdom, of sovereignty, of aristocracy and princes, the dominion of the desires and passions; yes, even the dominion of one's own will, of self-will, for the completest self-denial is nothing but freedom—freedom, to wit, from self-determination, from one's own

self." This has an ascetic tang, and indicates that to compass our complete ego the road travelled will be as thorny as any saint's of old. Where does Woman come into this scheme? There is no Woman, only a human Ego. Humanity is a convenient fiction to harry the individualist. So society, family are the clamps that compress the soul of woman. If woman is to be free she must first be an individual, an ego. In America, to talk of female suffrage is to propound the paradox of the masters attacking their slaves; yet female suffrage might prove a good thing—it might demonstrate the *reductio ad absurdum* of the administration of the present ballot system.

A theory needs practical application, just as no religion, worth the name, can exist without dogma (or man without a skeleton). In America, Democracy is on the defensive—it must prove that it is not a failure, that it is not a Boojum that is a Snark; not a Republic that is an Oligarchy. The temper of the people, from Washington to Wall Street, from the Golden Gate to the Bowery, is not for "meddling" reforms, despite the hullabaloo in the press; it rather leans to the methods that will give them something for nothing (power and plunder). All this parade of politics is only the modern substitute for the *panem et circenses* of the old Romans—who, however, were fairer, franker, giving the multitude food and distraction. But for us it is a Barmecide's feast, on paper. In the newspapers we read with tremendous interest about the doings of President this or President that, of the movements and words of Senators and Representatives, as if all this glory and show were aught but a scheme to keep interested—therefore in a not dangerous condition—the people. And these mystifications, intrigues, pot-house politics and high-jinks of the powers that be, do not better economic conditions—for it makes no difference really to the working-man whether Roosevelt or the Mikado is President. Each man is in politics for what it brings *him*. Government by representation only represents the interests of the party or the man who happens to be in the political saddle. The devil take the hindmost! The people go hang! Thus the Stirnerites. Our wail over our neighbor's soul is simply the wail of a busybody. Mind your own business! is the pregnant device of the new Egoism. Puritanism is not morality, but a psychic disorder. Despite the "sweetness and light" diffused by the late Matthew Arnold in England and America, he did not kill, only "scotched"

puritanism and philistinism. That it rears its flat, ugly head whenever it dares was demonstrated by the public hysteria over Bernard Shaw, Gorky and the music of Richard Strauss. And then the sweet beast fell upon the choice banquet provided by a notorious murder trial! Of such are your gods, O Philistia! Banish art, banish beauty, but erect an altar, a paper altar, to vulgarity, crime and stupidity. We may have no sense of the eternal verities, but we do possess a pretty and depraved taste in the matter of freak religions.

Stirner, in his way, teaches that the Kingdom of God is within you. That man will ever be sufficiently perfected to become his own master is a dreamer's dream. Yet let us dream it. At least by that road we make for righteousness. But let us drop all cant about brotherly love and self-sacrifice. Let us love ourselves (respect our ego), that we may learn to respect our brother; self-sacrifice means doing something that we believe to be good for our souls, therefore egotism—the higher egotism, withal egotism. As for going to the people—the Russian phrase—let the people forget themselves as a collective body, tribe or group, and each man and woman develop his or her ego. In Russia “going to the people” was sincere—in America it is a trick to catch, not souls, but votes. Our brilliant editorial intellects go down into the mud to spear miserable tadpoles, and after years the mud is as thick, as black as before, the tadpoles more numerous. If sentimental millionaire Socialists could but hear what they are called by the East-Siders—who, by the way, are doing most of the thinking in this city—they might abandon their self-imposed and charmingly advertised charities.

“The time is not far distant when it will be impossible for any proud, free, independent spirit to call himself a Socialist, since he would be classed with those wretched toadies and worshippers of success, who even now lie on their knees before every working-man and lick his hands simply because he is a working-man.” Trade-unionism is become more menacing than the trusts.

John Henry Mackay spoke those truthful words in a striking book of his. Did not Campanella, in an unforgettable sonnet, sing, “The people is a beast of muddy brain that knows not its own strength. . . . With its own hands it ties and gags itself”? Max Stirner may shock, may amuse you. But he is bound to set you thinking.

JAMES HUNEKER.

WORLD-POLITICS.

PARIS: WASHINGTON.

PARIS, 1907.

NOTHING can be more true than that France has only the appearance of a democracy and is in reality much more of a monarchy than, for instance, England or Belgium. It has often been pointed out that the Chamber enjoys the power of an absolute monarch, and that its so-called counterweights, the President and the Senate, possess practically little more than nominal prerogatives. What the Chamber decides upon is always ratified by the Senate, and the President submissively puts his name to it. He is only the Executive, as the unfortunate Louis XVI was contemptuously called by the Assembly, and has no other method of having a Parliamentary Act suspended and revised than a dissolution and a general election. There is so much risk in the process that it was resorted to only once in the thirty-six years of our republican history, and President MacMahon, who made the experiment, had no opportunity of exercising his constitutional rights a second time. The Chamber not only resisted but simply ousted him, and his successors never forgot the lesson. Every now and then the Senate makes a faint show of asserting its superiority over the Lower Assembly, but it always yields in the end. In fact, the French Chamber, like the King of England, can do no wrong, and its pleasure is law.

This is a classical example of the survival of the substance when the mere appearance has been removed. There are many more which the half-dozen very intelligent men in the Socialist party turn to good account against the passivity of the sheep in wolves' skins who call themselves Radicals, and on which the good-humored satire or the cutting sarcasm of M. Clémenceau freely exercises itself.

A volume could easily be filled with instances of the mon-

archist anachronisms prevalent in France. As to the plans for reforms, they are numberless, but few of them appear to have passed the border of Utopia. Only two or three seem likely to be carried into execution.

One of the most important and the most probable is a thorough reorganization of the Army. The French Army was, only a short time ago, and is still, in many of its features, hardly different from its Imperial prototype. There is the same superabundance of Military Committees, elbowing and hampering and often envying one another, and the same red-tapeism, forcing on a General the routine of a clerk. The Minister of War is, just as he was forty years ago, overwhelmed with trivialities on which an Under Secretary could decide, and his time is taken up with applications from people who are not in the Army or are supernumeraries. In countless cases one can see the organ surviving its function. We keep up twelve most expensive regiments of *Cuirassiers*, while the rest of the world has transformed its heavy cavalry. The five regiments of *Chasseurs d'Afrique* are the only cavalry regiments whose effective force is real and not fictitious, and who are ever ready to chase long-extinct Arab tribes. The military servants, indispensable in time of war, are not only retained, but multiplied to such an extent that they could form at the present day a powerful army of seventy thousand coachmen, grooms, cooks and dry-nurses.

The spirit of the Army is no longer what it used to be when there was such a thing as a military trade, and yet it is also widely different from that prevailing in a truly democratic militia like that of Switzerland. For a great many of the officers, the Army means the smooth existence so dear to the French functionary, away from political troubles, and the advantages appertaining to a caste without much of the invidiousness inseparable from castes. The officers who look upon their calling as an educative mission are, and must be, in the present state of opinion, comparatively few. The consequence is that they see as little as they can of their men, and, even when they are naturally kind and well-meaning, leave them almost entirely to the non-commissioned officers. To the sergeants and corporals is to be traced most of the discontented spirit which undeniably exists in the Army. These inferior grades were given in the old armies to veterans whose age and long service gave them immense influence with the

✓ younger soldiers. In the present system they belong to men who have only seen a year or eighteen months' service, and are looking forward to the end of their two or three years as anxiously as the recruits they command. The result is that they mistake bullying for authority, as is only too natural in men of no experience.

Add to this that the Internationalist and Anti-militarist wave is every year growing stronger and has found its way into the regiments. One-third of the recruits are working-men from manufacturing cities, who have heard it repeated like the burden of a song that patriotism is as great a fallacy as religion and only a lullaby to send popular discontent to sleep, that war is fratricide, military expenses criminal waste which deprives the poor of their own, that officers are drones like priests and magistrates, and that the business of the Army is mostly to help manufacturers in crushing strikes, no matter how just. Soldiers with such ideas are evidently dangerous soldiers, and their presence can only be a powerful element of disorganization.

To sum up, the French Army is superannuated in its organization, its officers have not yet become conscious that the men under them are French citizens whom they are bound to educate, and a large proportion of the soldiers have, on the contrary, learned all too readily the demoralizing lesson taught by the Socialist and Internationalist papers.

Military reform, therefore, ought to be thorough and radical, and its champions mean it to be so. A great deal has already been done by individual officers, fond of their trade and endowed with more insight than the mass of their brethren. A lecture recently delivered at the Sorbonne by a prominent officer leaves no doubt that private initiative forestalls the official adoption of theories. However, in this, as in almost everything else, the lead is taken by Socialists. The first attempts at reform were made by General André, who unfortunately suffered the distinguished soldier in him to be obscured by the paltry politician. Then came M. Bertheaux, also a Socialist, and M. Etienne, both of whom had enough to do to restore something like a feeling of security to the officers, ruffled as they had been by their predecessor. Meanwhile, M. Jaurès, after long indulging in doctrines unpleasantly savoring of Internationalism, was brought—especially through the Moroccan pinch—to take a more patriotic view of the possibilities of

war, and to advocate the substitution of what he calls "the armed nation" for the Army as we had known it. The progress of these ideas was so rapid that the report on the War Budget of next year has been entrusted to the Socialist, Messimy—till recently a captain in the Army—and this report, a volume of three hundred pages, does not contain merely the customary tables, accompanied by the usual commentary, but is, in fact, a wide and elaborate plan for a deep reform and a complete remodelling of the Army. This document will naturally be the basis of the debates during the next session, and, as a summary of modern military views, is not likely to be soon superseded.

One great feature strikes the reader at every page, viz., the considerable change worked in Socialist opinion by the imminence last year of a war with Germany. I remember seeing a few years ago a violently anti-militarist placard bearing the name of this same Captain Messimy. At present the Socialists, instead of preaching revolt to the young soldiers, seem bent on making the most of the existence of armies and turning them into democratic centres of education.

M. Messimy thinks that a little attention to neglected details might save a great deal of money, but he fully recognizes the necessity of not stinting military expenditure. The Manchurian War has demonstrated the predominance of artillery in modern battles, and the indispensability of immense stores of artillery ammunition. M. Messimy holds that France ought not to run the risk of finding herself, as she did last year, in danger of seeing her arsenals and magazines empty a few days after the declaration of war. He trusts that the next Hague Conference will propose a limitation of armaments; but, in the mean time, the Budget he offers to the Chamber exceeds that of last year by more than ten million dollars, and he thinks it an impossibility to prepare lighter Budgets for at least five or six years. This is very frank and outspoken, and we are far from the involved and reticent phrases in which M. Jaurès tried to express, or, I should say, to veil, his opinion on war when the Moroccan difficulty made it imperative to have one.

But, if the Socialists are frank as to the principle, they are also very trenchant in its applications. On the very first page of his report, Captain Messimy states in broad italics that "the Army teems with lifeless organisms, whose sole utility is to provide em-

ployment for useless people"; and he adds that "a complete remodelling of our military laws is necessary if we want to economize men and money."

Another axiom which he prefixes to his chapters on the "inevitable evolution" sounds no less positive. "We have twice as many Generals as we need, and those Generals are ten years too old," whereupon he shows by indisputable figures that the French staff is larger than the German by quite a third, and that the tardiness of its effective work is due, above all, to the multiplicity of committees. He proposes a sharp distinction between real military studies and mere office work, and advocates the total suppression of aides-de-camp and *officiers d'ordonnance*. He also suggests the suppression of corporals, who at present have next to no authority, while their pay could materially improve the situation of the sergeants and induce a large proportion of them to stay in the Army. Finally, he proposes conversions of more importance, on so large a scale that they have immediately elicited a great deal of excited comment from military writers. The most striking of these would be the wholesale transformation of two hundred squadrons into three hundred batteries, in conformity with the conclusions derived from the experience of the Manchurian War. These root-and-branch alterations of our military organizations shock the Generals of the old school, but they have been taken into consideration by such critics as General Langlois and General de Nègrier, and appear bound to be sooner or later carried into effect.

These purely technical considerations are only one side of the question. The Army is not only to be remodelled in its organization, but transformed in its spirit. The French soldier of to-morrow is no longer to be a soldier first and a Frenchman afterwards, but the reverse. There is certainly a great deal of the old feudal ideal left in the Army—if not in the common soldiers, who are every day losing what little remained of the military spirit, at least in the officers. The latter, especially those with a title, had for centuries so strong a feeling that the military career alone was suited to a gentleman that they felt a degree of more or less avowed contempt for what Mrs. O'Dowd, in "Vanity Fair," called the "beggarly civilian," for what our military songs still call the "*pékin*." The perfect and accomplished pattern of the *pékin* was the political lawyer, the conceited and dangerous bab-

bler whom the first Napoleon threw, shrieking for mercy, out of the windows, and whom the second Napoleon sent to Cayenne by the score. The politician in his turn was always jealous of the self-contained power of the Army and of its taste for strong men, dictators and *coups d'état*. The Convention was the most warlike of assemblies, but its Generals were constantly under the watchful eye of two stern civilians. The two conflicting tendencies, after a period of apparent slumber, reappeared in their intensity during the six or seven years filled by the Dreyfus affair, and it is to that tragic struggle between the two halves of France that is due the rapid maturing of the ideas of M. Messimy and his friends.

Henceforward there is no longer to be an Army of France, which might all too readily become an Army in France, but a France in arms. "The Frenchman is born a soldier, and never ceases to be one." It is strange that this should be the formula to which a few years have brought the fierce anti-militarists of the Dreyfusard camp, but it is no less an immense gain. The conclusions derived from this principle are very clear, and their applications most logical. In the first place, the Army ought not to be independent, as it used practically to be. Only the other day, M. Chéron, the new and, in many respects, admirable Under Secretary at the War Office, cried out impatiently in the Chamber that civic supremacy ought to be an intangible dogma. General Picquart, who, to universal surprise, is the quietest of Ministers of War, concurs in this opinion and works out its consequences in an effective way. The chief effort tends, for the present, to the suppression of the absurd hostility between the various services at the War Office, and especially between the Army and Navy, and to the simultaneous action of all the Ministers more immediately concerned in the national defence. The creation by M. Clémenceau of the High Council for National Defence, comprising the Ministers of War, of the Navy, of the Colonies and of Finance, under the presidency of the President of the Republic himself, was a great step made towards this object, and ought, according to M. Messimy, to lead eventually to the creation of a Ministry of National Defence uniting the War Office and the Ministry of Marine.

The following consequences from the principle formulated above are plain and natural.

No Frenchman ought to evade the obligation of military service. Hence the privilege accorded to the clergy, professors and men in liberal professions to serve only one year disappears under the law coming into force in October next, and every French citizen owes his two years without any relaxation. The same equality prevails throughout the duration of the service. It has already been arranged that the young officers coming from St.-Cyr shall have to serve a year in the regiments before having a full right to their grade; but M. Messimy advocates even the total suppression of the military schools (St.-Cyr, Polytechnique, Versailles, Fontainebleau, St.-Maixent), and the substitution for them of a School of War, to which all officers—rising uniformly from the ranks—would be called in due season. The *Ecoles d'enfants de troupe* would also be suppressed, the elementary teachers assuming the part of first military instructors, while the officers should not shrink from the duties of humble schoolmasters and ought to carry on the physical, moral and even professional instruction of their recruits.

The courts martial, too, are an evident anomaly in a militarily organized nation, and the outrages committed by soldiers can be looked into and punished by the civil courts as well as by military judges.

Lastly, there should not be the difference that has existed so far between the active officers and those in the reserve, and the latter ought not to be given up to themselves, as they are at present, but should be called at regular intervals to the School of War so as to be capable of effective command.

These, briefly, are the chief reforms set forth in M. Messimy's report. Much in them seems reasonable, and on the way to realization, and the whole system is fascinating. A nation of soldiers with no soldiers' vices would undoubtedly be a noble body. But there is also a great deal that strikes one as too simple, too much the outcome of French logicalness, of that passion for rigid consistency, which is at the bottom of French parliamentary history. For instance, the bodily removal of our military schools, exclusively in view of an impossible equality, is not a republican idea, but a fad. The traditionalism rampant in the upper military circles will certainly oppose such wholesale reforms, and M. Messimy's plan will lose some of its completeness, but the Captain may live long enough to be thankful for the opposition.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May, 1907.*

ALTHOUGH the National Conventions are still a year distant, the manœuvring for position on the part of Republican candidates for the Presidency has already begun. It seems to be settled that Secretary Taft, whom President Roosevelt is believed to prefer for his successor, will have the unanimous support of the Ohio delegation, but to what extent the movement in his favor will be pressed in other States is as yet uncertain. If the Republican delegations from the Southern States could be controlled by Federal officials, they could doubtless be trusted to conform to Mr. Roosevelt's wishes, but the partisans of Vice-President Fairbanks were first upon the ground, and are said to have effected strong combinations in some of the commonwealths south of the Ohio and Potomac. That the Vice-President will have the Indiana delegation is taken for granted; but as yet no other Northern State can be looked upon as committed to his candidacy. During the last few weeks, Governor Hughes has made long strides toward the attainment of moral and political ascendancy in New York; and, should his hold upon the confidence of his fellow citizens remain unshaken a year hence, it may prove impossible for Mr. Roosevelt to secure the delegation of that State for Secretary Taft. In Pennsylvania, the Republican leaders have decided to make Senator Knox their candidate, and it is averred that he would be the President's second choice. That, in equity, Pennsylvania has a claim to the nomination is undisputed. Although, among the States of the Union, she has long been surpassed by New York alone in population and wealth, she has never had but one President and but one Vice-President, whereas no fewer than five natives of the neighboring commonwealth, Ohio, have become Chief Magistrates. The discrimination cannot be justified on the plea that Ohio, unlike Pennsylvania, is a doubtful State; for Ohio, since 1856, has always given her electoral votes to the Republican nominee for the Presidency. As things look now, Taft, Hughes, Knox and Fairbanks are the most promising candidates for the Republican nomination next year, though not one of them would have a chance of being selected if Mr. Roosevelt could be persuaded to become his party's nominee. Most well-informed persons, however, dismiss that contingency as entirely out of the question. So far, on the other hand, as the Democratic National Convention is concerned, Mr. Bryan alone

figures in the foreground. Almost all onlookers assume that he will be the Democratic standard-bearer, although his advocacy of Federal ownership of Interstate railways threatened at one time to cost him the good-will of the Southern States. Colonel Henry Watterson of the Louisville "Courier-Journal" asserts that he could name an eminent Democrat who voted for Bryan in 1896, but who would at the same time be acceptable to Gold Democrats, and who, therefore, would be qualified to reunite the Democratic party. He adds that the man he has in mind does not live east of the Alleghanies, or south of the Potomac or Ohio. The only Democrat who at first sight seems to satisfy these conditions is Colonel Watterson himself.

The new tariff agreement between Germany and the United States, which has been ratified by the Reichstag, is a decided improvement on the *modus vivendi* which it will supersede, because, instead of expiring by limitation in a twelvemonth, it will continue in force for an indefinite period, unless denounced by one of the signatories. Under the new compact, our exports to Germany are to pay the minimum duties, while our responsive concessions are not legislative, but merely administrative, relating, as they do, to the work of special and secret agents, the policy of affording open, instead of secret, hearings in reappraisement cases, and the recognition of certificates issued by German Chambers of Commerce. The same concessions will, of course, be enjoyed by Great Britain under the "most favored nation" rule. There is no doubt that in this transaction Germany gives much more than she gets, but Emperor William seems determined to eliminate all causes of friction between his country and the United States. His motive is obvious, in view of the species of isolation to which Germany has been, or soon will be, reduced by the Anglo-French *entente*, the Franco-Russian League, the Anglo-Japanese Treaty and the agreements now in course of negotiation with Japan by both Russia and France. There is no doubt that the persistent efforts of the German sovereign to win the regard and confidence of the American people have had a large measure of success. We still look upon Great Britain as our best friend, owing largely to the attitude which she maintained during our war with Spain; but there is far more sympathy with Germany on this side of the Atlantic than existed ten years ago.

The United States Minister in Santo Domingo City seems to

have experienced much difficulty in securing the sanction of the Dominican Congress for the treaty negotiated by our State Department, and finally ratified, it will be recalled, by our Senate, though only after a prolonged delay and some amendments. That treaty, as we have pointed out, represents an attempt to avert the forcible collection of debts by strong European Powers from weak American republics. Secretary Hay assented to the blockade of Venezuelan seaports by British, German and Italian war-ships in 1902, but the resultant sequestration of a large fraction of Venezuela's customs revenue for the benefit of foreign creditors convinced our Government that the Monroe Doctrine might be violated in the spirit, if not also in the letter, even where no attempt at permanent occupation of territory should be made. For, if a fraction of the customs revenue of a debtor State may be confiscated for an indefinite period, so, logically, might the whole, in which event the debtor State would be deprived of the income on which it mainly relies for the defrayal of the cost of internal administration. It will hardly be pretended that such wholesale confiscation might not affect seriously a debtor's destiny. The Dominican Republic has been shielded against such a loss of resources by the agreement to which its Congress has at last given assent, and which is now being carried out. As, moreover, European and American claims against Santo Domingo have been scaled down to equitable proportions, the day is not distant when the Dominican Government will be free from foreign debt. The precedent thus established will undoubtedly be invoked by the creditors of other Latin-American commonwealths, and, therefore, it constitutes a landmark in the development of the Monroe Doctrine. It is, of course, possible, though scarcely probable, that we may be relieved from the burdens and responsibilities entailed by the Dominican precedent through the acceptance by the Hague Peace Congress of the so-called Drago Doctrine, which forbids the forcible collection of contractual debts.

The recession of the San Francisco School Board from its attitude of discrimination against Japanese pupils in the public schools of that city, followed, as it has been, by an enthusiastic reception of General Kuroki and other distinguished subjects of the Mikado, seems to have restored the friendly feeling which had long subsisted between Japan and the United States. Re-

ports, it is true, still come to us that the promise of the "Open Door" is evaded by Japanese minor functionaries in Manchuria, through discrimination against American and European goods in respect of freight rates on the railways. The Japanese trader, however, is one thing: the high-class official, imbued with the high sense of honor inculcated by the Bushido code, is another. We have no doubt that, so long as our relations with the Tokio Government are cordial, any well-founded complaints of the methods of railway management will receive prompt redress. An interesting report is current that the Mikado's Ministers have intimated to our State Department a willingness to conclude with us an agreement similar to that for which Russia and France are negotiating, and by virtue of which our own title to the Philippines, and Japan's title to Formosa, the southern part of Saghalien and her other conquests in the Far East, would be reciprocally guaranteed. If a like compact should be made by Japan and Germany, it is manifest that the danger of war in Eastern Asia would be averted for a long time to come. In that quarter of the globe, at least, a partial disarmament would then seem to be practicable, though it has now been settled by the action of Germany, Austria and Italy, that, so far as Europe is concerned, the question of a move toward the reduction of armaments will not be mooted seriously at The Hague. It may receive some academic discussion, however. The aim upon which the efforts of the American Commissioners to the Peace Congress will be chiefly concentrated is the adoption of the principle that private property shall be immune from capture at sea, as well as on land. It may be recalled that our State Department, fifty years ago, offered to renounce privateering, if the exemption of private property from capture at sea should be embodied in the Declaration of Paris.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

MONDAY, May 27.

Philosophy in Fiction.

THERE are two schools of thought existing to-day concerning fiction and its purposes; the one dominant on the Continent, and the other dominant in the United States and England. It is odd that the English-speaking nations are those who definitely negative the dictum of their greatest prophet. George Meredith has said that only in so far as fiction contained philosophy or theory of life should it live; and yet we, above all other peoples, continue to extol and encourage the novel of swift incident; the slightly built, lightly amusing story which can be read as a soporific, or as a momentary diversion on the trains.

From Holland, from Belgium, from Germany, from France, from Italy, and, above all, from Russia, we get novels of worth and of solid content, largely constructed, deeply conceived, slowly and deliberately written; novels that one reads to enlarge and deepen one's conception of life and conduct. Van Eeden's "The Quest," the trilogy of Fogazzaro, these are books to keep by one, even as the earlier Victorian novel was.

What a world that novel of the mid-nineteenth century offered! What a joy it would be, even to-day, to sit with Mr. and Mrs. Boffin, and hear the reading of the "Fall of the Roman Empire"! How one would like to follow Aunt Pullett again through the immaculate darkened rooms of her spacious house to get from the secretary the key that opened the shrouded guest-room and take off the layers and layers of tissue-paper and see the new spring bonnet! What a leisurely joy it would be to take a day in the open with one of William Black's delightful freckled heroines, and see the sunset across the waters! If those books did not see the with profound philosophy, at least they gave a detailed picture of a large and leisurely life worth living. It required leisure and a

detached mind to live through them and in them. And we did live in them and they became a part and a parcel of consciousness, a definite enriching of the personal life. But who is the better or, for that matter, the worse or one whit different for skimming through a dozen of the novels concocted to-day? They die before they have fairly become alive and tried their lungs. They serve the idle moment of the passing throng and are done with.

If one might give a few rules to young novelists, one would begin with: "Take three to six years for each book. Forget that there is such a thing as popularity. Write with absolute sincerity from the depths of experience, and realize that all literature depends as much upon form as upon substance. Never be afraid to feel your subject passionately, for passion is life and nothing is farther from true art than cynicism and sophistication."

TUESDAY, *May 28.*

Cynicism and Decadence.

NATIONS and enterprises, constructions of all kinds, are built upon faiths. Faith is the foundation of all things. Despairing desire has never accomplished anything but the rending and annihilating of itself; but all accomplishment, all effectiveness, implies a basis of belief. It matters comparatively little what the belief is: all belief builds. To believe in human beings builds character and quality about one; to believe in national honor and greatness builds nations; to believe in civic probity makes a flourishing city. It is not what one believes, so much as the fervor with which one believes, that makes for effective results. The life without conviction is the life that wastes itself. Some belief, to live and to die for, a man must have, or life passes as a stupid and incoherent dream. Cynicism is, therefore, one of the first signs of decadence. In individual character, cynicism means personal deterioration; in a nation, it means decadence. Principles may change, they do and must; objects may shift and aims vary, but some faith, some belief, must remain firm; some glory above personal aggrandizement, some belief in goodness unseen—otherwise, ignominy and collapse are imminent.

It is the prevalence of cynicism in great cities that sets one to wondering how much can be done for the blood and the brawn, and the sturdy continuance of the nation by encouraging country life with its solid attachment to the soil, its close intercourse with

the immutable laws of nature; its more limited and more profound human ties; its slimmer risk of seeing immorality in great and purple patches. The chances for keeping intact our faith in human nature are greater in small communities. And faith in the outcome of the race is necessary to strength. To accomplish the excellent, we must first believe in it. If there be a country where faith has crumbled and cynicism is broadcast, if there be a country, as our great national philosopher has said, "where knowledge cannot be diffused without perils of mob law and statute law; where speech is not free; where public debts and private debts are repudiated; where liberty is attacked in the primary institution of social life; where the position of the white woman is injuriously affected by the outlawry of the black; where the arts, such as they have, are all imported, having no indigenous life; where the laborer is not secured in the labor of his own hands; where suffrage is not free and equal: that country is in all respects not civil, but barbarous, and no advantages of soil, climate or coast can resist these suicidal mischiefs."

WEDNESDAY, *May 29.*

The Youthful Letter-Writer.

SOME of the most delightful literature in the world is found in the form of the unpremeditated, personal letter, and it is a great pity that multiplied activities and appliances are crowding out this long-familiar form. But in every family there is probably still kept the lock-box in which the children's letters are hoarded. Especially when young children are taken to the country every summer, leaving a father behind in the city, the lock-box fills easily, and its contents constitute a good record of the childish struggles with thought, ambitions and powers of expression. As strange, perhaps, as in some after-life our present troubles and worries here shall seem to us, must appear to the big, grown girl her childish confidence to the absent mother: "I don't sleep very well, I have so many things to think of before I grow up—how the months come after each other, how to get change for big money, and how to be polite to strangers." And the same child reported the iniquity of a younger child: "We had for our Bible lesson to-day the 'Blessed Ares,' and baby brother laughed and wouldn't say his, and Mammy sent him out the room 'coz he said, 'Blessed are the meek and they shall have a new master.'"

The loving six-year-old mother of a family of eighteen dolls sent home to an harassed and overworked father the following genial requests: "Do, please, take care of all my precious dolls while I am gone, and tell Mammy to feed them well and sit by them while they go to sleep, and let them all sleep together in my bed. Tell them I miss them, I miss them very much; and tell my go-cart that, too. And, dear father, will you please have your picture taken for me with Mammy and with all my dolls. But if that costs too much just have a picture of the dolls, for Mother has your picture (I am sorry it looks so cross), and I can see Mammy with my mind's eye, but I want a picture of my dear dolls taken all together and each one separate, just as they are. It does not matter that they are some broke and that the littlest baby has lost her head, I love them just as they are and I want very good pictures, please."

A tiny boy, away on a farm, wrote home: "I saw a cat catch a rat; she just grabbed him with all her finger-nails," and the same little boy, touched by an ardent sympathy for the father in the hot city, wrote: "I ask God every night not to let you have yellow fever. I always say 'Wilt thoust,' so I guess He'll tend to it." The technique of a correct address compassed, he felt that even Deity would be merciful. For the same father, he inscribed a long tale, formed upon the model of such literature as he had absorbed, on the subject of a saint and a friendly beast. The tale ended dramatically: "Then the deer came panting and prancing up to the baby, and seeing it, behold, the deer was tender and wouldn't fight, but he took up the young child and nursed it till it grew to be a fine, large, fat saint."

Once writing becomes a pleasant occupation in itself and an intimate knowledge of the formalities of letter-writing a source of pride, parents are apt to find small notes put about to waylay them all through the day. By the breakfast-plate, for instance: "Dear Mother, If you are not busy please sharpen all my school-pencils and believe me always, ever yours cordially, C."

Even so distinguished a writer as Mrs. Meynell received from an otherwise devoted little daughter the following unkindest cut of all: "My dear Mother, I really wonder how you can be proud of your article, if it is worthy to be called a article, which I doubt. Such a unletterarary article, I can not call it letterature—I hope you will not write any more unconventionan trash."

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UNIVERSITY ATHLETICS.

BY SIMON NEWCOMB, LL.D.

"THE greatest nation is the one that can send most men to the top of the Matterhorn." This reply to the question which we should deem the greatest nation was probably regarded by the guests who heard it as a euphonious paradox, rather than a serious opinion. And yet, if not taken too literally, it suggests a direction in which progress is now tending. With the decay of asceticism, naturally commences the growth of the opposite idea, embodied in the familiar phrases, "muscular Christianity" and "the physical basis of life." This idea is supported by modern physiological investigation, which brings out in clear relief that physical health and vigor are qualities to be cultivated, not merely from a selfish desire for amusement and to secure freedom from pain, but as a means toward the attainment of our highest ethical ends. Experience shows the general rule to be that the physically lazy man is not apt to be mentally active, though the mentally active man may be so absorbed in his work as to have little time or energy to spend in outdoor exercise. The names of the few hundred persons who, since Whymper's memorable and disastrous adventure, have ascended the Matterhorn, would be more than a miscellaneous list of people endowed with bodily vigor and a propensity to

climb. They would include a President of the United States, a goodly list of leaders in science and literature, and more than a due proportion of men who have made their mark in various fields of effort. The general trend of evidence recently collected by students of hygiene is toward the view that there is something toxic in the air of even the best houses, and that he who would command the best measure of physical health must, so far as he can, live and sleep in the open air. He cannot do this well unless he is in motion during most of his waking hours; and in this we have a completely rational incentive to bodily exercise.

Having said this by way of preface, let us proceed to our task. We wish to bring about peace and amity between lusty Ajax, who attends all the football games, admires the manly qualities there displayed, and sees in the actors the men who are to do the real work of the world—and wise Minerva, who has learned that brain and not muscle does the world's work, and that the best physical health and mental vigor are quite compatible with inability to climb a hill or fight a burglar. We fancy that the goddess is already beginning to ply us with questions, whether we are not confounding causes and effect, whether men do not play football because they are already strong and active, rather than the reverse, whether the qualities they display in the game are really those most required by modern society, and whether Whympy would not have done as good work, and Leslie Stephen become as effective a writer, if neither of them had ever seen a mountain. But, with all the deference due her sex, we shall ask her to postpone her questions, and remain a spectator while Ajax has his innings.

The world, he tells us, has no need of the weakling, who shrinks from personal combat, and is disturbed by the fear of a little physical pain and discomfort. The man who in the future is to win the admiration and command the respect of his fellow men by his works must possess the robust qualities of the body, as well as the finer qualities of the intellect. In no way are such qualities more readily acquired and displayed than in the roughest of the games played by university students in intercollegiate contests. The large majority of men who are to be leaders in this and the next generation will be trained at colleges and in universities. It is essential to their efficiency that they shall not be mere scholars and bookworms, but physically strong and cou-

rageous, ready to sacrifice ease and comfort to the exigencies of their work. Therefore, let them engage in manly contests, the rougher the better.

Now, dear Ajax, I am delighted that you take this ground. I take much the same view as you do, though I might state our case a little differently. We wish the men of our nation to be capable of carrying on great works. The best and most effective work cannot be done unless the doer enjoys good physical health. Human experience, as a whole, shows that life and motion in the open air are among the agents most conducive to vigor. Let us, therefore, cultivate this life in the nation at large, especially in that fraction of it which is to take the lead. Open-air games are an excellent means toward this end, therefore we wish to encourage them. I look for your cordial assent to my statement of the problem before us, which is to devise that course of action best adapted to imbue our intellectual young men with a warm love for the green fields, the blue sky and the varied beauties of nature, and such a fondness of physical movement that they shall look forward with pleasure many months in advance to the moment when they can escape from their daily routine, to engage in country walking or in mountain-climbing. Let us now put our heads together, and map out the course of action best adapted to our purpose. To do this we must begin with a survey of the situation, and study the problem which it offers from our point of view.

A body of several hundred young men enter college. The first step in deciding how to secure them the full measure of the manly qualities we admire will be to classify them as to their present possession of such qualities. We divide them into three groups. At the head will be the vigorous and courageous young men, already possessing in the highest degree the manly qualities we desire to cultivate. Born of strong and healthy parents, they have loved the outdoor air from childhood, and have played on the teams of their respective schools till they have reached the college age. If any of us can claim them as children or grandchildren, we are glad to do so.

The second and much larger group will comprise a middle class, possessing fair or excellent health, and a due amount of every manly quality, but taking no special pleasure in bestowing their car-fares upon the shoemaker, more interested in study

than in sport, and fonder of seeing others lead the strenuous life than of leading it themselves.

The third will take in the weaklings; the men who shrink from strenuous physical effort, are not strong enough to engage in a rough-and-tumble game, fear they would get hurt if they tried, will not incur even a slight risk of a few bruises without some more serious reason than love of excitement, deem it the part of wisdom to go through life with a minimum of physical pain, and prefer a sphere of activity in which the sacrifice of comfort will be as small as possible. Perhaps many of them watch the games with as much eagerness as any of their fellows, and hurrah for their teams as loudly as their weak lungs will permit. But this adds little to their physical vigor.

Having these three groups before us, the problem is so to deal with and train them that, taken as a whole, the best results at which we aim shall be reached. Keeping in our mind's eye the respective needs of the groups, our policy is obvious. The first group already possesses, in as high a degree as society demands, all the manly qualities we wish. It goes without saying that we need not greatly concern ourselves with it. The second admits of improvement, and may therefore command a share of our attention. But it is the third group which stands most urgently in need of our help and encouragement. One of the strongest reasons for devoting especial attention to it is that the conditions of modern society are extremely favorable to its increase. What would we do to-day if, like our forefathers, we had no street-cars? An evolutionary philosopher has predicted that, at some future epoch, the human being will be an animal unable to use his legs except to mount into an automobile, or incapable of chewing with his own teeth. We desire to postpone this epoch, if possible, to some future geological age. To do this, we must evidently deal with the group of university students that is in most danger of being the progenitors of such an enfeebled race. In a word, athletic exercises are to be promoted with most care and attention in the third group, and with less in the second, while the first may be safely left to take care of itself. The ideal stage of intercollegiate athletics is, then, one in which the teams are made up of the weakest men in college, or at least those who were weakest to begin with but have gained strength from the training which the college has afforded them.

The contrast of the policy thus suggested with that at present pursued is so strong that the proposition may seem as paradoxical as that of measuring national greatness by ability in mountain-climbing. No one goes to see a game between men who have not reached the highest grade of vigor, no one even invites them upon a team. Even the second group is left to take care of itself, its members being promoted into the first group if they choose to make the necessary effort. It is to the first that public attention is entirely directed. It alone wins honors and brings out applause. That is to say, we have in actual operation a system which trains those who do not need training, and leaves those who do need it to take care of themselves, without even offering them an incentive to improvement. The worst outcome of the policy is not merely waste of effort through exerting it where it is not needed, but the actual discouragement of effort among those who most need to make it. If the discouragement is not a positive one, it is at least a negative factor in that it fails to offer encouragement to the weak to become strong.

That a course of action seemingly adapted to the attainment of an end should really take us farther from it is no new experience in human affairs. The question whether this is true of our present system of intercollegiate athletics is so important as to merit an inquiry how far the contention can be established by independent evidence especially by the opinions of impartial observers. We have two sources of such opinions, the utterances of officers of our universities who have observed the effect of athletics upon their students, and the broader experience of nations. So far as the writer's observation has extended, no college or university authority has claimed, as the result of his own experience, that intercollegiate athletic contests stimulate a personal desire for exercise among that group of students who most need it. For the most part, the opinions not only of administrative officers, but even of teachers of athletics, are toward the opposite view. It is conceded, indeed, that almost the entire body of students, even those least disposed to go through a course of physical training themselves, are much interested in the success of their college team. They enjoy a healthful diversion in witnessing the games. A minority say that they enjoy a certain benefit from this stimulus, although the nature of the benefit is not clearly stated. But no one claims to have seen evidence

that students in the group most in need of exercise have been led to take it in consequence of the athletic contests of their fellows. So far as experience has gone, the opinions based on the best information tend toward the view that the real wants of the weaker group have been lost from sight in the excitement of preparing for and witnessing contests among the stronger ones.

We now invite the reader to take a broader view of the general question how far athletic contests between small groups of men stimulate the love of outdoor exercise in a community. The nation which in recent times has been most actively interested in such contests is, no doubt, the English. When physical training was introduced into our own institutions of learning, our schools borrowed their ideas from Rugby and other English sources, and our universities borrowed from Oxford and Cambridge. That athletic contests were the product of a healthy love of outdoor life among the English people, and not the cause of that love, must be carefully borne in mind. The result is that to-day the two English-speaking countries are the foremost in athletic contests. On the other hand, the semi-professional university athletic teams, so common in our country and, in a less degree, in England, are, so far as the writer is aware, unknown in Germany. It will hardly be maintained that the silly practice of duelling, which has not wholly ceased in some of the German universities, is in any way a substitute for intercollegiate athletic games. In the common schools of the nation, physical training is carefully looked after, but the system is not ours. Those who need the training receive more careful attention and encouragement than those who do not. The whole system is devised and conducted on a rational basis, the end being the physical development of the individual and not the promotion of contests or other games.

It is of interest to inquire what the results of the systems have been in the case of the nations in question. One result to which we invite attention may be only a straw, but it seems very significant. The fondness of the English for feats of physical endurance in mounting difficult Alpine peaks has led us to regard Switzerland as the especial playground of their nation. If this was ever true, it is not true to-day. The fact is that a walker over a snow-covered Alpine pass may now safely use the German language in exchanging greetings with and asking the way of a

fellow pedestrian, with confidence that he will not be going astray one time in five. But, when he reaches the luxurious hotels of the valley, he may with equal confidence use the English language in addressing every fellow guest he meets. That the two systems have produced these two distinctly opposite effects is an actual fact of personal observation. That the professional climber of lofty snow-peaks may be found speaking English as often as German, I cannot either affirm or deny. But, if such is the case, it will only strengthen our contention that the semi-professional physical training to which the English and Americans are addicted benefits the few at the expense of the many who most need it.

If the conclusion to which a careful examination of the case seems to point is really correct, the ideal athletic contest would be one between teams whose members were chosen from men originally of the weakest class. It may well be asked whether an argument in favor of such a system is not futile. We know that no one but the players themselves would take any interest in such games. Then why argue the point? We do not argue it further than to show that intercollegiate contests are worse than useless. If we admit that the policy which supports the system fails of its object because it stimulates effort where no stimulus is necessary, and discourages effort where it is needful, and if, on the other hand, the only reform that will lead to our end is so impracticable as to seem ridiculous, the conclusion is obvious. Physical development on the part of our students will be best promoted by entirely abandoning intercollegiate contests, and making games of strength a purely local and personal affair. In other words, we must train the body on the same system as we do the mind.

Having thus arranged, as we hope, a *modus vivendi* with Ajax by showing how his end can best be attained, let Minerva state her case. The development of intercollegiate athletics during the past twenty years has been so striking that the thoughtful man will inquire into the incentive that lies behind it. It may well be that, in the beginning, this came from a growing conviction of the benefits of physical training to intellectual workers. But it cannot be claimed that a rational conviction of this truth has been a factor in the present expansion of the system. To begin with the first agent: why does the vigorous and healthy student of Harvard or Yale join the athletic team of his insti-

tution, and add to the labor of his studies the large outlay of brain and nerve power required by a course of physical training? Certainly not because he feels that he needs the exercise, for he can supply this in a much easier way and at much less expense to his daily comfort. With him, the motive is the laudable one of commanding the esteem of his fellows and exciting the admiration of the public. For the most part, the game is not a pleasure to him, but a severe strain, which he willingly undergoes in order to gain his end. He is probably among the ablest students of his class; but, if he devoted himself to purely intellectual improvement, he would have to wait long years before getting into the lime-light, while in the athletic team he finds himself there at once. If he is not received at home as was a winner in the Olympian games, he has at least the satisfaction of feeling that his friends and relatives take pride in the qualities he has displayed.

If interest in the contests were confined to students and their relatives, the actual situation would not have presented itself. Its important feature is the extraordinary public interest which the games now excite, and which may be fairly measured by the sums collected from gate-receipts and other sources, the total of which would suffice to pay an important part of the expenses of a university. The income from gate-receipts alone has been so great that the problem how to dispose of it could be solved only by incurring enormous outlays for expenses of all sorts. If we had here a measure of public interest in the physical improvement of students, the situation would at least show one bright side. But it may well be questioned whether this is the case, and whether the real incentive at play is not as old as history,—the love of witnessing a combat. Is it not the same impulse which gave rise to gladiatorial contests in ancient Rome, to the bull-fights of Spain, to the cock-fights of the English, and to the prize-fights of English and American pugilists; and which to-day collects a crowd around two dogs fighting in the street? Is it not that trait of our nature which leads to a personal squabble between two legislators in the parliament of any civilized country being cabled over the world with more promptness than a debate on the most important subjects? Let us not say that it is useless to contend against a trait so widely diffused. In spite of its universality, we all admit, in our sober moments, that the impulse is an

ignoble one. We prohibit prize-fighting by law. A modern gentleman would be ashamed to join a crowd looking at a dog-fight. Whatever the interest he might feel in the contest, his conscience tells him that he can have no rational basis for a desire to witness the scene. The older and wiser he grows the more evident becomes the ignoble character of the impulse. We, descendants of the Puritans, should esteem as a compliment to our forebears rather than a slur upon them, Macaulay's borrowed apothegm—"they opposed bear-baiting not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators." Their better nature clearly showed them that, apart from the question of cruelty, it was an unworthy trait of our nature which could find enjoyment in the spectacle. The intercollegiate football game gives an air of respectability to a spectacle which we should otherwise regard as undignified. A contest between two teams of professional football-players would be as interesting to witness as one between students. But the veneering of respectability would then be wanting.

Probably the class of thinkers who, while admitting the force of this argument, feel that it is useless to oppose the spirit of the age, may not be a small one. And yet, were we to carry this idea to its extreme, we should do away with one of the great functions of educational institutions—which is to improve the spirit of the age. There is a wide field between the policy of bringing the world at once up to our standards, and leaving it entirely to go its own way. Universities and other academic institutions, being organized to correct what is evil in human impulses and promote what is good, should not assume the position of even passive spectators of a movement which sets their own ideals at naught.

It must be clearly understood that, in all we have said, we keep in mind a comparison between two systems—one devoting itself, in the German fashion, to the comparatively uninteresting task of encouraging the healthy physical development of all students, and the other to the promotion of spectacular games. The difference between these two motives is one that we are bound to recognize in the general interest of morality. It is the difference between loving excellence for its own sake, and loving to excel others. It is like the difference between self-respect as an object in life, and the desire to win the respect and applause of others.

But can we eliminate from the motives to physical training the desire to excel our fellows? In considering this question, let us demur at the outset that a negative answer would not mean that the present system must be supported. We have already shown that the latter does not yield the fruits we have a right to expect. We should therefore abandon it, even if another way could not be found. But we have only to study the facts of the case to show that the better motive is not only worthy to prevail, but may practically be made to prevail. We have only to substitute the man himself as the standard of comparison, instead of the fellow-man.

There still stands in a corner of the Harvard University grounds a small, low, old-fashioned brick building, offering in its proportions a striking contrast to the buildings of to-day. It was the first gymnasium erected for the use of Harvard students. In it those who aimed at increasing the physical strength took as much pleasure in noting their improvement every week as does the football-player of to-day in his contests. This continual gain, coupled with the real pleasure of physical activity, which perhaps many experienced there for the first time, was the sufficient motive to gain the full measure of physical energy attainable by the constitution of each individual student. We never know how interesting the simplest exercise may be unless we have had the experience. I never saw an outing more enjoyed than that of a poor widow of a Tyrolese schoolmaster, who once arranged a picnic for a small party on a slope of one of her native mountains. I could see nothing in it but cooking and eating a meal out-of-doors instead of in the house; but it gave her a pleasure and a distraction which lightened her labors for days to come. In the light of a modern athletic contest, the interest taken by the students of forty years ago in their exercises may seem quite childish. Who but a child could be amused, as students then were, by seeing his fellows lean backward and walk under a barrier slowly lowered day by day until it was little more than knee high? The youth who was looking forward to increasing the weight of his dumb-bells from 60 to 80 pounds, who could walk to the end of a vibrating spar without falling, and who was hoping soon to be able to mount up the peg-studded pole while hanging by his hands, were all interested by the sight of what the others could do in these various lines. It cannot be denied that all

gained the greatest of the benefits that come from physical exercise; and, if we would secure the same advantage to our children, we can do it by inciting them to action on similar lines. Instead of each trying to excel his fellows, which he knows is vain unless he is one of the strongest of the class, each person must try to be stronger to-day than he was yesterday. Even if we cannot move every one by this motive, we shall certainly move more than we do under our present system.

Let us temper a little our admiration for the manly qualities displayed in an athletic contest, by recognizing the confusion between cause and effect which we find involved. Probably nearly all of our readers would share with the writer the pleasure which he would feel in seeing a son win a boat-race. But why? Because the winning made him stronger? No, but because winning proved him to be a strong man to begin with. Success was the effect, not the cause, of strength. The same remark will apply to the manly qualities displayed in an athletic game. Psychologists will tell us that it is very doubtful whether innate qualities can be improved in any great degree in this way. But, apart from this, as we are now in a critical mood, let us inquire whether the manly qualities at play in a contest are really those which the world most needs to-day and will need in the future.

It is a characteristic of human nature that the sentiments and ideas which we inherit from our ancestors may continue through many generations after they have ceased to be needed. It is of especial interest that such sentiments are strongest in the boy, and tend to diminish with age. In former times, cities, villages, nations and empires were so exposed to aggressions from their neighbors that not only their prosperity, but even the lives of their people, depended upon the prowess and courage of their fighting population. Hence arose an admiration for these qualities, which we may expect to continue, not only as long as war is permitted, but even after conditions are so improved that no one will ever be obliged to place himself voluntarily in danger for the benefit of his fellow-men. Every well-endowed boy of to-day admires the brave fighter as the highest type of humanity, and shows his budding patriotism by delighting in the battles which our soldiers have won. But, as he grows up, he is from time to time surprised to find social regulations at seeming variance with his ideas. He learns that the man who jumps off the

Brooklyn Bridge, or risks life and limb otherwise than in the performance of the greatest public or private duty, instead of receiving the reward of a hero is haled before the courts, to be dealt with as an offender against the law. His traditional ideas of the qualities essential in a soldier include readiness to take offence and to engage in mortal combat with his personal enemy. He is therefore surprised when he finds that duelling is prohibited by the regulations governing modern armies, and that the officer of to-day need not be quick of temper to prove his courage. The writer was once told by a distinguished officer of the past generation that it was a disappointment to the average citizen when he first found that the naval officer of our time was an educated gentleman, who did not interlard his conversation with sea slang. As the boy grows to manhood, he finds that fear is strongest in his boyhood and that physical courage is the rule and not the exception among grown men.

In the same category with physical courage we may place readiness to engage in personal combat. The boy who possesses this quality has a decided advantage among his fellows. But, as he grows older, he finds that the requirements of social life render it an undesirable quality among grown men. The boy who is not ready to defend himself is liable to be imposed upon by his fellows. But the grown man trusts for his protection to public opinion and to the agents of the law; and, although the latter may not always be at hand when needed, it is not likely that an occasion will ever arise during his life in which he will have to maintain his rights in the manner employed by primitive mankind. How much soever he would be pleased to down a burglar, he might live through a score of lives without once enjoying the opportunity.

If the argument here submitted is sound, the wisest policy on the part of believers in physical training as a basis of intellectual efficiency is to discourage and, if possible, abolish that special form of intercollegiate contests which has assumed such striking proportions during the past ten years. We should not lose sight of the fact that the energy displayed in these contests is misdirected, and that a wise adaptation of means to ends requires athletic exercises to be a personal matter, in which each individual shall be interested in his own improvement rather than in his ability to outdo his fellows.

SIMON NEWCOMB.

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE—WHY?

BY JAMES H. BLOUNT, FORMERLY JUDGE OF FIRST INSTANCE OF
THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

THE author of this paper contributed, to the number of this REVIEW for January 18th last, an article concerning our Philippine problem entitled "Philippine Independence—When?" A definite plan for getting out of the Philippines soon and honorably was therein suggested as follows:

"If three strong and able men, familiar with insular conditions, and still young enough to undertake the task—say, for instance, General Leonard Wood, of the Army; Judge Adam C. Carson, of the Philippine Supreme Court; and W. Morgan Shuster, Collector of Customs of the Archipelago; or three other men of like calibre—were told by a President of the United States, by authority of the Congress: 'Go out there and set up a respectable native government in ten years, and then come away,' they could and would do it, and that government would be a success; and one of the greatest moral victories in the annals of free government would have been written by the gentlemen concerned upon the pages of their country's history."

It is a significant fact that, despite the general and apparently chronic torpor into which public interest concerning Philippine affairs was supposed to have lapsed, the article cited attracted considerable attention from the American press. Here was an article, upon a subject of which the public were tired, written by an unknown person in whom the public were not interested. Yet it challenged the attention of the country, because the American people consider the Philippines a costly burden, a nuisance and a danger, and are determined to get rid of them so soon as may be honorably possible. It challenged attention, also, because the writer, after nearly six years' stay in the Islands (1899-1905)—the first two as an officer of the army that subjugated them, and the remainder as a United States Judge—had finally returned

home with the conviction that we ought not to continue to hold the Islands indefinitely, and gave some reasons, not academical, but derived from his personal observations, for the opinion he expressed.*

The reasons then urged were of two kinds: first, those suggesting themselves when the subject is contemplated from the Oriental end of the line; second, those suggesting themselves at the American end. In discussing the former, the writer alluded to the most humiliating failure upon the part of the civil authorities, in the fall of 1904, to properly protect the lives and property of peaceably inclined people, in that they abstained from calling upon the regular army of the United States to suppress a bloody insurrection which was too serious to be handled by native constabulary. The failure to order out the troops was due to the fear that such action, if cabled to the United States, might, as General Otis's press censor used to say to the war correspondents in the early days, "have the American people by the ears"—that is to say, might hurt the Administration in the Presidential election then approaching by creating at home an impression that "the situation" as to public order was not "well in hand."

In justice to the civil authorities, it should be assumed that, in failing to call upon the military to quell the aforesaid outbreak, they believed that "the greatest good of the greatest number" of Filipinos demanded the retention of the Islands by the United States, and that the correct solution by the American people of this question of retention ought not to be jeopardized in the slightest degree, on the eve of the Presidential election, by using the iron hand of the regular army upon hostile natives engaged in killing friendly natives. What difference would a few natives, more or less, make in the long run, anyhow?

In justice, on the other hand, to the obscure victims of the aforesaid massacres, who perished by reason of this "greatest-

* Since the publication of Judge Blount's article in the number of the REVIEW for January 18th last, it has been reprinted three times, viz.:

(1) In pamphlet form, for free distribution, at the instance of Mr. Andrew Carnegie. Copies of the Carnegie reprint may be had upon application to the Filipino Progress Association, 150 Nassau Street, New York City.

(2) In the "Congressional Record" of February 12th, 1907 (pp. 2815-2818), at the instance of the Hon. James L. Slayden, of Texas, in the course of a speech in the House of Representatives.

(3) In "The Commoner" of April 19th, 1907, by the Hon. William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, editor and proprietor of that paper.

good-of-the-greatest-number" theory, it is submitted that the first duty of a Government is to protect life and property, from day to day, as far as possible; and, in weighing the capacity of the Filipinos to conduct a government of their own, we should ask ourselves: "Would they kill any more of each other than we have killed, or allowed to be killed, of them?"

The great dead President, Mr. McKinley, in his letter of instructions to the Taft Commission, after quoting the concluding words of the articles of capitulation of the city of Manila, viz., "This city, its inhabitants . . . and its private property of all descriptions . . . are placed under the special safeguard of the faith and honor of the American army," added:

"As high and sacred an obligation rests upon the Government of the United States to give protection for property and life . . . to all the people of the Philippine Islands. . . . I charge this Commission to labor for the full performance of this obligation which concerns the honor and conscience of their country."

No purpose is here entertained to detract from the high character and ability of the small group of distinguished men who, it is believed, were guided, in dealing with the Samar insurrection of 1904, by the belief that they were acting for the greatest good of the greatest number. But that maxim is too ruthless, too Napoleonic, in many of its possible applications, for a Republic safely to follow. After observing what he conceived to be a governmental application of it to the affairs of a very considerable portion of the Philippines, for some time prior to and up to November 8th, 1904, the writer left the vicinity of the Samar massacres on or about that date, bound for Manila, prostrated from overwork in trying to dispose properly of the cases of prisoners likely to die in overcrowded jails. He came to Manila believing that we ought to get out of the Philippines just as soon as any sort of fairly respectable native Government could be set up, whether modelled strictly after our own or not.

"He who comes into a Court of Equity should do so with clean hands." Are not we, as a nation, estopped from denying, before the great tribunal of history, that the Filipinos can conduct a Government which will afford adequate protection for human life, since our own hands are spattered with the blood of innocent people whose lives we could have saved, but did not? Is it not pharisaical for us to claim that a native Government would entail

more unnecessary sacrifice of life *per annum* than the total of what we have *committed* and *permitted*? Should we not cast out the beam from our own eye before attempting to pluck the mote from the eye of "our little brown brother"? Is not the real question, "Can we, in all good conscience, continue to hold the Philippines?" rather than, "Can we honorably turn them loose?"

The reproach of what has happened belongs more or less to all the people of the United States. It demonstrated to the writer beyond a reasonable doubt that a Republic like ours should not colonize, that, as stated in the previous article: "The governing of the Philippines by their supposed friends from the antipodes has been not unlike a game of battledore and shuttlecock between rival political creeds at home, in which the unfortunate inhabitants have been the shuttlecock."

This paper is written in the earnest hope of aiding in convincing a sufficient number of the leading men of both the great political parties that we ought to retire from the Philippines as soon as a decent native Government can be gotten under way.

Everybody in the Army who was in the Philippines at the time knows that the regular troops ought to have been ordered to suppress the Samar insurrection of 1904 long before November 8th, instead of some time afterwards, and that meantime the insurrection spread like a prairie fire and did irreparable and incalculable damage. But concerning such matters a true soldier, of course, is silent, both from duty and from interest—from duty, because he must abide the course taken by his superior officers, the Secretary of War and the President; and from interest, because, if criticisms by him of the War Department reach that Department, his chances of advancement will necessarily be less than those of other ambitious men who have the good sense to hold their peace.

The difficulty which inevitably presents itself to a Republic, like ours, in endeavoring to give a "square deal" to colonial subjects living in a remote part of the world, thus becomes apparent. In a Government by the people, the people should be able to get at all the facts concerning all the issues submitted to them in a political campaign. When a Government by the people starts out to colonize in distant lands, the main body of the evidence they will get, calculated to throw light upon the question of the wisdom and justice of continuing the experiment, will

of necessity come through official sources—that is, from officials of the party which, being in power, seeks to continue itself in power—and will therefore be one-sided, *ex parte*, testimony. No matter how high the character of the responsible heads of such colonial government, they will “let nothing go that will hurt the Administration.”

Such are some of the aspects of the problem, when it is studied from the point of view one gets in the Philippines. “Lest we forget” the condition to which Congress has brought the Filipinos by refusing to substantially reduce the tariff on Philippine products brought to the United States, let us now consider that condition and its significance.

The question of the welfare of the Filipinos is, and always will be, a “side-issue” with the American people. The most famous character of contemporary American fiction, “Misther Dooley,” once said to his friend Mr. Hennessy upon this subject: “Before the Spanish Warr, Hennessy—and it isn’t very different since—the American payple didn’t know, and didn’t care, whether the Philippines wuz islands or a brand of canned gudes.” But a greater than Dooley—President Lincoln—gave utterance, in a different connection, to the eternal truth: “A people who are indifferent to the rights of others cannot, under a just God, long retain their own.”

Said the Manila Chamber of Commerce to the Taft party in August, 1905: “The country is in a state of financial collapse.”*

Said former Governor-General Ide, in November, 1906:†

“By annexation we killed the Spanish market for Philippine sugar and tobacco, and our tariff shuts these products from the United States market, and to-day both these, the most important in the Islands, are practically prostrated.”

Yet men whose views ought to be helpful, will, in the face of such evidence, blandly and blindly say:

“Our occupation has increased the prosperity of the Islands as never before.”‡

The intense and universal desire of the Filipinos for Independence was dealt with at length in this REVIEW for January 18th last. Very positive opinions on that subject by Congress-

* Senator Newlands, NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, December, 1905.

† New York “Independent,” November 22nd, 1906.

‡ “New Haven Palladium.”

man Parsons of New York, by Senators Dubois and Newlands, all of the Taft party, and by Captain Moss, of General Corbin's staff, were there set forth. But let us bear always in mind, especially when Japanese or other war clouds lower, what the Senator last above named refers to significantly as:

"The strategic mistake of having possessions occupied by unwilling subjects so far removed from our base—impossible of defence should the time come in the Orient when we may be beset by foes outside the Islands and *by insurrectos within*";

and his reminder that:

"The outbreak of Cuba against Spain was largely due to economic distress caused by the low price of sugar."*

As Brigadier-General W. H. Carter suggests, in a fine spirit of judicial fairness, in the number of the REVIEW for February 15th:

"Loyalty to the Government should not be expected of any population which, however erroneously, believes itself deprived of equal rights with others living under the same flag."

Says Senator Newlands:

"There can be no permanent friendliness between the Filipinos and the Americans."†

Says Senator Dubois:

"There is no intimacy and no sympathy between the Americans who are in the islands and the natives. . . . They do not regard them as a factor in the future of the country. . . . The natives hate us cordially, and unless some radical change can be brought about, the hatred will grow more and more intense."‡

One American observer expresses the feeling of the Americans in the Islands thus:

"When we have taught them . . . we shall set them free. . . . And yet, when the American looks about him at all the improvements . . . there is a certain feeling of reluctance to hand over the fruits."§

Cannot the editor of the "Christian Advocate," who did me the honor to review at length the previous article concerning the Philippines, and was even kind enough to characterize it as "illuminating," perceive how certain it is that the Filipinos un-

* Senator Newlands, NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, December, 1905.

† NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, December, 1905.

‡ New York "Tribune," December 17th, 1905.

§ B. K. Daniels, "World's Work," September, 1905.

derstand this arrogant attitude of American business men, and suspect that there must be some ground for it? The Filipino is told by us that we expect to remain with him indefinitely. Is it not natural for him, in view of this attitude of Americans out there, to believe that our real purpose is to remain with him permanently; and will he not continue to believe so, unless we make a specific disclaimer of any intention permanently to exercise sovereignty over his country, and give him a definite promise of independence?

But let us cease for the moment to criticise the Congress for its sins of omission and commission against these Oriental subjects, and consider a reason, more elemental than taxation without representation and unjust tariffs, for the unpleasant but undeniable fact that the Filipinos like us infinitely less than they did the Spaniards. What Mr. Roosevelt said in 1889 in his "Winning of the West," concerning the French of the Ohio Valley before 1776, in regard to their cordial social relations with the natives, is true of all Latin races always under like circumstances, and suggests another strong reason why the Spaniards were liked in the Philippines far better than are their successors in sovereignty:

"They were not trammelled by the queer pride which makes a man of English stock unwilling to make a red-skinned woman his wife, though anxious enough to make her his concubine."*

Men of English stock have changed but little in the matter of race instinct since 1776. Yet among men to whom the country looks for suggestion and the moulding of public opinion, we sometimes find such utter misapprehension of conditions in the Philippines that only unpleasant reading like the above will give them pause. Said the "Rochester Democrat-Chronicle" last July:

"The industrial and business classes, those who desire peace and order . . . are not eager for independence. On the contrary, they have uttered earnest protests," etc.

The "Washington Star" asks: "Has Judge Blount learned no lesson from Cuba?" The answer to this question is suggested by the foregoing demonstration that a leading daily newspaper of the State of New York is totally in the dark about the Philippines, whereas it never could be so about Cuban affairs.

Whether Cuba, and her ugly race problem, ought to be annexed or not, she lies in the Western Hemisphere, right at our door, so that the afternoon papers can acquaint us with what happens each morning, and public opinion can operate as it did on the life-insurance companies. Gibbon said, somewhere, that "remoteness softens the cries of distress." As to every great public question, with the exception of the Philippines, the American voter can form a *first-hand* opinion, according to the spirit and genius, the vital principle, of our institutions. As to the Philippines, he must rely upon *ex parte* information from the party in power seeking to continue in power. Besides, we owe Cuba a duty under the Monroe Doctrine.

Furthermore, if we forbid European Powers to colonize in the Western Hemisphere, it follows, as a corollary, that we should cease to colonize in the Eastern Hemisphere. We should be warned by the decline and fall of the Roman Empire — due, largely, as the greatest of all historians tells, to the failure to follow the advice contained in Augustus Cæsar's will, which he therein bequeathed, as a valuable legacy to his successors, viz., that they should "confine the Empire within those limits which nature seemed to have fixed as its natural bulwarks and boundaries."

In February, 1902, Judge Taft said to the Senate Committee on Philippine Affairs, with that good-humored tolerance of criticism which comes only from genuine and entire confidence in the soundness of one's views: "I have been called the Mark Tapley of this Philippine business." After something over three years more of trying to administer the affairs of those remote wards, in a way at once just to them and consistent with the fundamental principles of our Government, we find him admitting at Washington in May, 1905,* that "we blundered into colonization."

The "trade-expansion" argument boldly presented by Senator Lodge to the Republican National Convention of 1900—"We make no hypocritical pretence of being interested in the Philippines solely on account of others. . . . We believe in trade expansion"—was thus recognized as a delusion and a snare. It had become evident to all that the Philippines would not pay.

* Address before National Geographical Society; see "National Geographic Magazine," August, 1905.

About the same time, Mr. J. J. Hill, of the Great Northern Railway, who also controls the steamship company of the same name which connects with the railway at Seattle, changed the Oriental terminus of his steamships from Manila to Hong-Kong, because "it did not pay to stop at Manila."

In June, 1905, or thereabouts, the "Washington Post" was saying, substantially, with commendable, if cynical, honesty, that all this talk about "benevolent assimilation" was the rankest casuistry, and that we took the Philippines because we believed they would pay; and on November 2nd, 1906, we find it using this language: "An honorable exit from Oriental sovereignty is the almost universal wish of the people of the United States."

The Congress of the United States has invariably turned a deaf ear to the appeals of the Administration concerning the extreme economical distress to which the Filipinos have been reduced by the Dingley Tariff. Time and again the several Governors-General, the Secretary of War and the President have urged that the tariff on Philippine sugar and tobacco imported into the United States should be reduced to 25 per cent. of the Dingley Tariff, and as often have the measures introduced for that benevolent purpose been killed or died in committee-room at Washington. Why? Because the Philippines are not a State of the American Union and never will be—and ought not to be—and therefore have not, and never will have, representatives in Congress, as have all other people living under the protection of the American flag and all other interests affected by the legislation of the American Congress. So long as we retain them, they will continue to suffer in one way or another from taxation without representation, or from the enactment or defeat of laws of one sort or another at the instance of special interests at home. If the administration of President Roosevelt, with all its unprecedented strength with the people, cannot get through Congress tariff legislation opening to Philippine planters of sugar-cane and tobacco an avenue of escape from the financial drought which at present afflicts them, is it not the duty of his great War Secretary to cease to block the way of Philippine Independence?

Sugar-cane and tobacco are to the Philippines what cotton is to the South. And in the South, as the reader is doubtless aware, when the price of cotton is depressed, money "tightens," merchants fail, banks tremble and gloom pervades every household.

The Administration will, no doubt, continue the fight at the next session of Congress. If it succeeds, we shall at last have done something for the Filipino, at least so far as regards his material welfare, but incidentally we shall have lessened incalculably the chances of ultimate Philippine Independence.

Secretary Taft stated the case for the Filipino people, early in 1905, as follows:

"I sincerely hope that next year Congress will reduce the tariff to nothing on all goods produced in the Philippine Islands, except tobacco and sugar, and reduce that to 25 per cent., merely to justify our putting a duty in the Philippines against you until 1909, in order that the Government may be supported and not lose that revenue until that time. And then, when 1909 comes and we are released from the necessity, under the treaty of Paris, of giving the same privileges to Spain as to the United States, then we can have complete free trade between the Islands and America."*

To this Senator Newlands replies:

"Such a proposition involves the closed door in the Philippines at a time when we are strenuously urging the open door in China, Manchuria and Korea. This is both wrong and impolitic—wrong, because consistency is required of nations as well as of individuals; and impolitic, because it will give Japan and China an excuse for securing favored arrangements in the Orient, which will exclude our products. If we get the monopoly of imports into the Philippines, it would not compensate for the losses which we would sustain in the rest of the Orient by the assertion of this policy. If we refuse equal opportunities for Japanese trade, in the Philippines, how can we insist upon equal opportunities with Japan in Manchuria and Korea?"†

Which of these views will prevail? In any event, does not the irreconcilable conflict between the interests of the guardian and those of the ward make it our duty to relinquish the guardianship, when it is hardly conceivable that the ward could be any worse off if left to himself?

According to a very able, patient and interesting presentation of our Oriental expenditures, by the Washington correspondent of the New York "Evening Post," in the issue of that paper for March 6th last, the cost of the Philippine government to the United States Treasury, since the close of the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1898, has been more than \$300,000,000. How little need of a Railroad-Rate Bill there would have been, had that sum

* "National Geographic Magazine," August, 1905.

† NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, December, 1905.

been put into the improvement of American Rivers and Harbors and interior waterways, instead of being worse than wasted upon this South Sea Bubble of ours.

The article in the "Post," to which allusion has just been made, states a fact which it is very probable that few people in the United States know, but which is of the first importance, viz.: that on October 25th, 1904, at Newark, New Jersey, Secretary Taft himself admitted that the cost of the Islands to us up to that date had been more than \$200,000,000. The cost of the Philippine government to the Filipino people is so enormous that the Secretary of War thought proper to answer a criticism to that effect by a British writer on colonial government. In explaining why a simpler and less expensive form of government was not adopted, the present elaborately articulated governmental structure was thus justified: "It adds to the expense, and it does not give them so good a government." "But what we are trying to do is to teach these people by object-lessons" how to run a government for themselves—instead of giving them a chance to practise the art of responsible government—which is as manifest error as if you undertook to teach a boy how to ride a bicycle by letting him watch you ride. The Secretary then goes on to say:

"It is perfectly true that that government there could be much more efficient if we put an American in charge of each province, and made him absolute ruler there. It would not be any trouble to do it at all. We would have less taxes, the work would be attended to with more care, and, on the whole, for the next ten or fifteen years it is probable that the people would be in better condition."

Why not, then, make the condition of the people better at once, in the way indicated, or at least along those general lines, and leave a little of the future to the Lord? The answer is:

"They would not have any responsibility about the government. They would not be subject to scolding at every mouth by the officers above them."

It is only the very general disposition on the part of our people to consider Secretary Taft well-nigh infallible—a mistake due to his well-known courage, ability, kindness and tact—which enables him to keep the present generation of Filipinos in poverty and want, in order that their posterity may, in the fullness of time, "secure the blessings of liberty."

Half of the seven and one-half millions of people in the

Philippines live on the island of Luzon. The northern half of Luzon, that part lying above the Pasig River, at whose mouth Manila is, can be gotten ready within twelve months' time for such a government as New Mexico now has—an ordinary Territorial form of government, entirely autonomous within itself, by a man like the Hon. George Currie, formerly Governor of Isabela Province in Luzon, later Governor of Samar, and more recently appointed Governor of New Mexico. There is almost immediately available material for at least three such Territories in the northern half of Luzon, viz.: (1) The Ilocano country (North Ilcoos, South Ilcoos and La Union), containing about half a million people; (2) The Cagayan valley, containing nearly a quarter of a million; (3) The Railroad and Rio Grande country (the country traversed by the Manila and Dagupan Railroad, and drained by the Rio Grande de Pampanga, consisting of five provinces, to wit, Bulacan, Pampanga, Pangasinan, Tarlac and Nueva Ecija), containing about a million and a quarter. If the inhabitants of these three regions were told by a man whom they liked and would believe, as they would Currie, that they were to have autonomous government like one of the Western Territories of the United States, at the very earliest possible moment, and urged to get ready for it, they could and would, under his guidance. We would get a cooperation from those people we do not now get and never will get, so long as we keep them in uncertainty as to what we are going to do with them. If next year we should formally disclaim intention to retain the islands permanently, and set to work to create autonomous Territories destined ultimately to be States of a Federated Philippine Republic, whenever fit, we would soon see the way out of this tangle, and behold the beginning of the end of it.

The "New York Times," while insisting that the Filipinos are unfit to govern themselves, very frankly admits that "our administration of the Philippines has convinced . . . all mankind of our unfitness to govern them," and it adds:

"Having taken them, we shall all be delighted with any possible and honorable method of getting rid of what we have shown we do not know how to administer to our own satisfaction or to that of any party in interest. The American people would hail the discovery of a decent 'way out.' But they will continue to decline to recognize as such a way the path indicated by Mr. Bryan and Judge Blount of turning the Filipinos loose upon mankind [mark the next words], with the guarantee

of the United States of their Independence against all comers, and with a like guarantee against their abuse of their Independence, amounting to an assumption by us of all international claims for damages against the Filipino Republic."

If the editor of the "Times" will read again the article to which the above is part of his reply, he will see that no such guarantee was proposed, but only "a treaty with the great nations, securing the neutralization of the Islands, and the recognition of their independence whenever the same shall be granted to them by the United States." This is nothing more than was done by the great Powers of Europe, in the first half of the nineteenth century, with regard to Switzerland and Belgium. It will be remembered that, during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, England served notice on both parties to the conflict that, if either attempted to violate the territorial integrity of Belgium, she would join forces with the other. If so requested by the Congress, President Roosevelt could and doubtless would negotiate such a treaty. It would be in harmony both with his own views and with those of all friends of progress throughout the world in this wonderful and hopeful age, for it would reduce by that much the possible area of war.

JAMES H. BLOUNT.

THE FICTION OF LEONARD MERRICK.

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

ANGLO-SAXON fiction, either in its English or in its American condition, is not so rich in form that one who feels its penury can pass any exception by, and not dread coming to actual want. A keen, perhaps a quivering, sense of this, was what made me, in my first acquaintance with the novels of Mr. Leonard Merrick, resolve to do my best to share with the public my pleasure in their singular shapeliness. Singular; for, when you have named Jane Austen, whom shall you name next for this excellence in the English condition of our fiction; or, in the American condition, when you have named Hawthorne, whom shall you name next? No doubt, a great many writers of short stories; but here it is a question of novels, and not of short stories. In these, it is rather difficult not to have form; in those, it is so difficult that I can think of no recent fictionist of his nation who can quite match with Mr. Merrick in that excellence. This will seem great praise, possibly too great, to the few who have a sense of such excellence; but it will probably be without real meaning to most, though our public might very well enjoy form if it could once be made to imagine it. In order to this end, we should have first to define what form was, but form is one of those elusive things which you can feel much better than you can say; to define it would be like defining charm in a woman, or poetry in a verse. Possibly, in order to enforce my point, I should have to bid the reader take almost any novel of Mr. Merrick's and read it; for then he would know what form is. Possibly, this is the conclusion to which I must come now, but I do not deny that this would be what is called "begging the question."

As to the world which this excellent form embodies, it may be said, first, that every writer of fiction creates the world where

his characters live. Of course, if he is an artist, it is vital to him to believe that he is representing the world in which he himself lives; and in a certain measure he is doing so, but he is always giving their habitat stricter limits than his own. One of the conditions of every art is that its created world must be a microcosm; even if it is not avowedly a fragment, the portrait it paints of life is a miniature where everything but the essentials are left out. If its effects are wisely meditated, it will sometimes show that the essentials are the little things and not the large things. The scene does not matter; the quality or station of the actors in it does not count; nothing matters or counts but the effect of reality. Before Ibsen became the immeasurable accomplished fact that he now is, many people supposed that his work was insignificant, because he depicted a provincial civilization. They wanted, in order to a sense of magnitude in what they saw, to have the scene pass in some great capital, and to have titled or fashionable figures in the action, so that they could be sure they were having their money's worth in the associations which have so long lent dignity to life in literature. In a small Norwegian town, with the company of Norwegian middle and lower class people, they felt that an indignity had been offered them. Why should they put on evening dress to go and see a thing of that kind, though it were touched to issues beyond Shakespeare? But now we hear nothing of the provinciality of Ibsen, because Ibsen is universally owned to be so great that nothing he dealt with can be accused of meanness, without fear in the accuser of being thought mean himself. It has come to no such pass yet with Mr. Merrick, however; and therefore any one may still say, without dread of such a consequence, that it is a very narrow world he deals with, and of events so few that it is wonderful how continually he provokes the reader's curiosity and holds his interest.

It is a world much remoter from Philistine sympathy than the Philistine world that Ibsen deals with; but, for the young and kind, or for the old and wise, it is a world which will always have a glamour, will be misted in an illusion such as wraps the persons whom its people are engaged in representing, either in the novel or in the theatre. In other terms, and I hope simpler terms, his story is commonly the story of obscure talent struggling to the light in those very uncertain avenues to distinction

and prosperity; and he contrives to vary it only by the different phases of their failure or success, which is always the same sort of failure and success. I do not know why the events should be of more appreciable human concern than comparable events in the lives of rising or falling painters, sculptors and architects, who should equally appeal in their like quality of artists. But it is certain that we somehow feel an enchantment in the career of the artists who create characters in books, or represent them on the boards, which we do not feel in the careers of those other artists. It may be that it is because we live longer with their creations or representations, and therefore are better acquaintance or closer friends with the creators. You cannot linger two or three days on the details of a picture or a statue or a building, as you can on those of a novel, or even three hours, as you can on those of a play, and you cannot know them so well that you long to know the author or actor, and attribute to him all sorts of personal interest, which perhaps experience would not realize. In any case, it is certain that, since fiction ceased to concern itself solely with kings and princes, or even with the nobility and gentry, it has found nothing of such sovereign effect with the reader as the aspirations and adventures of people, the younger the people the better, trying to get past the publisher or the manager into the light of the public square. These at present share the sort of pull which the pirate and the robber, the seducer and the seduced, the pickpocket and the pauper, the bankrupt, the rightful heir, the good and the bad trades-unionist, the muscular Christian, the burglar and the detective, all once enjoyed in turn, and now enjoy no longer, at least with the polite reader; and it ought to be fortunate for Mr. Leonard Merrick that his novels are mainly concerned with them in the hour of their supreme attractiveness. I have, of course, no belief that Mr. Merrick chose them because of their pull; it is much more probable that, in the strange way these things come about, he was chosen by them because of his personal acquaintance with their experiences. It cannot be any harm to cast upon a study of his fiction the light of the fact that he has himself been an actor and is an author, and it is scarcely impertinent to conjecture that the material of his fiction, out of which he has shaped its persons and events, is employed at first hand. A much more important fact is that he is always and instinctively artist enough

to employ it for the stuff it is, and that he has not attempted, so far as I can make out, to pass off any clay image of his fabric for a statue of pure gold, or even of gilded bronze. No squalor of that world of his is blinked, and we learn to trust him, not perhaps implicitly, for a faithful report of the world he knows so well, but implicitly enough, because he seems to have no question as to his function in regard to it. He is quite as honest as a Latin and a Slav would be in his place, and never as dishonest as another Anglo-Saxon might be.

Very probably his public would have been more regardful of him if he had been more regardful of his public; for, although his books have been from the first recognized for their mastery, they have not even yet, though he has been writing them ten or fifteen years, been any one of them a popular success. To be a popular success, a book must have successful people in it, and Mr. Merrick's books have either failures in them, or only the successes of heroes and heroines of conscience. Even the successes of these are not spectacular; they are slight, pale, doubtful triumphs, such as we see our own to be when we examine them by the light of our merit. They are pieces of good fortune, mercies, effects of what used to be called "the grace of God"; and that is not the sort of thing which the public buys novels for. It is true that they interest, and with such a grip of the heart as only makes them the more painful; but they are not always convincing with the mind. You ask yourself whether such a man or such a woman would have done so and so, though you have suffered with them to the event with a feeling of their reality which does not allow of a doubt as to the line of facts tending to the event. Would Heriot, in "One Man's View," have taken Mamie back after she had left him to live with another man? Would Cynthia, in "A Daughter of the Philistines," have forgiven her husband when he owned his unfaithfulness? Would Dr. Kennard, "The Man who was Good," have perceived something of greater force than the right to the love of Mary Brennan which his goodness had given him, when he saw the dying woman's instinctive joy in the sight of the man who had wronged her, but whom she loved?

Mr. Merrick might answer that the event would depend upon whether the love was real love or not. But what is real love? The brute lure or the human affection? He is not so much in the

bonds of superstition concerning passion as most novelists, and therefore he is not of the inferior novelists; he ranks himself with the great ones in that. He has the courage to own that certain veritable passions die long before those who have known them are dead. Apparently, he has seen this happen in the world among real men and women, and he portrays the fact as he has seen it happen. His fidelity cannot recommend him to the "world that loves a lover" so much that it will not allow that he can ever cease to be a lover; but it ought to make him friends with the few who love truth better even than lovers. At any rate, it is the event in several of his books, in perhaps the best of them, though sometimes he sacrifices to the false god also, and has lovers go on loving with a constancy which ought to have made him a wider public than I am afraid he has.

Of the two arch-enemies of love, prosperity and adversity, he makes an oftener study of adversity. There is a great deal of grim adversity in his books, which sometimes remains adversity to the end, but also sometimes puts off its frown. It is the more depressing when it becomes or remains the atmosphere of that ambition which seeks fruition in the successes of the theatre. If we are to believe him, and somehow Mr. Merrick mostly makes you believe him, the poor creatures, usually poor pretty creatures, who are trying to get upon the stage, are almost without number, and certainly outnumber the struggling journalists and authors a hundred to one. The spectacles of their humility and humiliation, of their meek endeavors and cruel defeats, are of such frequent recurrence in his novels and tales that, after a little knowledge of them, one approaches the scene with an expectation of heartache through which nothing short of the mastery dealing with them would support the reader. In the monotony of the event, it is most remarkable how he distinguishes and characterizes the different children of adversity, especially the daughters. They are commonly alike in their adversity, but they are individual in their way of experiencing it. In fact, in an age of intensely feminized fiction, he is one of the first of those who know how to catch the likenesses, to the last fleeting expression, of women; and especially of the women of the theatre. Probably, these are not essentially different from other women, but they have an evolution through their environment which no one else seems to have studied so surpassingly well. Sometimes they are good

women and sometimes they are bad, but they are so from a temperament differently affected by their errant and public life, their starved or surfeited vanity, their craze for change and variety, and they keep a simplicity, a singleness, in their selfishness and depravity, such as differences them from women bred amidst the artificialities of the world on the other side of the footlights. It would be easy to name a score of them from his pages, but it is sufficient to name Blanche Ellerton in the "Actor Manager" as a supreme type. Nature meant her for the theatre, but Mr. Merrick is also very successful with another sort of actress, equally gifted, but meant by temperament for the home as well as the theatre, like the heroine in "When Love Flies out of the Window." That is, perhaps, the more frequent type, perhaps because adversity, more or less marked, prevails in the lives of most actresses, rather than prosperity, and keeps them more normally women.

The charming woman who is primarily wife and mother is not less possible in the theatre than out of it, but out of it Mr. Merrick has hardly caught a truer likeness, or a lovelier, than Cynthia in "A Daughter of the Philistines." She is none the less lovely because she is so perfectly the creature of her environment, which it was not necessary that she share the vulgarity of her family in order to be of. She was probably as much mystified that her husband, after his first brilliant success of estimation, should have no other success as an author, as her father and mother were, but she could not vulgarly hold him responsible for it, or expect him to repeat it, because, no matter what her origin was, she was not vulgar, and they were. Secretly we feel that too much is put upon her when her husband is untrue to her, when he intrigues with the fashionable literary adventuress, and writes the stories under her name for which she salaries him; that part of the affair is altogether so unhandsome that Cynthia might have refused to forgive him with small grief to the fair-minded reader, and with rather more conviction than the actual ending of the story brings. We do not like to think it, but it seems to us that in Cynthia's forgiveness Mr. Merrick was playing to that indiscriminate populace which above all things desires a good ending.

The populace have a right to good endings, but not from everybody; they who love probability better have also their rights,

and it must be owned that Mr. Merrick, doubtless to his hurt, is usually more mindful of these. An excellent instance of his regard is the strange story called "Quaint Companions," which is the story of the absolutely vulgar and beautiful English girl who marries a black singer. The thing would be impossible in our conditions, but apparently not impossible in the English conditions, and at any rate you feel that it happened as the author says it did. On the woman's side it is a marriage for money, and on the man's for such love as a merely sensuous, merely artistic being of another race, an inferior race, can feel for a woman who is not only very beautiful, but is a beautiful white woman. He is a very great artist; you are made to feel that so distinctly that, when you are told of his singing, you can almost hear him sing. He has also a clear intelligence concerning himself and his love for her, but the heart of his personal, and perhaps his ethnical, mystery is imparted in the brief aside which tells us that all his life he has never denied himself, though most things in life, which other men prize, have been denied him. To have the best of them now, in the possession of a beautiful white woman for his wife, he is willing to be her dog, her slave, and in her vulgar shame she is willing to make him so. The situation is not less than tremendously realized, but in the reader it requires something of the author's courage to realize it. The secondary situation evolves itself after the singer's death, when his widow is left, not so rich as she had lived, with her white son by her first marriage and her mulatto son by her second, adoring the first and coldly enduring the second. The mulatto turns out a poet of real gift, and his tragedy is to fall in love by letter and by picture with a beautiful white girl. But the picture is that of the sister of the girl who writes to him, and who is a little deformed painter. They meet and forgive each other, and so far the story, which has gone so ill, ends well.

The sensitive reader feels the mechanism in the conclusion, but there is no perceptible mechanism in the story of "The Actor Manager," which is the best of Mr. Merrick's stories, so far as I know them. At all moments of it you feel that it happened, and that the people in it are alive, with a life of human probabilities beyond it. I can recall no English novel in which the study of temperament and character is carried farther or deeper, allowing for what the people are, and there is not a false

or mistaken line or color in it. For anything to equal it, we must go to the Slavs, in such triumphs of their naturalness as Tourguénief's "Smoke," or the society passage of Tolstoy's "War and Peace." The French stories are conventional and mechanical in their naturalism beside it; perhaps a Spaniard like Galdós has done work of equal fineness. It is not alone in Oliphant Royce, with the stress of his hereditary conscience, or in Blanche Ellerton, depraved both by her artistry and by her ambition, that the author convinces; Otho Fairbairn, who becomes the "scoundrel" whom Blanche not less deliberately than hysterically makes him for his money, and Alma King, who is as good an artist as Blanche and yet a good woman, and Blanche's mother whose sentimental novelettes support her contemptuous husband in the production of his real but unsalable masterpieces, and Blanche's plain sister with her famine for a little love, a little admiration from men, are all in their several ways wonderfully lifelike. The theatre itself, which began as a theatre of art, and ended as a theatre of profit, has almost a human appeal in its tragedy, as if it were a sentient organism, with a heart to be broken and a soul to be lost. Nobody who is not inevitably bad is very bad; the world is the world in which we live.

Why, then, is not this masterly novelist a master universally recognized and accepted? That is something I have asked myself more than once, especially in reading the criticisms of his several books, not one of which has lacked the praise of a critic qualified to carry conviction of its merit. Perhaps the secret is that the stories are almost always very unhappy. There is no consolation in their tragedy; they do not even "raise a noble terror," such as was once the supposed business of tragedy. Upon the whole, they leave you feeling mean, feeling retroactively capable of the shabby things which have been done in them. Another secret may be that, when the poverty which haunts them is relieved in this case or that, you are left with the sense of the vast poverty still remaining in the world. If a struggler is given a chance to get his breath, the great struggle of life goes on. Yet another secret may be that there is no fine world, no great world, in the books; we scarcely recall a person of title in any of them, and people who like to associate with rich or noble persons, when they are "taken out of themselves," have not so much as the company of one high-born villain, or corrupt *grande dame*. Apparently,

the glamour of the theatre, of authorship, though undeniable, is not potent enough for the general public. Yet it seems a pity for the general public that it should not read Mr. Merrick's novels; for, though the honest reviewer would wish to guard the younger reader from knowledge of some of their facts, he would, in proportion to his honesty, wish to affirm the conscience with which the evil of these facts is moralized by their rarely faltering art.

W. D. HOWELLS.

PERSONAL IMMORTALITY IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT SCIENCE.

BY THE REV. DONALD SAGE MACKAY, D.D.

THE late Frederick W. H. Myers, whose two massive volumes on "The Immortality of the Soul" reflect the minuteness of his researches, made the assertion shortly before his death that, "within a century, the scientific proof of personal immortality would be so strong that no reasonable man would question it." To that prediction not many persons, least of all men of science, would assent. The hope of immortality will never be more than a hope, and faith in it must rest rather in the region of the affections, than in that of the intellect. The element of mystery is not only a vital part of religion, it belongs to the discipline of character. If the certainty of the future life were revealed so clearly and definitely that doubt would be impossible, that knowledge would not only cheapen, but degrade, the nobler side of life. Affection itself would become coarse and vulgar, if the immortality of each individual were lifted out of the region of reverent faith into that of demonstrated fact.

On the other hand, no one who studies, however superficially, the current tendencies of scientific research, can be blind to a profound change which, within quite recent years, has come over the temper of science in reference to the question of the immortality of the soul. With the first shock, which Darwin's "Origin of Species" produced on its appearance in 1859, the evolutionary hypothesis seemed to sweep away every scintilla of scientific evidence for the separate existence of the soul. One remembers, in this connection, Darwin's own words, quoted in one of his published letters, which express pretty accurately the scientific attitude of his day. "As for me, I am an old

man and am content to remain an agnostic. But, amongst a mass of contradictory evidence, I see no basis for belief in a future existence." The inevitable note of depression which this temper produced finds constant utterance in the great writers of the latter half of last century. None is more characteristic than George Eliot. The undercurrent of an almost resentful despair runs through her later writings like a stream of Stygian darkness. "I remember," writes Mr. F. W. H. Myers, "how at Cambridge I walked with her once in the Fellow's Garden of Trinity, on an evening of rainy May, and she stirred somewhat beyond her wont; and, taking as her text the three words which have been used so often as the inspiring trumpet-calls of men,—the words 'God,' 'Immortality,' 'Duty,'—pronounced with terrible earnestness, how inconceivable was the first, how unbelievable was the second, and how peremptory and absolute the third. Never, perhaps, had sterner accents affirmed the sovereignty of impersonal and unrecompensing law. I listened, and night fell; her grave, majestic countenance turned towards me like a Sibyl's in the gloom; it was as though she withdrew from my grasp, one by one, the two scrolls of promise, and left me the third scroll only, awful with an inevitable fate." For many of the most thoughtful minds in that period, belief in a future life was little more than an anxious wish or a vague perhaps.

But to-day a new voice is speaking in science. As the deeper facts of existence are being traced in ways unknown in an earlier day, the man of science now tells us that there is no scientific proof of the impossibility of life after death. The science of to-day does not undertake to prove immortality, but neither does she deny it. With the newer light of recent research before her, she goes thus far at least and says: "Scientifically, the doctrine of immortality is not an impossible delusion." Huxley, for example, in one of his later essays has this to say: "If the belief in immortality is essential to morality, physical science has nothing to say against the probability of that doctrine. It [physical science] effectually closes the mouths of those who pretend to refute immortality by objections deduced from merely physical data." This attitude of Huxley has found even more distinctive affirmation in recent years from such men of scientific attainment as Sir Oliver Lodge, John Fiske, Professors James

and Münsterberg of Harvard—all of whom have written sympathetically and hopefully of immortality, not from the standpoint of the Christian believer, but from that of the unbiassed scientist.

Let us briefly trace the trend of this growing sympathy on the part of science, within the last few years, towards belief in a future existence for the individual. It is itself a beautiful illustration of the process of evolution.

Sixty years ago, an English scientist, by a very simple experiment, made a discovery which Professor Huxley himself described as the greatest of all discoveries of the nineteenth century. The experiment was this: By letting drop a weight of 772.55 pounds one foot in a body of water, Dr. Joule found that the temperature of that water to the extent of one pound, was increased exactly one degree, Fahrenheit. A very simple result, and yet that experiment opened up the way to the discovery of the law of conservation of energy, according to which energy may and does constantly change its form, but never perishes. The energy of motion passes into the energy of heat, heat engenders steam, steam changes into electricity, electricity into light, and in a hundred different ways the great forces of the world are in a constant state of transition; but they never perish. What we call "death" is not annihilation, it is only a change of energy. Decay is simply the breaking up of life into new and more multiplied forms of life. The latest science recognizes at least nine different forms of energy into which a single force may pass and re-pass without diminution or loss. That, of course, is the great discovery of modern science, that energy may be transformed from one form into another, may be transferred from one body to another, but cannot be destroyed.

Not immediately was the bearing of this scientific law on the doctrine of immortality recognized. And yet, as the mind adjusted itself to the almost protean forms of energy, it became apparent that life itself, which is the highest form of energy we know, must inevitably become subject to this law. Death, when it touches a human life, is not destruction of energy, it is simply a change through which life passes into some new form of activity. Your candle, for instance, burns down to the socket and, after a flicker or two, goes out. To the eye of sense, that is the end of your candle, and it has been used over and over

again as the image of death. But, according to the law of the conservation of energy, the light and heat of that candle are not lost. They have passed into other forms of energy more subtle but not less real. A log is slowly consumed upon the hearth until nothing remains but a heap of filmy ash, but the light and energies of that log are not lost. The life, which was in the tree, deposited in that log certain forces, and the fire has liberated these forces in other modes of activity. The whole universe, in fact, is a vast area of ceaseless, indestructible energy, of which life is the highest type.

Within the last half-dozen years, science has emphasized still another fact, namely, that, the more powerful a force is, the less visible it is to human sight; the less susceptible of recognition. The energy of radium, for example, is so tremendous, that the hundredth part of a grain of radium dropped into its own weight of water will change the temperature of that water from the freezing-point to the boiling-point in a single hour. It is, of course, admitted that this does not prove the immortality of the individual soul by any means; but it does prove the indestructibility of life. Religion has surely gained a magnificent trophy from science when science tells her that life is an indestructible element in the universe. Life may and does change its form every moment, but life itself cannot perish.

At this point, the obvious objection suggests itself, that the indestructibility of life is one thing, but the immortality of the personal soul is quite another. How do I know that this personal self of mine, this bundle of energy which constitutes Me, will survive the shock of death? The life that I share in common with my fellow creatures may be indestructible, but what about myself, who simply possess life for an uncertain period? That, of course, is the very heart of the problem. And yet, once more, an appeal to what has come to be one of the most commonplace axioms of science may cast some light upon this aspect of the question. Modern science has not only committed itself to the indestructibility of energy, but also to the law of the persistence of energy. What, then, is the most persistent thing we know, the thing that in the face of constant change never loses its essential unity and identity? That highest form of the persistence of energy is our personality. Personality is the most persistent form of energy we know. Think, for example,

of the changes through which year by year the body passes. It is a commonplace of medical science that, every seven years, every particle of matter in the body—fibre, bone, muscle—is completely changed and renewed. Every moment the body itself is in a state of conflagration, the carbonic-acid gas burning the waste material and the oxygen renewing it through the blood. No change can be more constant or more complete than that through which the physical body of each individual passes, and yet its identity remains essentially the same. Or, again, think of the changes in experience through which an individual passes. Take, as a simple illustration, a poor street Arab with scarcely a rag to his back; untaught to read or write, he presents the picture of absolute want and ignorance. But, in the course of years, that street waif wins his way upward to success, and, after many startling experiences, becomes at last the millionaire, commanding every luxury and comfort which money can buy. No contrast in circumstances could be more complete, yet it does not destroy the personal identity of the street Arab. The boy survives in the millionaire. His character is changed, his tastes are changed, new habits have been formed; but this mysterious, persistent thing we call “personality” abides through all change.

If, therefore, John Brown at seventy years of age has had no fewer than ten complete changes of body in the course of his existence, and has passed through all kinds of mental and moral and spiritual experiences—from that of an innocent child to a libertine, from a libertine to a drunkard, from a drunkard, through conversion, to a saint—and yet remains through it all the same John Brown, what authority has any sceptic to say that at death, which in itself is the simplest and the least complicated of all changes, the soul of John Brown dies and there is the end of him? How does the sceptic know? A denial without proof is no better than an assertion without proof. At best, the probability is as great one way as the other. It would be strange, indeed, that personality—the highest, the most persistent, the most intelligent form of energy we know—should be the one exception in the great law of the conservation of energy, according to which energy cannot perish.

Of course, all this does not answer another difficulty which, for many people in these days, stands in the way of accepting

the truth of personal immortality. The intimate and, so far as we can judge, the absolute connection between the soul and the body presents a bewildering condition. The mind, as we know it, reflects every physical change of growth and maturity and decay. A violent blow on the head will not only weaken a man's intellectual strength, but change his whole moral character. If, therefore, the brain and body are so vitally connected that a decaying body reflects a decaying mind, what proof is there that a dead body should be able to liberate a living mind? The question and the objections it raises are old. A century ago, the case was boldly put when we were asked to believe that the brain secretes thought as the liver secretes bile. According to that theory, consciousness, with its mysterious convolutions, is but a function of the brain, just as bile-making is a function of the liver: with the death of the liver, bile ceases; with the death of the brain, thought dies.

What answer does science give to this last objection? The answer lies in the meaning of the word "function." What do we mean when we speak of thought as a "function" of the brain? As Professor James properly points out, there is a twofold kind of function, "productive" function and "transmissive" function. Steam is a produced function of the teakettle; light is a produced function of the electric circuit. In each of these cases, the functions of steam and light are produced or engendered by their appropriate sources. But light shining through a stained-glass window is a transmitted function. A colored window does not produce light, it merely transmits it, and, in transmitting it, colors the light with its own individual hues. Music issuing in tones of heavenly beauty from an organ is a transmitted function. The organ does not produce the music, it merely transmits it, and in transmitting it gives to the music a certain individuality of expression peculiar to the organ. If Paderewski were placed before an old crazy spinet, with half of its notes jangled and out of tune, it is possible that some wise people would shake their heads and say that Paderewski's genius was gone; he had lost his art and his day was passed. But place Paderewski before a perfectly equipped modern piano, and in an instant the old power would manifest itself in tones of luscious sweetness. So it is not an unfair inference to believe, that the brain is not the producer, but rather the transmitter, of thought.

The function of the brain is transmissive rather than productive. And, although at times the soul does outlast its physical apparatus, who cannot believe that through death the soul will be introduced into new modes of life and energy?

What has the teaching of the New Testament to say to this trend of scientific thought? In the first place, the New Testament stands with science for the great fact of the indestructibility of life. Everlasting life is the special revelation and peculiar promise of the New Testament. In the second place, the New Testament stands for the scientific law of the conservation of energy. "It is sown in weakness, it is raised in power. It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption. It is sown a mortal body, it is raised an immortal body." Life changes its form, but it is not destroyed. Finally, the New Testament stands for the doctrine of the transforming power of death. Death, in the New Testament, is but a sleep in which the wearied powers of nature are renovated. And man, on awakening from the sleep of death, enters into the power and richness of the life immortal. In these ways, science and religion seem to be coming together in recognition of the most glorious and inspiring truth that human thought can grasp, the immortality of the individual soul.

DONALD SAGE MacKAY.

THE NATURALIZATION OF JAPANESE.

WHAT IT WOULD MEAN TO THE UNITED STATES.

BY K. K. KAWAKAMI.

I.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, in his message to the past session of Congress, recommended that an act be passed specifically providing for the naturalization of Japanese who come to this country intending to become American citizens. This recommendation has aroused little interest among the Americans: the newspapers and magazines have given it but cursory comment; the Western politicians have dismissed it as absurd and impossible, while their Eastern colleagues have seemed unwilling to make it a topic of serious discussion. Perhaps this suggestion of the President's failed to draw the attention it deserved, because it came at a moment when the nation's interest was focussed upon an unfortunate question which had been brought into undeserved prominence—the San Francisco school “incident.” To the Japanese, however, the question of naturalization is more vital and of greater significance than the school question in San Francisco. If the Mikado's subjects should resent even the segregation of a handful of their children into special schools in but one locality of America, why should they not be provoked more deeply by a law which indiscriminately classifies them as “undesirables,” regardless of their individual character, achievements, or social standing, thus summarily denying them the right to become American citizens not only in one locality, but throughout the entire Union?

The Japanese in America object to such a law the more strongly, because it affects not only their honor as a race, but their material interests. Many a Japanese has established considerable business in this country; not a few have become prosperous

farmers, cultivating large tracts of land. And yet, except in a State or two, no Japanese can lawfully own landed property, because in most States the alien enjoys but limited property rights. Among the Japanese in America, furthermore, are men who, while at home, played important parts in the political movement, and who are keenly alive to all vital political issues in this country; among them, members of the faculties of several American colleges; among them, such scientists as Dr. Takamine, whose chemical discoveries are highly appreciated by all specialists; among them, writers and authors whose names are not only widely known in their native land, but are frequently seen printed in American publications. It is such Japanese as these who are most anxious to see the naturalization laws of this country so amended as to qualify them to enjoy the unlimited rights and share the full duties of American citizenship.

Arguments advanced against the naturalization of Japanese are mostly superficial, being founded neither upon the careful study of the naturalization laws now in force, nor upon the close investigation into the real status of the Japanese population in America. In the examination of such arguments, we may overlook the somewhat sensational utterances of such stark antagonists of the Japanese as Mr. Tveitmoe, President of the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League, and, I regret to say, Representative Kahn, of California; what we are concerned with here is the opinion prevailing among those rational-minded Americans who are able to look at this question more broadly and judiciously.

It is asserted that the United States, while willing to receive Japanese laborers to develop its natural resources, is not ready to admit them to citizenship, and accord them the privilege of voting. But are Japanese laborers willing to become American citizens and remain permanently on this side of the water? Are they not merely birds of passage, anxious to return to their birth-place as soon as they have saved what they consider a competence—a modest sum of several hundred or a thousand dollars? It is further contended that, should the United States open to the Mikado's subjects the door to citizenship, the country, and especially its western coast, will soon become overrun by a horde of ignorant citizens. Are the existing naturalization laws impotent to bar out aliens who are morally and intellectually backward? Do not the laws reserve to the authorities an ample power

of discrimination in naturalizing immigrants? Let us consider these questions in detail.

II.

The question, "What class, and how large a portion, of the Japanese in the United States will become American citizens, in case the right of naturalization is extended to them?" is a question which cannot be answered without venturing upon a statistical study as to the number and occupations of the Japanese in America. Unfortunately, our efforts to reach an accurate conclusion on this point are beset with difficulties, inasmuch as statistical data available for our inquiry are deplorably inadequate.

The United States Census of 1900 has already become archaic, while the annual report of the Commissioner - General of Immigration throws but little light upon this question. Turning to Japanese sources, we find that the official statistics for 1904 prepared by the Japanese Government places the total number of the Japanese in America at 29,405, while the "*Sekai-Nenkan*" for the same year, compiled by Mr. S. Ito, the foremost statistician of Japan, estimates it at 38,934. Not only are these two totals conflicting, but they are undoubtedly smaller than the actual figures. The latest and, perhaps, the best available statistics are found in the annual census of the Japanese consuls in America for the year 1906. The Foreign Department of Japan divides the United States into four consular districts—the Seattle district, comprising Alaska, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Wyoming and Montana; the San Francisco district, comprising California, Colorado, New Mexico, Nevada, Arizona and Utah; the Chicago district, comprising Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Wisconsin, Michigan, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Ohio; the New York City district, comprising the rest of the United States. Now, at the beginning of 1906, there were 14,190 Japanese (13,377 males, 813 females) in the Seattle district; 31,092 (29,386 males, 1,706 females) in the San Francisco district; 1,860 (1,755 males, 105 females) in the Chicago district; and 2,456 (2,358 males, 98 females) in the New York district, aggregating 49,598, of which only 2,722 were women.

The actual number of the Japanese in America is, no doubt, considerably larger than this total; but for

our present purpose let this estimate suffice, for the main aim of this inquiry is to ascertain, not so much the total of the Japanese population, as the proportion to that total of those Japanese who are likely to become American citizens. Presuming, then, that 49,598 represents the approximate total of the Japanese in America, we shall proceed to inquire how many of this total may be expected to sever allegiance to the Mikado's Empire and swear fidelity to the Republic.

In carrying on this inquiry, it behooves us to analyze the Japanese population in the United States by occupation, inasmuch as the question whether or not a Japanese immigrant will stay permanently in this country largely depends upon the nature of vocation he pursues. A railroad laborer or a farm-hand, for instance, almost invariably returns home after several years of toil, but a successful storekeeper or a prosperous farmer would rather stay in this country and be naturalized. The consular census for 1906 above mentioned gives some information as to the kinds of occupations in which the Japanese in this country are engaged; yet it is impossible to draw an accurate conclusion from this information alone, because not only do the four consulates, which prepared the census, follow different systems in the classification of occupations, with no cooperation among them, but the classifications thus made are so crude that they are of little assistance in our inquiry. The writer, however, has long been interested in an investigation along this line; and, through his personal observations and investigations during several years of his sojourn on the Pacific coast and its adjacent States, in the South and Middle West, and in New York and other States on the Atlantic coast, he is enabled to modify, elaborate and alter the statements in the consular census, and form a rough idea as to the numbers of his compatriots pursuing different occupations in this country.

We have seen that according to the consular census the aggregate number of the Japanese in America is 49,598. We will classify this population roughly into the following eight groups: (1) students and officials, (2) professionals, (3) merchants and their employees, (4) farmers, (5) farm laborers, (6) railroad laborers, (7) domestic laborers, and (8) miscellaneous laborers. Applying this classification to the Japanese population in each consular district, we obtain the figures in the following table:

	San Francisco District.	Seattle District.	Chicago District.	New York City District.	Total.
Officials and Students.....	617	110	131	120	978
Professionals.....	191	84	35	100	410
Merchants and Employees...	1,909	1,404	238	500	4,051
Farmers.....	1,400	230	60	10	1,700
Laborers:					
Farm.....	20,000	1,517	190		21,707
Railroad.....	2,000	5,029	442		7,471
Domestic.....	3,500	3,151	124	708	7,483
Miscellaneous.....	1,475	2,665	640	1,018	5,798
Total.....	31,092	14,190	1,860	2,456	49,598

Of these eight classes, students and officials might well be left out of consideration, since they all expect to return to their native country. It is also safe to say that farm, railroad, domestic and miscellaneous laborers will contribute very little, if at all, to the total of American citizens. They are birds of passage, ever longing for their old home across the water. Unlike many European, and especially Slavic, immigrants, the Japanese immigrant has not burned his bridge behind him, disposing of his all before leaving his native place. On the contrary, he still retains his modest old home, with its few acres of rice-field and its patch of fastidiously cultivated garden; there the spirits of his ancestors still rest in the ancient family sanctuary, and his wife and children are awaiting his return. In his travels in this country, the writer has come in close contact with many laborers of this class, and he feels warranted in stating that they are all anxious to return home as soon as they have saved a modest sum with which to improve materially their lot in life.

Now, we must consider the remaining three classes, viz., professionals, merchants and their employees, and independent farmers—classes which are more likely to become naturalized than those already noted. We have seen that there are 410 professionals, 4,051 merchants, including employees, and 1,700 farmers. The class of professionals includes scientists of wide reputation, like Dr. Takamine, lecturers and instructors connected with American colleges, artists and designers, the staffs of Japanese newspapers published in various parts of this country, and physicians, clergy and teachers working almost exclusively among their fellow countrymen. As to the class of merchants and their employees, it is difficult to know just how many of 4,051 are merchants; but we are not perhaps straying far from the truth in estimating their number at 1,000, making the remaining 3,051 represent the total of their employees. This distinction

is important, because it is the merchants rather than their employees who are likely to become American citizens. It is, however, among the farmers that we find most of those who are anxious to see the Federal laws so amended as to accord them the full rights of American citizenship.

Thus, excluding all Japanese least likely to be naturalized, we have at present 3,110 Japanese in the country (410 professionals, 1,000 merchants, 1,700 farmers) who will, when the right of naturalization is extended to them, probably convert themselves into members of the Republic. The writer, of course, does not predict that all of these 3,110 Japanese will renounce allegiance to their fatherland, any more than he claims that there will be no candidate for American citizenship in classes other than those of professionals, merchants and farmers. Presuming, however, that 3,110 out of the aggregate of 49,598 may apply for naturalization certificates, we reach the conclusion that only six per cent. of the total Japanese population now in this country constitute a body of possible candidates for American citizenship. What loss will this country suffer in naturalizing such a comparatively small number of industrious, intelligent, even intellectual Japanese? What danger, indeed, will there be in giving them the privilege of voting? Have they not come from a country where a local self-government and a constitutional government have been successfully practised for a score of years? Does not America allow even Russian peasants to cast the ballot after a few years of residence—peasants who, long oppressed under an absolute government, have no knowledge of the working of a free government until they come to this country? Surely, Mr. Roosevelt's suggestion in regard to the naturalization of Japanese ought not to be ignored, as it unfortunately has been.

III.

I have stated that only a small number of Japanese will swear allegiance to the Republic; that such Japanese will be recruited from among the best classes of the Mikado's subjects; that ignorant and undesirable laborers care to remain in this country no longer than is necessary to save a modest sum of money. But, supposing that there are some laborers of the lower class who are desirous of becoming American citizens, are the present naturalization laws powerless to discriminate against such applicants?

The writer is inclined to think that the laws, if executed strictly, are adequate enough to cope with such a case.

The new naturalization law, which went into effect September last, is doubtless a great improvement upon the old law, its provisions being couched in such elastic terms as would enable the naturalization authorities to prevent the admission into citizenship of those aliens who are morally and intellectually unfit to become members of the Republic. The law provides that no alien unable to speak English shall be naturalized; that an alien applying for a naturalization certificate must prove that he has resided continuously within the United States for five years at least, and within the State or Territory where his certificate is to be obtained one year at least; that he must also make it appear to the satisfaction of the authorities that during his residence in this country he has behaved as a man of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the Commonwealth, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the Republic, which statement must be verified by the affidavits of at least two creditable witnesses who are American citizens. It will, therefore, be seen that there is much room for the naturalization authorities to employ their own discretion and judgment in their efforts to maintain the moral and intellectual standards of the American nation by preventing the naturalization of undesirable aliens. The educational test, for instance, may be so employed as to bar out almost all Japanese laborers, for it rests entirely with the authorities to decide how well an alien must be able to speak English to be admitted as an American citizen. As a matter of fact, the majority of Japanese laborers do not speak English, while some possess but a smattering knowledge of the language.

Again, the moral test provided in the law is as flexible as the educational test. The court reserves the power to withhold the naturalization certificate until it is convinced that the statement made by the candidate for citizenship as to his moral character is genuine and sincere; in fine, it entirely depends upon the discretion of the court whether or not an alien can be regarded as morally wholesome. In the face of these provisions, the conclusion seems natural, that, in the event of the abrogation of section 2169 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, restricting those admissible to American citizenship to aliens of the white

race and of African nativity, there will be no danger of the United States becoming infested by the undesirable classes of Japanese immigrants—a conclusion which has also been reached in considering this question from a statistical point of view.

To those Japanese who are desirous of being admitted to American citizenship, the amendment of the naturalization laws after the President's recent recommendation is a matter of urgent concern. Small in number, they are the flower of the Japanese population in America. In his travels in this country, the writer came in contact with many such Japanese. At Seattle there lives a most interesting farmer, Mr. Yamaoka by name, who in the early days of the New Japan played an important part in the liberal movement under the leadership of Count Itagaki; among the rice-growers in Texas is found Mr. Saibara, who, while at home, was a lawyer of high standing, president of a college, and member of the House of Representatives; in New York, the well-known chemist, Dr. Takamine, is busy in his laboratory working at his new discoveries; in New Jersey, there lives that brilliant writer in English, Mr. Adachi; in New Hampshire, Dr. Asakawa, author of "*The Russo-Japanese Conflict*," occupies the chair of Oriental History in Dartmouth College. To enumerate all the representative Japanese in America is alike impossible and superfluous; suffice it to say that these are men who are most anxious to see the present naturalization laws so amended as to render them justice, believing that the laws as they stand not only cause them many inconveniences, but subject them to needless indignities. Unlike the other classes of Japanese immigrants, most of these Japanese—merchants, farmers and professional men—have brought their wives with them, while some are married to American women.

Far from being clannish, the Japanese in America endeavor to adjust themselves to their new environment, mingling with their American cousins as freely as circumstances allow. In no city have they established their "*Chinatown*" or their "*Ghetto*," grouping themselves into an exclusive community.

It has been asserted that the Mikado's subject is so irrevocably wedded to his native country that he will never become attached to his adopted country—an assertion with which Senator Perkins and Representative Kahn in particular have lately taken pains to impress Americans. To such a generalization as this, the Japa-

nese in America have but one reply to offer: "Only give us the rights of American citizenship, and you will see what sort of citizens we shall make." What more, indeed, can they say, when they have never been given an opportunity to prove their fidelity to the Republic? No immigrant, unless he be from a degenerate state, enters the threshold of a foreign land without at first cherishing some sense of pride in his own country—without, indeed, the determination that he shall never permit anything to obliterate his love for his fatherland. With all his intense patriotism and his deep love for the Land of the Rising Sun, the Mikado's subject is, after all, not unlike the subject of the Kaiser, who, emigrating to the United States, becomes in a few years an enthusiastic admirer of his new country, ready to defend everything American. It is unfair and unmanly to close to him the door to Americanization, and declare that the son of Nippon is inherently incapable of becoming a faithful member of the Republic.

K. K. KAWAKAMI.

THE ESPERANTO MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA.

BY E. J. DILLON.

THE story of the progress made by the artificial language Esperanto in the Empire of the Tsars is largely interwoven with the history of Russian culture and politics for the past twenty years. Knowing the one thoroughly, you could sketch the other approximately. One can now see that the ups and downs of the movement inaugurated in favor of the new idiom were the outcome of the intellectual and political conditions of the time and people. For years it was very up-hill work to interest the thinking classes in a language without any past, with a dubious future and useless in the present as a weapon against the autocracy, while it was almost impossible to convert the active hostility of the Government into benevolent neutrality. The connivance of individual officials was the utmost the Esperantists could hope for. Every innovation was looked upon by the authorities with suspicion, and every new society, although, of course, it was sanctioned by the Ministry, was watched vigilantly by the police. In a land where hectographs and typewriting machines were sold with greater precautions than pistols or poisons, a language invented in order to facilitate communication between peoples of different tongues would naturally be treated as an invention of the Evil One. And that was the primary aim of the idiom which its author called Esperanto.

In any case, the policy of the old autocratic régime was to keep the elements of the population divided among themselves, not to allow them to become united. Nothing was feared more than union, cooperation.

The Government, therefore, frowned down the movement, with the result that for years there was no Esperantist society in all Russia, but only individual students of Esperanto, just as there

are no Masonic lodges in the Tsardom, but only individual free-masons. Among these students were a man of letters named Zinovieff, who resided in southern Russia, and a priest named Dombroffsky, who is professor at the Roman Catholic Academy in St. Petersburg, and has rendered important services to the cause. But the persons without whose cooperation little or nothing could be done were men of political influence, men who could persuade the authorities to spare where they would otherwise have killed. And the number of these was three: M. Von Wahl, a relative of the City Prefect, M. Kanaloski Lefleur and a member of the Academy of Sciences. It was owing to the intercession of these enlightened men that the Ministry authorized the formation of the first Esperantist society in Russia, which was also the first in the world. That was on the 5th of April, 1892. At first a relatively large number of adherents joined. It was a new craze, and people were attracted to it. But many of them viewed it solely in that light and never spent an hour in learning the language. The organization of the society was also very imperfect, and the number of its members able and willing to propagate Esperanto was few.

Moreover, it was well-nigh impossible to arouse enthusiasm or maintain at a uniform level the industry of those who were really interested in the work. For Esperanto had little or nothing to offer them. The writings of Dr. Zamenhof, it is true, existed and were ultimately allowed by the Censure Committee to circulate in Russia, but very little else. Regarding the language as a means of hatching conspiracies against the autocracy, the Committee of Censure refused to permit Esperantist works to be printed in Russia or to be imported from abroad. The explanation which they offered of their conduct would make an American smile, but it was quite conclusive to a native. "We have no official who understands that language, and as we cannot oblige any one to learn it, we are unable to sanction works which may be atheistic, immoral or revolutionary." Still, the influential friends of the cause persuaded the authorities to stretch a point from time to time in its favor, but the result was barely sufficient to keep the movement from utter stagnation. Those who mastered the language and could speak it fluently got no real benefit from it. For the circle of persons with whom it enabled them to converse was very narrow, both in and out of Russia, while the number of

foreign books which it enabled them to peruse was extremely small.

Something, however, was being done abroad. In the year 1889, Dr. Zamenhof founded an Esperantist journal in Nürnberg which had great vogue in Russia. It is computed that fully three-fourths of the subscribers to this organ were resident in the Tsardom, and their interests were borne in mind by the editor. Thus he occasionally translated a short article by Count Tolstoy and published it in his magazine. But having, in April, 1895, printed a translation of one of the forbidden writings of that novelist, Dr. Zamenhof's organ was expressly prohibited in Russia, whereby he lost two-thirds of his subscribers. After that the Russian Esperantist movement slackened its pace very considerably, and many feared it would die out altogether, when unexpectedly a new filip was given to it by a favorable report on Esperanto read in 1901 before the Paris Academy of Science by M. Sebert, which attracted attention, aroused wide-spread interest, and being translated into Russian, moved the authorities temporarily to modify their attitude towards the members of the society. From that time onward the cause of Esperantism was permanently, if only slightly, strengthened in the Tsar's dominions, and although the Censure Committee remained true to its traditions perceptible headway was made, and the ground won was never lost again.

The next impulse came also from abroad. In 1904 one of the most prominent Esperantists in Russia, struck with the rapid conquest made by the language in England, resolved to impart a new spirit to the movement. Dr. Asness, a young physician of promise and enterprise, undertook the mission, and like most idealists had first to find a fulcrum for his lever. It was a labor of love. Money has played no part whatever in the Esperanto propaganda. Ardor for noble aims has accomplished much, and what that failed to achieve was wholly dispensed with. A moderate-sized room in the doctor's flat in St. Petersburg harbored the representatives of the movement whom he had summoned from all parts of the Empire to listen to his proposals. They first elected Professor Dombroffsky and their energetic host to the posts of President and Secretary, respectively, of the society in Russia. That done, the meeting empowered Dr. Asness to draw up a petition to the authorities asking for permission to found and publish a special Esperantist journal. It was a delicate mission,

which the least mistake might turn into a wild-goose chase. At the very threshold the traditional hindrance was encountered—the lack of a censor able to read Esperanto. But this time the doctor was resolved to remove it by hook or by crook. Somebody told him that there was a censor at the Post-Office who was a fluent speaker of Esperanto. “Lubi is his name,” the informant added. “He will be very much interested in the new venture.” Dr. Asness accordingly hurried off to the Post-Office and had an interview with Lubi. The Censor, however, knew no more of Esperanto than of the language of fans, had never read a line of it. But he was amenable and obliging, and quite willing to associate his name with a new cultural movement which bade fair to make its way in the world. He therefore consented to become the Censor of the Esperantist review and to be responsible for it to the authorities on condition that Dr. Asness would be answerable to him and would promise that nothing political or objectionable should be printed in it. The promise was readily made and scrupulously kept, and Lubi, taking a real interest in Esperanto, learned it.

Things were wont to move very slowly in the realm of the Tsars in the unregenerate days of the Autocracy. Thus, although the petition was presented in January, 1904, the authorization to found the journal was not received until February of the following year. And even then it contained irksome restrictions. For example, it prohibited the editor from publishing a column of political news and comments, without which the periodical would be deemed insipid. Alive to this contingency, Dr. Asness had taken the precaution to ask also for permission to have a section in his journal entitled “Miscellaneous,” under which he hoped to smuggle in the political items which were forbidden under the heading “Political.” And in this, after much wrangling and entreating, he was successful.

The issue of the first number of the “*Ruslando Esperantista*,” in April, 1905, marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of Esperantism in Russia. This carefully edited monthly, which is largely a bilingual publication, is distributed gratuitously to members, whose subscription is only \$1.50 a year. From the outset it was a success. It stirred up people’s curiosity, sustained their interest, called forth their efforts in the cause of humanity. During the eighteen months of its existence it has attracted more

recruits to Esperantism than all the books and pamphlets printed during the fourteen years preceding. There was a movement throughout the country, which for fervor and selflessness might be aptly likened to a religious revival. Every post brought piles of letters to the secretary asking him for cards of membership or for manuals of Esperanto. The manuals in stock were bought up in a few days, and orders for more copies had to be sent abroad. The Censor Lubi, in order to save time and trouble, generously allowed them to be addressed to his name. Altogether he rendered many important services to the cause of Esperantism, and the whole society mourned his death, which took place unexpectedly last year. For a moment it seemed as though his loss were irreparable, as if the old troubles might reappear more formidable than ever. But Dr. Asness, vigilant, active and resourceful, at once went in search of a new censor. To Americans the quest may appear as absurd as that of a man for a stick for his own back. But on the discovery of a mild censor depended the existence of the new journal. Happily for the society, the secretary found him in M. Krivosch—Lubi's assistant. This official, curiously enough, possessed a thorough knowledge of Esperanto, which he had mastered ever since Zamenhof issued his first manual. Soon after this the political Reform movement began in Russia, the general strike was proclaimed, the old *régime* was swept away, and whatever other liberties were accorded or withheld, that of publishing the Esperanto journal has never since been called in question. Success and failure, therefore, have been taken out of the hands of the Government and placed in those of the society.

Those are some of the difficulties with which the Esperanto movement has had to cope in Russia. Their force may be gauged by instituting a comparison between the headway made in a free country and the slow advance in Muscovy. Although in 1905 the society had had a life of thirteen years behind it, during all that time it opened only ten branches in an Empire which comprises one-sixth of the globe, and several of these branches figured mainly on paper. On the other hand, during the eight years' existence of the French society, it possessed no less than sixty clubs and associations for the study and spread of Esperanto.

It is not easy, at the best of times, to edit a periodical in the Tsardom, but during the revolutionary period it was extremely arduous. One never knew what the morrow might bring. And

sometimes it brought great surprises, which, like the temper of the nation, were reflected in the press. The Esperantist organ was also a mirror of the changing times, and after the October Revolution it took to politics quite naturally, despite the express prohibition of the authorities. But the Government connived at the liberty thus taken and sanctioned it by its silence. The magazine then went further and published a translation of the "Workmen's Marseillaise," and the authorities again affected not to see. This year, however, an Esperantist journal issued abroad caused quite a flutter in Russia by giving prominence to a sensational article on the massacre of the St. Petersburg workmen in January, 1905, and to realistic illustrations of some of the most thrilling scenes. The censor duly destroyed the article and the pictures, and lest a worse thing might befall the Russian society, whose members belong to every shade of political opinion, Dr. Asness published an appeal to Esperantist pressmen abroad entreating them sedulously to eschew political comments and news calculated to damage the cause in the eyes of the Russian Government.

The arts of peace rarely flourish in war-time; and the Esperantist propaganda is eminently a work of peace. Hence it suffered during the campaign against Japan and the Revolutionary Movement which followed. Even the staff of the Esperantist review looked upon themselves then as citizens first and as culture-bearers afterwards. And they acted accordingly. But no sooner did the present Cabinet take office and the universities and high-schools resume their normal occupations than Dr. Asness and his colleagues once more put their shoulders to the wheel, with encouraging results. They decided to interest the young generation in the language which would enable them in a short time to converse with foreign workmen as though they were Russians. And that perspective strongly appealed to the students, many of whom are Social Democrats. They took the matter up with energy. One of the most active is a youth named Loiko, whose father had learned Esperanto and had taught it to his children. Loiko delivered a stirring address to the students of St. Petersburg, setting forth the advantages which they might reap through knowing the international language, and urging them to learn and use it as an effective means of spreading their political and social views. Wild enthusiasm was aroused by

Loiko's address. Shortly afterwards another speech was delivered by another student in the Polytechnic Institute. An unprecedented run on Esperanto handbooks marked the practical results attained. All the copies in stock were bought up in a few days. The society, being still in its infancy, had no depots. Book-store, meeting-place and review office are all in Dr. Asness's flat; that is to say, the secretary places his rooms at the disposal of the society. Very soon, however, it is hoped that an enterprising publisher will provide an Esperanto printing-press.

One thousand copies of the monthly journal are printed in St. Petersburg, and although a certain number always remain unsold, Dr. Asness has, and his colleagues have, every reason to be satisfied. For the Esperantist review in France, in spite of the fact that it has been in existence eleven years, comes out in 1,300 copies only. The work of editing, contributing, corresponding and lecturing is done gratuitously. All work is voluntary, and is undertaken with eagerness. Every Wednesday a meeting is held in Dr. Asness's rooms at which members, representing all political factions, many religious denominations, all social grades, come together and compare notes, avoiding topics of a contentious character.

Dr. Asness, now Vice-President of the society, is also the editor of the monthly magazine. He assures me that the number of members who belong to the society to-day is very large, but he could not fix it even approximately. Many people, he added, know the language who have not entered their names on the society's books, because they fear lest the motive of their membership should be misinterpreted. Thus a certain military officer, who is a subscribing member, cannot allow his name to be registered lest he should incur the displeasure of his superiors, while a police officer, who until a few days ago occupied the post of secretary of the society, deemed it his duty to resign his secretaryship owing to an article which appeared in the last number of the review on the Labor Movement and Esperanto. The society, however, is numerous, and is growing rapidly. In a few months the fifteenth anniversary of its foundation will be celebrated in St. Petersburg with a certain degree of solemnity, and then doubtless interesting statistics will be given to the world.

E. J. DILLON.

THE SCIENCE OF TICKLISHNESS.

BY DR. LOUIS ROBINSON.

THERE is a curious parallel between certain branches of physiological research and the work of the archæologist who rebuilds history by unearthing early relics of human handiwork. Usually, as in the examples of remnants of a past age still existing in our bodies, already dealt with by the writer in the pages of this REVIEW, we get little more than stray hints of special habits and traits of our progenitors, just as the antiquary, from the study of some primitive tool or weapon, is able merely to infer some curious point in the habits of the unknown users. At times, however, as I hope to show in the following pages, we light upon a more detailed and continuous record, which may be compared with the successive layers of human relics in the mud of the Swiss lakes, where the old amphibious savages once lived for many generations, or even with the prehistoric inscriptions on clay or stone unearthed from the banks of the Euphrates.

The story which we can reconstruct from an analysis of such nervous phenomena as are summed up in the word "ticklishness" is one infinitely older than any which the archæologist has to tell. Yet, although the history is contained, not in stone or metal, but in a material so proverbially perishable as human flesh, it is probably (owing to the eternal persistence of well-established instincts) more trustworthy than many which have been reconstructed from fragmentary material records; while the gaps which we have to fill by conjecture can be bridged with at least an equal approximation to the truth.

Now, when we are engaged in an investigation of this character, it is necessary to keep in mind one very important law. *Not only every part of our physical frames, but every instinct and appetite, either is, or has been at some past stage of human*

history, necessary to secure the survival or prosperity of the race. In the case of many of our outgrown ancestral traits, it is difficult to prove the application of this law; but in discussing the phenomena of ticklishness, I hope to do so to the fullest extent.

When one has found a suitable little playmate, preferably a child of between three and eight years of age, and commences to tickle it, what happens? In the first place it becomes quite evident that, unless the child is in a playful and responsive mood, it cannot be tickled. If it be unwell, or if a stranger or one whom the child fears or dislikes attempt to tickle it, there is no response except resentment at an unwelcome interference. But as soon as a satisfactory *entente* is established, the little one laughs and wriggles with delight; and, although each movement is an elaborate avoidance of contact, there is a continual invitation to repeat the tickling. Practically all children, in fact, both by word and act show plenty of evidence of enjoyment of the game, and invite its continuance indefinitely. Hence, one may say that there exists a distinct *appetite for tickling*; and this upon close investigation proves to be as marked and real as any of the recognized animal appetites (all of which, by the way, have an *immediate* bearing on the continuance of the individual or the race); and, moreover, has this in common with them, viz., that there are times when desire is strong and gratification great, and there are times when desire is absent and provocation fails to take effect. Like the reflexes associated with the gustatory nerve, which make part of the appetite for food, the activity of which depends upon whether we are hungry or the reverse, the reflexes that accompany ticklishness are intermittent.

In addition to this intermittency, ticklishness possesses one noteworthy and essential characteristic, which may roughly be compared with the rapid alternations of an electric current. The desire is positive and negative by turns. Contact is wished, invited, and intensely enjoyed, up to a certain point. Then it suddenly appears to become distasteful, and is avoided with the whole energy of mind and body. Yet the moment that the too vigorous stimulation ceases, the appetite returns; and so the cycle continues.

Pursue the game vigorously, and our little playmate throws himself down on his back and fences with his limbs to protect the more ticklish parts. When one is dealing with an active

youngster, so much address is shown in these defensive tactics that it is very difficult to touch such regions as the neck, the armpits, or the groin. Many little children will spontaneously attempt retaliation with the teeth, which all the time, be it noted, are bared (in laughter) exactly as are the teeth of young apes and puppies at play.

It is necessary, before proceeding further, to explain that there are several forms of special irritability commonly spoken of as "ticklishness," which, from a physiological point of view, are quite distinct. It is only with one of these that we are now dealing, viz., that which is specially present in early life—when it is plainly associated with a natural desire or appetite which is intermittent, needing the subject to be in a responsive mood, and which is always associated with laughter and play.

The exquisite irritability of smooth or mucous surfaces such as the palate, nostrils, palms, and soles, appears to be of quite a different character, as also does the sense of titillation produced by the movement of a feather, or an insect, among the minute hairs of the skin. The first of these seems to be a provocation to certain appropriate muscular movements, such as grasping, swallowing, sneezing, etc., as is shown by the fact that, when these movements are performed, the special irritability, for the time being, disappears. The second is probably akin to an electric burglar-alarm, warning us of the presence of undesirable parasites.* A further distinction is noteworthy. One has a social significance, the others have not. We can tickle our own palates or feet, and cause intense irritation among the surface hairs with a feather. But no one can get even a smile out of himself—much less peals of convulsive laughter—by going into solitude and tickling his own ribs!

There is one other form of tactile sensibility which is commonly classed as ticklishness, with which we have nothing to do on the present occasion. This is the local sense of gratification which accompanies light touches in the nature of a caress. Apparently, such sensory impulses do not evoke a mechanical muscular response, and therefore they can hardly be called reflexes. The phenomena have, however, a social bearing which is sufficiently obvious; and their immediate utility in the case of animals

* These matters have been discussed at length by the writer in articles on Reflexes and Ticklishness in the Dictionary of Psychological Medicine.

which lick their young (among which may be included one family of the human race, to wit, the Esquimaux) is found in the benefits of cleanliness. Their complex relationship with the affections it is not our business here to discuss, but any student may find some very curious results from such stimulation narrated in the works of the great William Harvey.

Now, let us pay attention for a time to the more ticklish regions of the body, both in man and other animals. These I carefully mapped out after a great many experiments with young children, and every approachable young creature in the London Zoological Gardens, some years ago, when preparing a lecture on "Vestigial Reflexes" which was read before the British Association at Oxford. They are chiefly the armpits and contiguous parts; the ribs, especially where they join the abdomen; the front and sides of the neck, especially just above the collar-bone; the flanks and parts above the haunch-bones; the upper and inner parts of the thigh, over the region known to anatomists as "Scarpa's Triangle"; and on the limbs, the parts behind the knee and in front of the elbow. In a young chimpanzee, exactly the same parts are most ticklish; a baby orang seemed specially sensitive about the neck, but otherwise resembled its higher relatives. The only young gorilla which I had an opportunity of handling was morose and unwell, and could not be got in the mood. It, in fact, behaved very much like a sulky, ill-tempered child who declines to be tickled. Several young Indian monkeys, while agreeing generally with man and the anthropoids, showed a special sensitiveness about the flank. South-American spider-monkeys, and African guenons seemed much less ticklish than the anthropoids, macaques, and baboons; and it was difficult to tell where they were most sensitive. Young puppies and fox cubs are especially ticklish in the region of the neck, flank, and loin, but are less so in the ribs or the parts corresponding to the *axilla*. In kittens it is very difficult to identify the more ticklish regions, but their larger relatives, especially lion cubs, are extremely sensitive about the neck. Kittens behave very much like children in a highly excited state, when the mere approach of the hand to any part of the body causes the same wriggling defensive movements as an actual touch. Such adepts are they in the art of fence that it is practically impossible to bring the finger into contact with anything but teeth and claws.

In young calves and fawns the process apparently gives no special pleasure. They are not responsive, like the young creatures above mentioned, and it is difficult to find any ticklish regions except the loin and flanks. Lambs and kids scarcely respond at all. Young colts showed most sensitiveness between the forelegs and in the flanks; but, in common with all hoofed quadrupeds, they exhibit no "appetite," and very little ticklishness as compared with children, apes, puppies, and kittens. As far as could be ascertained, creatures of a lower order were not ticklish in the ordinary sense of the word; although armadilloes, crocodiles and tortoises, when touched in spots not defended by their armor, at once tried to draw the exposed part into a place of safety. They showed no more pleasure at being tickled than does a sensitive mimosa or a snail.

Three chief points are made plain by these facts. Firstly, all the young creatures which obviously take pleasure in being tickled—which have the *appetite* in a marked degree—are naturally playful, and appear to take a special delight in romps of a rough-and-tumble character, which are essentially mock battles. Secondly, the regions which are especially ticklish and most carefully defended in these games are those which, in a serious fight with formidable teeth or claws, would prove most vulnerable. Thirdly, all these animals, with the exception of man, are armed in this way, and settle their differences by adroit use of such weapons.

Hence a young ape or dog which, in the innumerable sham fights of its youth learns to defend the *axillæ*, where a single bite might sever the axillary artery; the neck, with the carotids and windpipe just under the surface; the flanks, and borders of the ribs, where a comparatively slight tear lays open the abdominal cavity; and the groin, where the great femoral vessels lie close to the skin, would, without doubt, be vastly better equipped for the fierce combats for supremacy in after-life than an animal which had not undergone the same elaborate training. Warfare becomes more and more a matter of education, tactics and strategy, and less a matter of brute force, as the scale of intelligence is ascended. Among the lower orders of animals, whose actions are guided by stock instincts, and not by knowledge gathered from experience, the methods of attack and defence seem very elementary, reminding one of the "one, two, three,

four," of the stage "super" when engaged in a broadsword combat; but, when one comes to examine the fighting methods of brainy creatures, such as dogs and apes (the latter more especially), one is reminded of the elaborate science and address of the skilled fencer. There are innumerable feints and methods of attack, which are countered by a series of guards equally elaborate. Most apes, when fighting, endeavor to fix their long and sharp canine teeth in some vulnerable spot, and then thrust their adversary away with their arms so as to tear out the part seized. It will be seen at once that, supposing such tactics were successful in any one of the regions specified above, a deadly wound would be inflicted. Now, strategy, such as is shown in ape-warfare, depends upon experience, adroitness and adaptiveness and not upon inherent instincts. It must be *learned*; and a young animal which had not the advantage of an education derived from sham fights in early youth would be as helpless, when brought face to face with an experienced foe, as one of us who knew nothing of fisticuffs or sword-play would be if he were pitted against a practised pugilist or fencer.

An inquiry into the special warlike tactics of some other creatures which show a marked degree of ticklishness gives our argument additional support. All the *canidæ* and *felidæ* habitually attack the throat; and, in the romps of young puppies and lion cubs, it seems to be the chief end of the game to "get in" at this spot. Now, the throat and adjoining parts are in these animals markedly the most ticklish regions. There are reasons for thinking that among orang-outangs the same spot is more often assailed in actual warfare than is the case with chimpanzees, and a young orang appeared to be much more ticklish in the neck than a young chimpanzee. All the macaques seem much alike both in their ticklish regions (in which they closely resemble children) and in their manner of fighting. They will manoeuvre and finesse for a long time for an opening, and then spring in and endeavor to grip and tear. The African guenons and their congeners differ considerably from the macaques as regards ticklishness, and I have been informed that in their fighting methods they differ greatly also. They do not fence at close quarters, but dash past one another with lightning rapidity, inflicting ripping cuts with their terribly sharp teeth, which have whetted edges like the tusks of a boar.

Let us return for a moment to the law set forth above as to the evolutionary justification of every organ and faculty. How are we to show that the special sensitiveness to touch known as ticklishness, which is so strongly marked in children and monkeys, has been essential to the welfare of the race?

It will be best to confine our attention for the present to such creatures as are still living the same kind of life as their ancestors have lived for innumerable centuries, and whose natural warlike habits have not been warped by new conditions. The lowest men are much too high for us in this respect; but the higher apes, which, as far as ticklishness is concerned, behave almost precisely like human beings, still settle their differences with natural weapons, and in the primordial way.

In the struggle for existence, the real pinch comes, not when creatures are contending against "natural enemies"—that is, beasts of prey—but when they are striving for precedence among themselves. It is the contest between stag and stag which produces magnificent antlers, and it is the strife for the leadership of the herd which has given rise to the stupendous vigor of the bull. Nature may be said to foment this fratricidal war for her own ends, for it certainly is a powerful factor (perhaps the most powerful) in racial betterment.

Now, it seems to be good law that, whenever a male bird is large and gaudy, or a male mammal strong, pugnacious and well armed—as compared with the females of the same species—an indictment for polygamy will lie. The monstrous strength, brutal temper and huge fangs of the male gorilla tell as compromising a tale as do the teachings of Brigham Young. Laws of morality, however, are proverbially subject to latitude and time; and apparently for the same reason that moved her in conniving at family quarrels, Dame Nature winked at a plurality of wives. It is obviously to the interest of the race, from a purely animal standpoint, that the more robust should procreate the species; and this end among many of the less intelligent animals is attained by brute force and polygamy. Hence we can explain the social habits of deer, cattle and other polygamous creatures, where one powerful male battles for possession of the females, and holds his wives against all comers.

Now, doubtless, this arrangement worked very well until, in the upward march of evolution, some brains grew big enough to

plan and to remember. Then, I venture to assert, there arose an awkward hitch; and ticklishness was evolved to meet the difficulty.

In a community of apes, such as is still found in many tropical lands, presided over by a stalwart and wily patriarch who has won his position by victory in a hundred fights, the whole tribe is as strictly the patriarch's family as is the harem of a Turk. From time to time, of course, there grows up a young ape who in physical perfections excels the existing leader. It is plainly to the interest of the race that his perfections should be perpetuated as fully as possible. But this end can no longer be attained by physical qualities alone, as in the case of such animals as bisons, where, given dogged courage, the issue depended upon the weight of beef at the back of it. The old ape-king is a past master of the art of war according to his kind. He has all the resolute coolness of a veteran, and his big brain is teeming with cunning tricks and memories of innumerable battles. Mere physical superiority, backed only by inherent instincts, has no chance against practice, scientific strategy, and elaborate skill; and he is as much a trained and educated fighter as any member of the Mikado's General Staff. Were some well-known aspirant to contest the leadership with no more training than that possessed by a young bull or elk, a few rounds would settle the matter finally; for, even if he survived, he would probably be so astonished and demoralized by the treatment he had received that he would never resume the fray.

Nature, however, does not send a fine young warrior into the lists to fight her battles in the cause of racial improvements without providing him with adequate mental and bodily training. This he has gained, along with his growth, in incessant tussles with his playmates; for, at his birth, she implanted in him an insatiable passion for rough play, in which the appetite for tickling bore a material part. From his very infancy, he has been an adept at defending his specially ticklish, *vulnerable* regions in mimic war; and much practice has rendered these actions as instantaneous and automatic as the blinking of a threatened eye. He is not demoralized or disconcerted by a knock-down (as we should probably be if we received such treatment at the beginning of a fight), because he has been on his back thousands of times before, and knows as well how to continue the game in

that position as does a wrestler on his hands and toes. His muscles are as fit as those of a prize-fighter, for practically all his play has been part of a system of gymnastic training calculated for this very end—a system more perfect in many ways than any which has been evolved by the intelligence of man. Hence, in muscle, nerve and temper, he goes into his first serious battle magnificently trained and equipped. Hence, also granted his superior physical and moral worth, he comes to his rightful kingdom; and Nature, having got her own way, smiles upon his success.

All this will, I think, be fairly evident to every student of Nature's laws and methods. Its applicability to our own species, however, will perhaps not be so readily allowed. Yet, although the value of ticklishness in the economy of human life may have gone down to zero, seeing that we no longer gain social precedence and many wives by rolling with our rivals in the dust fighting tooth and nail, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that it played a most important part in the affairs of our direct ancestors. How otherwise are we to explain the practical identity of the phenomena in the young child and the anthropoid ape?

Moreover, although man's canine teeth now show no special adaptability for fighting purposes, there are other evidences to be found in our nervous systems as to what their function was in the past. Darwin clearly pointed out that when we lift our lip in a sneer, exposing one or another of the canine teeth to view, we are indulging in what was once a distinct threat of hostilities. We are, in fact, doing exactly the same as does an angry dog or ape when it shows its teeth. Probably there is no more universal habit than that of "setting the teeth" when we are facing a foe or a difficulty in a determined mood, and this can only be accounted for by presuming that it was with these weapons that foes and difficulties were at one time encountered.

Having now shown, by an analysis of its phenomena, that ticklishness is a revelation of man's past habits and history, let us consider what we may learn from the fact that its utility has wholly come to an end. A very brief investigation suffices to show that the time of its disappearance as a necessary adjunct to education must have been one of the most momentous in human history. The old methods of self-defence, so assiduously taught by such means, must have been rendered wholly useless

directly man learned to adapt external objects, such as sticks, stones, to his many needs. Then occurred a revolution even more drastic than that which followed Roger Bacon's discovery, when "villainous saltpetre" exploded the methods of steel-clad chivalry, and sent all its glittering paraphernalia into the scrap-heap. Neither the stab of a spear nor the smashing blows of a stone axe could be warded off by any tricks of fence, however skilful and elaborate, which were part of the old methods of warfare.

Hence we may say that, in the economy of human life, the end of ticklishness was the beginning of art.

LOUIS ROBINSON.

THE DANGER OF NATIONAL ISOLATION.

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THE rise of the United States to the position of a great World Power has destroyed the traditional principles of political equilibrium. There is a growing belief, particularly amongst the Governments of Europe, that this change involves serious problems which, sooner or later, they will be compelled to face.

The people of Latin America have watched the new grouping of international relations with vague apprehension. The European press has lost no opportunity to encourage this attitude by constantly emphasizing the dangers involved in the dominant position of the United States on the American continent. There is abundant evidence that the ultimate purpose in view has been to foster in South America a feeling of distrust toward the United States, which would forever prevent a close understanding between the republics of the American continent. The determined stand taken by the United States in the Anglo-Venezuelan controversy of 1895 was interpreted in certain sections of South America as a step toward the formal declaration of the hegemony of the United States.

The Spanish-American war, the acquisition of Porto Rico, the establishment of a quasi-protectorate over Cuba, and the assumption of responsibility for the administration of the finances of Santo Domingo were interpreted as expressions of a definite and fixed purpose to assert a right of final revision over the international relations of the American republics.

The domestic situation is in many respects extraordinary. Our entry into international politics has been a greater surprise to the people of the United States than to the Governments of

Europe. During the lifetime of the present generation, foreign affairs have occupied so insignificant a place in the affairs of the nation that the situation confronting the Government at the close of the Spanish-American war seemed strange and almost inexplicable. It was difficult for the people to realize that the position which the Government was called upon to occupy was the logical outcome of the extraordinary industrial and social development of the nineteenth century. The country had become mighty, not because of any ambition to play a part in the world's affairs, but by reason of its great economic power and its strategic political position with respect to Europe and the countries of the American continent.

To those who have watched the progress of American affairs since 1898, this gradual awakening to the consciousness of national power and influence has been one of the most inspiring spectacles in the history of the United States. Hand in hand with this consciousness of power, there is slowly developing a sense of national responsibility, which is reacting throughout the public life of the country, raising the standard of civic effort and emphasizing our obligations toward the nations of the earth, especially toward the republics of the American continent.

The fact that the new position assumed by the United States is regarded as a disturbing factor in European politics has created a situation which we can no longer afford to ignore. The old equilibrium has been destroyed, and it will require many years to bring about adjustment to the new relations. The European Governments, therefore, regard the extension of the influence of the United States with ill-concealed concern.

Of far deeper significance, however, is the change of attitude of the people of Europe. While official and diplomatic relations have been of the most cordial character, there is noticeable a growing feeling of popular antagonism toward the United States which the most lavish display of official courtesy has been unable to disguise. Much of this has been due to commercial rivalries and to the fear of the commercial supremacy of the United States. To summarize the situation in a few words, it is evident that we are gradually drifting toward a position of national isolation. Every consideration of national policy dictates that no effort should be spared to avoid a situation which must ultimately become a source of national weakness.

Our relations with the countries of Latin America thus acquire a new significance. Heretofore, the mass of our people have interpreted this relation as purely one-sided. We have been ready, and even anxious, to be of service to our sister republics, but we have taken it for granted that no counter-service could be expected in return. The new grouping of international relations, which the results of the Spanish-American and Russo-Japanese wars have made evident, demands that in the future our international policy should meet, not only with the approval, but with the active support, of our sister republics.

In our ignorance of South-American conditions we have failed to appreciate that, within a comparatively few years, we shall have to deal with Powers of real magnitude in this southern section of the continent. If they distrust us, we shall find our hands tied in the councils of the nations. With their support, a new equilibrium of power—the best guarantee of the world's peace—will be established.

The greatest difficulty which the Government of the United States has had to face in dealing with the new situation has been the unpreparedness of the public mind for the great problems suddenly thrust upon us. In our common schools and universities, little attention had been given to foreign languages and still less to foreign institutions. The fact that the thought of the people was rarely directed to foreign affairs was clearly reflected in the public press, which gave but little attention to these matters. Time and again, it has been pointed out to us that their ignorance of foreign affairs would lead the people of the United States into giving frequent though unwitting offence, particularly in their relations with the Latin-American republics, and would thus tend to make more pronounced the misunderstanding of their motives and purposes.

Immediately prior to the South-American tour of Secretary Root, the distrust of the United States reached its height. There was a well-defined feeling that the Monroe Doctrine was not intended as a safeguard to the American republics, but rather a first step toward the preemption of Latin America as the field for the exclusive influence of the United States. Mr. Root's visit has demonstrated not only that this feeling of distrust can be eradicated, but that it can be made to give way to one of sincere friendship. His remarkable address to the Pan-American Con-

ference and his subsequent speeches in Montevideo, Buenos Ayres, Santiago and Lima are being read and reread by the leaders of thought and action in these countries, and have largely destroyed the feeling of antagonism which has so long existed.

It must not be supposed, however, that the effect of this visit will be permanent if not supported by a sincere effort on the part of the American people to cultivate closer relations with the people of South America. We must overcome certain fundamental weaknesses, which constitute a menace to the development of a better understanding between the northern and southern sections of this hemisphere. The first of these defects is the tendency to interpret South-American institutions in terms of the least advanced of those countries. In our ignorance, we have taken it for granted that the turbulent conditions which prevail in a few of the republics are characteristic of all. We have failed to appreciate the fact that South America offers as many gradations of institutional development as Europe, and that the usual slurring judgment is deeply resented by the more advanced countries.

The second defect is of a far more serious nature, as it involves one of the fundamental traits of our national character. Foreign critics of the American people have often pointed out the spirit of condescension, bordering on contempt, which marks the attitude of the average American toward foreign institutions. The slightest divergence from our form of government is regarded as a stamp of inferiority. American publications constantly dwell on the supposed inability of the people of South America to develop free institutions—a purely gratuitous assumption, which has never been supported by serious scientific investigation. Even in our university instruction, there is a tendency to use the terms “Anglo-Saxon” and “Latin” as expressing the contrast between the ability to establish and develop free institutions and the absence of this capacity.

This loose reasoning is at the bottom of the popular belief that, while the South-American countries may adopt republican forms of government, the actual operation of their institutions will inevitably lead to more or less disguised forms of despotism. The trend of public opinion in the United States, as reflected in the daily press, is followed with the keenest interest throughout South America. No attempt is made to distinguish between the authority of different writers; they are all regarded as ex-

pressing the views of the American people. This unfortunate situation is further complicated by the "missionary spirit" of the American people. In our relations with foreign peoples, we are apt to assume, not only that our political, social and educational institutions are incomparably superior to those of other countries, but that their only hope of salvation is to use our system as a model. We patronizingly point out that they are probably not prepared to assimilate more than the simpler forms of American institutional growth, but that with patience and conscientious effort they will ultimately be able to reach the more complex.

As a rule, we are utterly unconscious of the fact that we are giving serious offence by this "come-and-be-saved" attitude. Our intentions are excellent; but this fact makes it all the more difficult to convince the American people that a number of the South-American countries are developing political and social institutions in no sense inferior to those of the United States, and in every case in closer harmony with their own special needs than any system of transplanting could hope to accomplish. It is evident that, in our relations with the republics of Latin America, we must develop a greater breadth of view, and a capacity to appreciate the value of institutions different from our own. The above-mentioned obstacles to the development of closer relations with Central and South America, while serious, are in no sense insurmountable; and, in fact, the last few years have witnessed the beginnings of a conscious effort to overcome these shortcomings. There still remains, however, a third difficulty, which, if not overcome, will rekindle the feeling of distrust toward the United States and make its eradication extremely difficult, if not impossible. Throughout South America, one hears constant complaint of the business methods of the merchants and manufacturers of the United States. If these complaints related only to the refusal of our manufacturers to give long-term credits and to the general spirit of suspicion and distrust which characterizes their attitude toward South-American merchants, the most obvious explanation would be that these are difficulties incident to the early stages of commercial intercourse. Unfortunately, the complaints are of a far more serious character, involving the good faith and honesty of our merchants and manufacturers. One approaches the subject with some diffidence, not only owing to the delicate questions which it presents, but also

to the fact that there are a number of notable exceptions to the general rule. These exceptions, however, are buried beneath the mass of real grievances of the Spanish-American merchant.

The dishonesty of catalogue descriptions, the wanton disregard of the contract conditions, especially as regards the date of delivery, the insolent indifference to justifiable complaints, are but a few of the counts in the indictment. Considering the treatment which the South-American merchant has received, it is surprising that our commerce with these countries is growing so rapidly. No greater tribute could be paid to the excellence of American as compared with European manufactures. South-American merchants are often anxious to have American goods, but they are conscious of the fact that commercial relations with our manufacturers involve more annoyance and, in certain respects, greater risks than with English, French or German producers. American manufacturers are usually characterized as "*my vivo*," which is a polite way of saying that the foreigner must be on his guard in dealing with them.

The contrast between what may be called our "domestic" and our "foreign" or "export" commercial morality is so great that it is difficult to make the people of these countries understand that, in the United States, good faith and fair dealing constitute the basis of commercial relations to quite the same, if not to a greater, extent than in Continental Europe. No doubt, the explanation of our treatment of foreign merchants is to be found in the fact that American manufacturers have taken little interest in foreign markets. In periods of industrial depression, spasmodic efforts to capture the South-American market have been made; but, with the revival of domestic trade, the American manufacturer loses all sense of responsibility toward his foreign customers, and his attitude seems to be dictated by the rule, "Let them take what they can get." Whatever the effects of this policy on our foreign trade—and it is certain to be fatal, if not remedied—the most serious aspect of the situation is that it creates a general belief that we are not a people to be trusted. We do not realize to what an extent commercial grievances have intensified the feeling of distrust toward the United States. That there is a great national interest involved in the disappearance of this feeling no one will deny.

L. S. ROWE.

THE LOOT AND THE RUIN OF THE FUR-SEAL HERD OF ALASKA.

BY HENRY W. ELLIOTT.

WHEN we received Alaska from Russia, in 1867, we came into possession of a herd of fur-seals which annually resorted to the Pribylov Islands, in the heart of Bering Sea. We did not know at that time that this herd was then the greatest single aggregation of highly organized animal life ever known to savage or civilized men. We did not know that more than five millions of fur-seals were then actually in existence, and "hauled" out on the breeding and hauling grounds of Saint Paul and Saint George islands, upon which the natural law of their lives compelled them to breed, and to sojourn during six months of every year.

We did not know then that the fur-seals which we saw every December, at sea, off the coast of California; then, later, off the Oregon shore; and still later, in March and April, off the mouth of the Strait of Fuca and the forbidding west coasts of Vancouver and Queen Charlotte islands—we did not know then that those fur-seals were the seals of the Pribylov herd, and that they were so appearing at those times and in those places, as they travelled over their annual migration route in the Pacific Ocean from and back to these islands of their birth in Bering Sea.

Various legends about this fur-seal herd of Alaska came to the Smithsonian Institution, during 1869-71, from old whaling captains, Treasury agents and others; these stories were so conflicting and so remarkable that, in order to get precise information from a trained observer, the Institution despatched me to the Pribylov Islands early in April, 1872. I entered upon this task with the preconceived idea that I was going to observe a herd of seals fashioned like the hair-seals, so well known to exist on the ice-floes of the North Atlantic; but, when I got upon the ground, the

wide and startling difference between the two species quickly dawned upon me; and, instead of being able to complete my work and return from the islands at the close of the season of 1872, as I had arranged to do, I had to remain, chained down to its details throughout the entire season of 1872, '73 and '74, inclusive.

Among the many points of surprise and mystery which this herd at first sight presented to me was the immense numbers of seals that appeared on the seventeen breeding rookeries of the Pribylov Islands—how many of these animals? There were nine white men on the islands, associated with the business of the United States Treasury Department, and the lessees; of all the questions which I raised between them over the seals, that one as to the real number of seals in this herd aroused the most interest and the widest difference of opinion. It was utterly out of the question to count those seals; so these men, individually, estimated their numbers all the way from two millions up to ten millions—all of them soberly and earnestly made such estimates, and thought deeply on the problem.

The complete futility of any such method of determining the real number of this wonderful herd quickly struck me. I therefore devised an initial figure for multiplication and division, based upon that natural law of distribution which these animals obeyed implicitly on their breeding-grounds. It is unnecessary for me to detail all of these steps in this writing, since I published them in full, years ago; and, up to date, they have never been successfully denied as to sense or accuracy* by any man, and they never will be.

Those careful surveys of 1872-74 disclosed the fact that, during the season of 1874, at least 4,700,000 fur-seals were in existence on the breeding-grounds of the Pribylov Islands; these figures represent the lowest reasonable computation.

But, at the close of the season of 1906, the official reports of the agents of our Government declare that less than 120,000 fur-seals belonging to the Alaskan herd are now in existence!

What has caused this fearful decimation? A plague? A pestilence? No: nothing of the kind. It is due entirely to the greed, cruelty and avarice of certain men—unspeakable men,

* "Monograph Seal Islands of Alaska": Tenth Census U. S. A., Vol. VIII, pp. 326; 50 pl. 1882. 4to. "Report Upon the Condition of the Fur-Seal Herd of Alaska"; Ho. Soc. No. 175; 54th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 276; 50 plates. 1896. 8vo.

who, shielded and panoplied by imperfect law and regulations, have wrought this loot and ruin of our fur-seal herd of Alaska. It is my purpose, in this article, to describe that work of destruction, and, in so describing it, to place this shameful responsibility upon those measures, influences and persons really to blame.

In 1874, and prior to that date, there was not and never had been any organized work of killing fur-seals at sea by white men: all the slaughter of that life was done on the islands from the date of their discovery by Pribylov in 1786, up to the transfer of Alaska to us in 1867 by the Russians. By excessive killing of the young male seals, from 1817 down to 1834, the Russians had fairly exterminated this herd, so that by the close of the latter season not more than 60,000 or 80,000 seals were left alive! This caused the suspension of all killing on the islands, except a few small seals annually, from 1835 up to 1844. Then the Russians resumed the killing of the surplus young males, gradually increasing the annual catch, so that, by 1857, they safely took 60,000 to 75,000 young males, annually, up to the date of cession to us in 1867; they never took 100,000 annually, at any time. It remained for our people to "improve" upon the Russian killing and "develop the industry" at once, which they did by raising the catch to 100,000 young males annually.

Our acquisition of the islands during 1867 was celebrated in a characteristic way by some of our people, who rushed up there in 1868, and slaughtered over 360,000 young male seals within that season, and they stopped at that immense figure only because their supply of salt was exhausted upon which they depended to cure the green skins for shipment from the islands!

The news of this prodigious killing on the islands during 1868 reached Washington early in the autumn of that year, and Congress was stirred to action. On March 3rd, 1869, the islands were declared a Government reservation, and these land butchers of 1868, and a swarm of would-be butchers like unto them, were barred. After much deliberation, the old Russian plan of leasing the islands for a period of twenty years was finally ordered by Congress, July 1st, 1870, and the Alaska Commercial Company of San Francisco became the lessee, with restrictions and regulations, and a maximum of 100,000 seals *per annum*. On May 1st, 1890, this lease was renewed and awarded to the North American Commercial Company, a new organization.

While there was no organized work of pelagic sealing by white men known in 1874, yet this subject was fully understood, and discussed in certain localities on the northwest coast that season. On the revenue-cutter "Reliance," which sailed under my orders in the summer of 1874, many of the crew became quite eloquent over what a good schooner and Indian hunters could do in the way of taking fur-seals on the high seas.

[The possibility—the probability, rather—of the swift destruction of our fur-seal herd was, thus early, forced upon me during my cruise in the "Reliance." I prepared a full chapter on this subject of pelagic sealing then: a discussion of its practicability, the danger of its effect on the herd: the waste of life it would involve: and the cruelty inseparable from the process, together with a migration track-chart of the annual route of the Pribylov herd in the North Pacific, from the time it annually leaves the islands in November until its return to them in June and July following. But this chapter was omitted from my "Monograph" at the request of Professor Baird, who said it was best to do so then, since no organized work of pelagic sealing had as yet been undertaken; and, in the mean time, the Canadians and our own people of Puget Sound did not know that the fur-seals seen by them every season off the coast of Vancouver and the Strait of Fuca went into Bering Sea, and bred on the Pribylov Islands; therefore the publication of my work would put them at once on the right track, and so set them up in a business which they did not then seriously entertain, owing to this lack of knowledge.

But, by 1884, the business of pelagic sealing as an industry was well under way at Victoria, Port Townsend and San Francisco; in 1886, several Canadian vessels (and ours, too) entered Bering Sea *for the first time*. They now understood that these seals came from the Pribylov Islands and returned to them annually; this discovery gave a great impetus to the business, and scores of cod-fishing and halibuting schooners began to outfit and go after seals.

In 1886 three British sealing-schooners, and two of ours, were seized on the open sea, thirty and forty miles from the Seal Islands, by a United States Revenue Marine cutter, under orders from the Secretary of the Treasury. This is the act which at once stirred up that question, and one which has been agitated ever since: "How shall we save our fur-seal herd?"

The uproar in Canada which followed these seizures of 1886 upon the high seas, supplemented by the outcry of our own American pelagic-hunting interests, caused Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State, to tardily dismiss the suits at Sitka, and release those vessels to their owners, late in 1887. But, before he did so, seven more British sealing-schooners were seized during July, 1887; and, as they too were also killing seals in the open waters of Bering Sea, their outcries were immediately heard at Ottawa. The protests of Canada, now, were simply frantic. The London office persuaded Bayard to disavow the act. He released these vessels, and then began to formulate an international close-time agreement, whereby Great Britain, Russia, Sweden and Norway, France and Germany, were to bind their subjects not to kill fur-seals in the open waters of the North Pacific Ocean and Bering Sea. Mr. Bayard began well: he was well received by Salisbury; he had all but secured the assent of the British Premier, when Canada managed to get hold of certain idle and worthless United States Treasury agents' reports for 1886, '87, '88, which declared that these fur-seals were steadily increasing over their immense numbers of 1872-74! And all this increase, said Canadian officialism, showed that the pelagic hunters certainly did no harm. Salisbury saw the point: he dropped Mr. Bayard at once. That ended the work of Cleveland's first term of office, with Canada easily master of the situation.

When Mr. Blaine took Bayard's place, March 4th, 1889, he imagined that he would be able to make a short and creditable shift to immediate settlement; and he said to an intimate friend of mine that he was glad that Bayard had failed—that he had a better plan of action ahead. The order to seize British pelagic-hunting vessels in the open waters of Bering Sea, which was cancelled by Bayard in 1887-88, was renewed by Blaine, March 9th, 1889: soon thereafter, in July and August of that season, all Canada was boiling over another "outrage of seizure on the high seas." Eight or nine British schooners had been overhauled in and ordered out of Bering Sea, and down to Sitka for trial. These vessels cleared out of Bering Sea quickly enough, but they took their "prize crews" of one man each down to Victoria direct, instead; and then, immediately on arrival there, they just turned loose the wrath of British Columbia.

Salisbury acted promptly: he gave Blaine quite a shock. After

staving off an answer from the 1st of August, 1889, until the 20th of January, 1890, Mr. Blaine finally wrote his famous "*contra bonos mores*" letter in justification of those seizures of 1889. Lord Salisbury came back very promptly, and insisted on a categorical answer to his question of August, 1889, as to whether or no Mr. Blaine intended to again seize a British vessel upon the high seas. Salisbury was safe and right in this demand: our best lawyers and jurists declared that Blaine was in error.

Blaine then issued secret orders to the Revenue Marine officers, countermanding the orders of 1889; copies of these secret instructions were given to the Canadian authorities at Ottawa, who secretly gave them to their own subjects interested at Victoria; our own people had no knowledge of this action until late in the season.

Such a storm of assertion and denial as to the exact status of our fur-seal herd had broken upon the head of Secretary Windom, in March, 1890, that he asked me to revisit and report upon the condition of that life during this season of 1890. I made the trip, and finished my investigation in time to report to him in November. I found the great herd of 1872-74 reduced in number to a trifle more than one million of seals, a fleet of one hundred and twenty sealing-schooners busily engaged upon its life in the water, and one of the greediest of greedy corporations killing it on the islands. I urged the adoption of a *modus vivendi* with Great Britain, whereby our Government should agree to suspend all killing on the islands for seven years if the British Government would enjoin all pelagic sealing by its subjects for the same time; in the mean while, a joint commission of experts was to visit and investigate conditions on the islands, so as to agree upon a proper method of resuming the killing when the time of said *modus vivendi* expired. Mr. Windom cordially approved the proposal: but added the suggestion that, if Great Britain did not unite with us on that *modus vivendi*, it should be distinctly announced to the Canadians that we would repeal the law of 1868, and mercifully step in and kill all the seals on these Pribylov rookeries ourselves, and at once: thus ending at one stroke what otherwise would be cruelly prolonged into the indefinite future.

This *modus vivendi* was, of course, bitterly opposed by the lessees of the Seal Islands and by the pelagic hunters of British

Columbia. The lessees prevailed upon Mr. Blaine, so that he prepared and addressed his fatal, mistaken and mischievous letter of December 17th, 1890, to Lord Salisbury. In that letter, the proposition to submit to arbitration (1) the claim of exclusive jurisdiction over the open waters of our part of Bering Sea, and (2) the claim of a property right in the bodies of all the fur-seals born and bred on the Pribylov Islands, was coupled with the offer to accept from Great Britain a sixty-mile zone of prohibition for all pelagic sealing to encircle the Pribylov Islands—to accept this as an ample measure of protection, full and complete! Not a hint of the *modus vivendi* which Mr. Windom and myself had proposed to him, as above cited, appears in this letter—this letter which led up to the total collapse of our good cause, before the Paris Tribunal in August, 1893.

The result of the proceeding of the Tribunal of Arbitration at Paris was a denial of our claims of jurisdiction in Bering Sea open waters, and of our property-right claim to the bodies of the fur-seals; but, in order to protect and preserve the herd from excessive killing at sea, the Court ordered a series of rules and regulations to govern British subjects engaged in pelagic fur-sealing, as well as our own citizens.

These rules and regulations went into effect on April 24th, 1894, and they have been in force ever since. *They have actually facilitated the destruction of the herd.* They were framed in good faith by the Court, but in sheer and utter ignorance of the real conditions that confronted them. For that ignorance on its part, our agent, counsel and so-called “experts” are entirely to blame; and back of them stands the sinister influence of those lessees who absolutely ruled the wretchedly imperfect preparation and presentation of our case. In brief, the Court saw and heard nothing during that long term of the Paris session (from April 3rd to August 16th, 1903) but a struggle between the interests of our land-butchers and those of the Canadian sea-butchers of this fur-seal life, as to which should gain the most at its hands.

Let the reader pause a moment and think of the following forces of destruction actually licensed by that Court to do the very work which it intended to prevent, and really believed at the time that it had prevented. These rules and regulations permit the British pelagic hunter to engage in his business all

through the year, except during the months of May, June and July; and at no time can he enter within a zone of sixty miles encircling the Seal Islands of Alaska; he is not allowed to use firearms in Bering Sea.

In the spring of 1891, and when Lord Salisbury and Mr. Blaine were sparring over the form of getting into shape for arbitration, my *modus vivendi*, which shut the lessees off from killing on the islands and the pelagic hunters from killing in the waters of Bering Sea, was fairly forced into being over the heads of Mr. Blaine and the lessees by public opinion here, and by the direct personal action of Lord Salisbury and Sir Julian Pauncefoot, who overrode the Canadian opposition. This sudden action drove the combined American and Canadian pelagic-hunting fleet—some 120 vessels and 3,000 men—out of Bering Sea and over to the Russian herd as they found it about the Kommander Islands. This combined and powerful agency of destruction was again driven over, in 1892 and 1893, by the renewal of my *modus vivendi*; but, in 1894, the rules and regulations of the Bering Sea Tribunal allowed it to attack our herd in Bering Sea during August and September, and even into October, *at the very time when it could do the most damage to and inflict the most torture upon that seal life!*

Think of it! The very period of the year when the mother seal and her new-born offspring should be protected from the pelagic hunter, above all other times, was opened to the concentrated and most effective attack of this human butcher. That fur-seal mother bears her young in July, between the 10th and 20th, as a rule; a few days after its birth she leaves it on the rookery ground, and goes to sea for food. The favorite feeding-grounds are to the westward of the Pribylov Islands, between eighty and one hundred miles; here, owing to the sudden deepening of the sea and the meeting of ocean currents, schools of small pelagic fishes gather in vast numbers, and the fur-seal knows it. She easily swims at the speed of fifteen to twenty miles an hour, and, so swimming, she quickly reaches this feeding-goal. She finds her quarry in abundance; feeds to repletion, turns over to sleep in glad digestion, on her back: then, to awaken soon and renew the feast. A day or two passed in this manner upon the fishing-bank, she returns to her young, nurses it, and, a day or two so passed with it, again she speeds back to

those fishing-grounds. In this order of her natural life, the fur-seal mother goes out to feed from the islands during August, September and October, and until she weans her pup and leaves it to shift for itself in November. Thus it is apparent to the reader how the pelagic hunter, by hovering over these fishing-banks, has the opportunity, repeated during the season a dozen times, to kill that mother seal, provided he fails to capture her when she makes her first visit!

One hundred and twenty vessels, in 1894, with three thousand tireless hunters hovering over the small area of these favored feeding-grounds of the nursing mother seals in Bering Sea, all through August, September, and as far into October as the fierce gales of that month will permit—hovering there, and watching for those unthinking victims of their skill and cruelty! For every mother seal “taken in milk” means the death of her offspring from thirst and starvation on the islands: since, save that mother’s milk, it has no other sustenance or means of livelihood from the hour of its birth until it is weaned.

Therefore, bearing these facts in mind, how easy it is to understand what that destruction was — has been, and is — what unspeakably cruel, wicked destruction of that valuable, harmless and highly organized life ensued in Bering Sea immediately after the protection of my *modus vivendi* of 1891-93 was removed by the substitution of the worthless rules and regulations of the Bering Sea Tribunal, April 24th, 1894. It not only mowed down the female fur-seal life, but it was equally potent in destroying the young male seals above one year old, since they, too, feed at frequent intervals, and in the same channels, along with the young females and mother seals.

The “high-roller” season of the pelagic hunter was that season of his first sailing under the rules of this Tribunal in 1894. He found, to his delight, that, in being prevented by those rules from using firearms in Bering Sea, *he was actually aided in his work, rather than retarded*; that the silent, deadly spear was the most effective weapon for him to use on those feeding-banks; a hundred or a thousand of his hunters could work then, all together, and yet never alarm the seals as they came and departed. If firearms had been permitted, then a few guns would soon alarm and drive away hundreds and thousands of seals for every one that they shot while they hovered over these feeding-grounds.

That these facts were not presented by our agents and "experts" to the Paris Tribunal was due to the ignorance of them by those men: they were not equal to the proper conduct of this case, either in making it up in Washington, or in presenting it to the Court. President Harrison was duly warned, in the spring of 1891, of that serious deficiency in these agents and "experts." But he ignored the warning; the lessees were pleased with them: and that settled it in the departments!

When the complete, utter failure of these rules and regulations of the Paris Tribunal to serve the purpose for which they were created was self-confessed by the close of the season of 1894, it became at once apparent, even to the dullest minds, that, unless these rules were revised and amended, the extermination of the fur-seal herd of Alaska was inevitable. That this process of extermination would not only be long drawn out, but unspeakably cruel, was also plain to those who had the slightest understanding of the question. It therefore became an act of mercy and common sense to anticipate that indecent and inhuman slaughter; this anticipation was attempted in 1895 and again in 1898 by the passage of a bill in the House of Representatives: but that bill was defeated in the Senate by the agents of the land and sea butchers of this herd. It mattered nothing to them, this annual exhibition of cruelty and greed, provided they were not interfered with; and, since that time, every attempt made to get a review and revision of the existing shameful order of affairs, licensed by the Bering Sea Tribunal, has been covertly defeated in Washington by the lessees, or in Ottawa by the agents of the pelagic hunters. *They have made no open argument* in defence of their infamous work—*they cannot*; but they have suborned departmental officials, Senators and Congressmen to that end. The result has been that, at this hour of writing, the species is threatened with immediate and complete extinction.

It is also pertinent, in this association, to mention the fact that, had that merciful anticipation of the scandalous work of the pelagic hunters and the lessees been made in 1891, as Secretary Windom advised, that cruel, indecent slaughter of over six hundred thousand nursing mother seals at sea, coupled with the shameful torture by starvation to death of hundreds of thousands of young seals on the islands of their birth, *all this sin and shame dragged through the last sixteen years would have been prevented.*

We have suffered, in addition to that odium resting upon us, a property loss of over \$40,000,000.

If that immense fur-seal herd of 1874 had been in the path of commerce, or blocking the settlement of a new domain, or in the way of railroads or mines and mining, then by the law of our civilization it could not by any reason be suffered to exist. But, it was not so standing: it was confined, by its natural order of life, to a small area of worthless rock and land, and to a desolate waste of sea and ocean. It fed chiefly upon small pelagic fishes that man never has captured, and never will. The buffalo did block the settlement of a new domain; it had to go; there was no alternative. But the case of the fur-seal of Alaska is just the reverse; it should not be abused by us, since, if it were rightly treated, it would live and endure forever, to the great annual gain and good of all mankind.

This small nucleus of our fur-seal herd, as it exists to-day, can be restored to the fine form and immense numbers which I placed on record in 1872-74; it can be so restored only by the joint action of our Government and that of Canada. These authorities can take the hands of the human butchers from the throat of this life: they can suspend all killing on the islands and in the sea for the next ten or twelve years. Then, that being done, those natural powers of recuperation which the fur-seal nucleus of this herd in 1834 exhibited under Russian management will again assert themselves in the immediate future precisely as they did in the past.

Then, too, the result of the proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration at Paris has made it utterly impossible for our Government to serve private interests, and at the same time preserve the fur-seal herd of Alaska from destruction. The decision of that Tribunal has made it improper to attempt any future management of this life by our Government through the medium of private interests: if that is attempted, then the ruin of those valuable public interests is certain to swiftly ensue. Private interests must be entirely eliminated from the situation now and forever, and by so doing, this anomalous and wonderful marine life can be saved, and attain to the full dignity of a subject well worthy of international attention.

HENRY W. ELLIOTT.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

BY CHRISTIAN GAUSS AND CHARLES JOHNSTON.

FLAUBERT'S LETTERS.*

LIKE Victor Hugo, Gustave Flaubert is one of the great Frenchmen of the nineteenth century who have not yet been made the subject of an adequate biography. In their country the force of literary tradition is stronger than with us, and the creators of even the literature of revolt, like Hugo himself, are often more concerned with providing themselves with an unimpeachable genealogy than with vindicating their own departures. A great work gives countenance to a school. Thus Hugo's "*Légende des Siècles*," according to de Banville, is to be the Bible of all later poets, and Flaubert's "*Madame Bovary*" will authenticate a later doctrine of realism. To have become the founder of some such school is the last distinction of an artist. Flaubert has been acclaimed and recognized as one of the first masters of French style, he has been invoked again and again as *chef d'école*; but, curiously enough, piety toward the master has not yet drawn any one of his many and considerable disciples to undertake the labor of love and give us an accurate and consistent account of the gonfalonier's life and practice. The booklet of Faguet, unpretentious, and, in the light of this later correspondence, somewhat misleading as we dare say it is, remains the only serious monument that marks an interest in this literary monk of Rouen.

Flaubert himself had spent a large part of his life in hiding his personality from the crowd. The details of his career he tried sedulously to keep out of print, and avoided publicity as carefully as did Pater. The perfect work of art he believed should tell us nothing of him who made it. It has an existence

* "Lettres à sa Nièce Caroline." By Gustave Flaubert. Paris: Charpentier.

of its own, an independent and a higher life than that of mere man. He was content to know very little about the personality of the artists who appealed to him most strongly, and tells us in his letters, for instance, that when he thinks of Michel Angelo he sees only from behind a great man with lifted mallet, "*sculptant, la nuit, aux flambeaux.*" The rest was a matter of mere curiosity. Such being his attitude and practice, it has been hard to arrive at any really adequate idea of the man. The shadow-graph given by Faguet was to many both unpleasant and unsatisfactory, and the previously published correspondence, written very largely to literary friends, dealt most often only with questions of criticism.

It was doubtless the large, strong face, the deep chest and the attitude of command, taken together with his Norman blood, that had led Faguet in passing to dub him Viking, and from one point of view that designation has its fitness. It would be better, perhaps, to accept rather Flaubert's own characterization of himself and to call him monk, for these letters show him to have been essentially the recluse, one who had renounced the world and its pleasures for art, who sought beauty everywhere and unceasingly, and who gave his life, not without hardship, to her service.

This present large collection of letters to his niece covers the period from the printing of "*Madame Bovary*" to the novelist's death in 1880. To write them he has left the sanctuary, he has descended from the mount. Though the mood is often heavy, the tone is always familiar. Here only does he seem to have really unpacked his heart with words. His priestlike task of creating beauty is, however, always before him; it is his master concern; it is also, when sorrows come and hopes fail, his haven and his refuge: to it he returns eagerly from his little journeys into the world, made to stage a play, perhaps, or for a few brief days to visit a friend. He longs for his little nook at Croisset, where he liked fondly to imagine that the Abbé Prévost had written "*Manon Lescaut*": for his table and his books, for the quiet and the Seine flowing by his window. Yet that highly standardized vocabulary of the French is due to the fact that in France no man works alone. Their literature is the creation of a guild, not like the English the work of isolated master craftsmen. And so, too, in the earlier days Flaubert had often gone to Paris and had been one of that group of litterateurs who dined together at

Magny's. Here met in joyous company, Ste.-Beuve, Gautier, the Goncourts, Gavarni, Bouilhet, Renan and sometimes Taine, George Sand and Michelet. There were wit combats and long, earnest discussions on art that lasted far into the night. But Ste.-Beuve, Bouilhet and Jules de Goncourt were to die in '69; Gautier and George Sand were to follow not many years after, and the poverty that Flaubert willingly incurred by surrendering his fortune to help his niece left him a broken-spirited man, alone with his work at Rouen. In the later years he no longer had either the desire or the means to travel. The fairly frequent visits of Turgenev, here always spoken of as the Muscovite, were to be his only holidays. For although Flaubert was never rich, art for him had always been an end in itself. He did not write for pay, he did not even care for any financial reward, and he received astonishingly little. His work was entirely disinterested, more so than that of any artist of his century. So after having slaved for six years on "Madame Bovary," and having finished it at last, he does not wish to allow it to be published, and only yields finally to the entreaties of his mother and of his friend Bouilhet. He regrets bitterly later that he ever gave his book to the public, for it is not, he writes to his niece, a question of succeeding, it is a question only of perfecting one's self. Art, too, is above the masses, the bourgeois cannot understand it, and he hates them therefore, dearly, violently. One need but mention them and Flaubert sees red. The mere thought of them makes him break into invective. They are "*gigantesquement assommants et pyramidalement bêtes*." He thinks of art's Golden Age, and mourns because "there are no longer now any of those artists of other days whose life and mind were only the blind instrument of the appetite for the beautiful." For Gautier alone he has an unreserved and tremendous admiration, but even this is tinged with the regret that he should have to work himself out in the journalistic treadmill, and when that word-mage dies he is sure, he is convinced, that modern stupidity, *la bêtise moderne*, has suffocated him.

Literature as the art of expression in the medium of words, for that is about all it meant to Flaubert, was never consciously carried higher. Those sonorous paragraphs ending always in the resolving lyric phrase perfectly cadenced and ringing out clearly like three little notes of Mozart did not come easily. The secret

of this rich music was long and ceaseless labor, a process of endless experimentation. He never learned to write fluently; his last book costs him more vigils than his first. He begins the construction of his novel with a long period of incubation, in which every detail of the plot is fixed; then he writes his scenario. a framework, in which he distributes his space: this incident shall have six lines, that one ten, this episode three pages, thus planning his story to keep everything in focus. Then began the long work of writing, the hunt for the right tone, the exact phrase, the proper cadence. By tone he means that elusive quality of style which makes it perfectly adapted to the particular subject treated; it must have a certain tone in describing a Normandy fair, another in describing Hamilcar's gardens, yet another in describing the meeting of two copyists, in 1839, in a Paris street, on a Sunday afternoon. He writes and rewrites chapters, not because he has not clearly expressed his idea, not because the rhythm is faulty, but only because "*cela manque de ton.*" Another point which Flaubert exacted of good style was that the pauses in the rhythm of a paragraph must correspond exactly to the breathing pauses of the reader. If they did not he believed that the work was not within "the conditions of life, that it could not survive." This is doubtless the reason why he so often recited as he wrote. He spends days in reading his pages, and we find him writing playfully, "my lungs are sore from declaiming, and I am sure that I shall some day burst like a bombshell." He chants his work to himself even while swimming in the Seine, and he tells us that often at night the periods which roll in his brain like the chariots of Roman emperors wake him suddenly with their jolts and their long rumble. He has yet other dogmas. Having once found the right word, it must not be repeated on the same page. To meet such requirements as scrupulously as did Flaubert took much time and patience. He never wrote of a detail, no matter how unimportant, without the fullest understanding. To write six lines on a point in botany, he reads three volumes, confers for hours with scientists, and writes three letters of inquiry to others so that he may be perfectly exact. When he has to describe a parrot, as in one of his short stories, for instance, he has a stuffed one sent him.

In these letters we can often follow his progress day by day. Twelve pages, with countless interlineations and erasures, yield

finally but one and a half. In two weeks he has finished three, in four weeks seven. There remain four pages of "*Un Cœur Simple*"; he counts on finishing it in ten days. He is at his desk steadily from noon to past midnight, and the net output of such toil was less than half a page a day. For Flaubert the great thing was not to obtain reward, but to deserve it; unlike his countrymen he cares little for outward distinctions, and refuses on principle to present himself for the Academy when pressed by Victor Hugo. Honors, he writes, dishonor; and if he did create the great pattern novel of the later realists, it was with no idea of pleasing the public, but only because he believed it a valid and final theory of art. The sense of toil, of fatigue, in the letters of the last decade of his life is oppressive. The death of his mother, whose memory he worshipped, was the last great blow. His heart has become a necropolis; he is broken by his sorrows. "The tears that I have repressed are choking me; I have led a lonely and an austere life; I have deprived my heart of its legitimate food. Well, I can do no more—I am outworn, and I open the floodgates." He tries to dull the edge of grief with yet greater toil, with longer vigils. Yet he is eight years at "*Bouvard and Pécuchet*," that is still to be left unfinished; and having written six books in forty years, he was to die, "tired to the very marrow of his bones," at fifty-eight.

As examples of the epistolary style, this last volume of the great novelist's correspondence is disappointing. The letters are not cheerful, are not chatty; we feel that the atmosphere in which they were written was close, and that the writer's life was unrelieved by event or incident: he does nothing but work, he rarely leaves his four walls. To those interested in French literature, however, they are more significant than any existing study of Flaubert, and will be of inestimable value to the writer of that definitive Life which we hope is even now somewhere in the making.

CHRISTIAN GAUSS.

"THE CULTURE OF THE SOUL AMONG WESTERN NATIONS."*

MR. RAMANATHAN reminds one strongly of the great Rammohun Roy, who wrote and spoke so eloquently on the universal spirit of religion a century ago. Rammohun Roy was a Bengali

* "*The Culture of the Soul among Western Nations.*" By P. Ramanathan. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Brahman, of distinguished family and first-rate abilities. Reared in the atmosphere of Old-World Hinduism and thoroughly familiar with the Upanishads, he became interested in the uncompromising monotheism of Mahomet, and learned Arabic to study the Kôran. Buddhism then attracted him, and he went to Nepal to study the Sanskrit texts of the Mahayana school. Later, he was drawn to the Christian teachings, and took up Hebrew and Greek, in order to read the Bible in the original tongues. His best known work, perhaps, is "The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness." Rammohun Roy was also distinguished as a statesman and a reformer. He was entrusted with an important mission to England by the King of Delhi, and it was he who began the great agitation to prevent Suttee—the burning of Hindu widows. After years of toil, he finally accomplished his great aim. Widow-burning was prohibited by law in 1829, the same year in which Daniel O'Connell won complete emancipation for the Catholics of the British Isles.

Mr. Ramanathan's life in many ways resembles that of Rammohun Roy. He is also a distinguished Hindu, of great ability, who has reached high station in his own land, the fair isle of Ceylon. He also has turned from a study of the religious writings of the Orient to the Bible, and has learned Greek, and apparently some Hebrew also, in order to get at the original thought of our sacred writings. And he has completed the parallel by writing this book, whose most important chapter is on "The Practical Nature of the Doctrines of Jesus." His central thought is, that the difficulties in Christianity are to be solved, not by theological learning and disputation, but by inward and spiritual experience; by our experiencing again in our own souls those spiritual realities from a consciousness of which Jesus taught. If we have this experience, all difficulties melt away in light. In a very eloquent passage, Ramanathan describes the spiritual experience to which he appeals: "Who that is given to fervent praying and to silent communion with merciful Providence has not borne testimony to joys which he knew not before? Is it not within the experience of every one who rises above his cares and worldly surroundings and, with attention fixed inwards, beseeches the Divine Spirit to help him on in faith and charity, in goodness and love to all, that he has quivered in limb and faltered in accent, felt himself moved to tears and calmed beyond description in the great Pres-

ence? Descending from that holy region, has he not felt that consciousness, purified of its worldly attachment, is instinct with Peace? Such glimpses of light and joy are assurances of the reality of God. They who have experienced this blissful state require no proof for belief in Him. They want no reasons for such belief, for they are spiritually-minded already."

Here are gentleness, light, sincerity, genuine aspiration, charity. Elsewhere, he describes the inner consciousness, the soul, isolating itself by degrees from sense perceptions and the agitations of thought, and entering in spiritual communion the holy state called Peace, in which "it knows itself to be something different from the senses and the mind; it knows itself to be Light and Love, and thereafter knows God as the Infinite Substrate of all life, the great Upholder and Illuminer of everything that exists in the universe. This is the greatest of all discoveries, the discovery of God to the soul."

Of these two passages, I like the first better. It has more warmth, more of the heart than the head, and comes closer home to him who reads. But both show a pure and gentle spirit, full of faith and genuine happiness in spiritual things. These are excellent qualities, and we may all profit by a closer acquaintance with them.

Mr. Ramanathan interprets the Psalms, the Prophets, and, most of all, the teachings of Jesus, in the light of spiritual experience such as he here describes. The Scriptures are records of such personal experience of spiritual things, and are to be verified and understood by like experience. So far, we heartily agree with him. But is Mr. Ramanathan on equally firm ground when he holds that this spiritual view of religion, while always accepted in the East, "has long been lost sight of in the West"? One is led to suppose that this gifted student of the Old and New Testaments is not yet familiar with the writings of the great Christian mystics. Nothing would be easier, for instance, than to parallel his description of spiritual experience from the writings of every one of the following: St. Francis of Assisi, Tauler, St. Catherine of Siena, Thomas à Kempis, St. Francis de Sales, George Fox, Fénelon, William Law, Jean Nicolas Grou, and, let us say, Pusey, to take only a few names from the last seven centuries. Take, for instance, this sentence from Père Grou, who died just over a century ago: "By the practice of such

control of your thoughts you will attain that spirit of inward silence which draws the soul into close intercourse with God." Or this from George Fox, a century earlier: "Be still and cool in thy own mind and spirit from thy own thoughts, and then thou wilt feel the principle of God."

There is another point of view from which Ramanathan's work is in the highest degree interesting. Let me suggest it in this way. A few days ago I had the opportunity to discuss certain problems with a Chinese statesman of high ability. Among other things, the conversation turned on the world's religions. My friend had been a profound student of Buddhism, as represented by hundreds of texts in Chinese. He had also studied, and been greatly attracted by, Christianity. His comment on the teachings of Jesus was how like they were in essence to Buddhism, and he was almost inclined to look on them as an outgrowth of the Indian sage's message. It never occurred to him, however, to show his sympathy for the Christian teaching by renouncing the Indian Master and enrolling himself under the banner of the Cross. On the contrary, he felt that, in possessing the spiritual essence of the one, he was already a freeholder of the other. So it is with Mr. Ramanathan, and so it was with Raja Rammohun Roy. Neither had any inclination to become "converts" to Christianity as the phrase is, though both, as we have seen, wrote admirably, and with fine spiritual feeling, on the teachings of Jesus. That attitude, held in common by these three very distinguished men, should make us think. It contains a suggestion of the profound spiritual truth which may be found outside the bounds of Christianity, in the older Asian creeds. And this, I think, more than any new enlightenment for the West, is what gives its value to Ramanathan's work.

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: ROME: ST. PETERSBURG.

LONDON, *May, 1907.*

I UNDERTOOK, in my last communication, to treat in this one of the Colonial Conference. The pledge is not altogether one which it is easy to redeem, because the Conference, except at its opening and purely formal session, met in private, and the full report of its debates has yet to be issued. Little beyond the bare tendencies and the net results of its deliberations could be gathered from the meagre *précis* that was given out from time to time by the Colonial Office. But, even so, there is, I think, ample warrant for describing the recent Conference as the most fruitful and practical that has yet been held. It was the first of these inter-Imperial gatherings to stand on its own merits. The Conferences of 1897 and of 1902 were less business assemblies than rallying-points of patriotic festivities, the former in honor of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, the latter in honor of King Edward's coronation. But this year the Conference was independent of all adventitious excitements. It was preeminently an Imperial committee charged with practical work. It met not merely to discuss, but to find solutions for, certain concrete problems of empire; and in spite of a superabundance of hospitality, it really succeeded in accomplishing a great deal. It did not, indeed, accomplish all that some enthusiasts had hoped; it would scarcely have been the statesmanlike body it was if it had. Nor will I pretend that it was altogether unaccompanied by certain disquieting features. The Colonies are naturally in favor of the policy of Imperial Preference which Mr. Chamberlain has succeeded in imposing upon the great bulk of the Unionist party, but has recommended in vain to the majority of his countrymen. The Colonial Premiers brought the matter before the Conference and

strongly pressed their views. The Government, fresh from the General Election of 1906, when the country emphatically declared against reviving that system of Protection without which Colonial Preference is impossible, had no option but to meet the Colonial argument with a *non possumus*. No other answer was possible; none was expected. But no sooner was it given than some of the less reputable Unionist journals, for purely party ends, did all they could to embroil the Colonial Premiers with the Government. This attempt to use the Conference for party purposes was a new and disturbing phenomenon. It was the flat negation of that Imperial spirit which those who engineered the attempt affected to appeal to. It showed that Englishmen have yet to put the Empire, as they have learned to put the Monarchy, above party, and have still to school themselves to differ about Imperial problems without charging one another with "Little Englandism."

Nevertheless the Conference was a great success. General Botha's presence alone was sufficient guarantee that, even if it had fallen short on the side of statesmanship, it would have been a striking demonstration of the absorbing liberalism of British Imperial policy. But the Conference did not fall short on the side of statesmanship. On the contrary, it left its mark deep on the structure and development of the Empire. It may not at first seem a matter of much more than formal moment that the Conference should have decided to change its title. Hitherto, it has been known as the "Colonial" Conference. Henceforward, it will be called the "Imperial" Conference. But the alteration is really significant. It is the outward sign of a change of status. It implies that future Conferences are to be conferences between equal Governments, among whom the British Government will rank as *primus inter pares*, and not between "dependencies" and the Colonial Office. In other words, the essential equality of all the self-governing communities under the British flag is now effectually recognized; and substance has been given to the recognition by the decision arrived at by the Conference, to meet in future every four years, and to have the British Prime Minister preside over its discussions. That is a long step along the road of the best Imperialism.

Another and even more important advance was made by the Conference when it resolved to establish what will be scarcely

less than an Imperial Intelligence Bureau in the form of a Secretariat. The need for some such bureau has long been evident. The Conference hitherto has assembled for about three weeks in every five years. It has found itself on each occasion confronted with a vast programme, and unassisted by any of the ordinary aids to deliberation in dealing with it. It has had no permanent organization for the collection of information and the preparation of data. It has therefore been forced to tackle the far-reaching questions brought before it in a more or less academic spirit, confining itself to resolutions that declared such and such proposals to be desirable, and leaving it to chance to determine whether the resolutions were acted on. What clearly was needed was some machinery that would devote itself to working out the details of the questions discussed at the Conference and would furnish its deliberations with a continuous and businesslike basis. The recent Conference agreed to establish such machinery. There will henceforward be a permanent bureau in the Colonial Office charged with the function of gathering and arranging the facts that bear on the resolutions of the Conference and of devising means for giving effect to them. The Conference will, therefore, always to some extent be in session, and the work of furthering the interests that are common to all parts of the Empire will progress uninterruptedly.

The need for a connecting-link of this kind to bridge over the four years' interval between Conference and Conference was made very clear by the scope of some of the resolutions adopted. Thus the Conference agreed in principle that naturalization laws throughout the Empire should be uniform, that emigration to the Colonies should be officially encouraged, that the laws relating to judicial appeals from Colonial courts to the highest British tribunal should be codified, that penny postage between all parts of the Empire was desirable, that there should be an inter-Imperial system of reciprocity in such professions as the law and medicine, and that legislation on patents, trade-marks, copyright and similar subjects should as far as possible be modelled throughout the Empire on a common pattern. All these are exceedingly intricate questions, involving for their proper discussion, to say nothing of their proper solution, a vast amount of dry preparatory labor. The new Secretariat, indeed, has every prospect of becoming one of the busiest of Government departments. Be-

sides its establishment the Conference achieved two other results of the highest importance. It decided to form an Imperial General Staff for the guidance of all the military forces of the Empire. This is the first practical step towards infusing a common purpose into the military organizations which each of the self-governing States must devise for itself, and in its own way. Finally, at its last meeting, the Conference adopted a resolution in favor of improving steamship communications between the different parts of the Empire, and approved in particular a scheme for organizing an "all-Empire trade route" connecting Great Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

These are all conspicuous achievements. They promote the unity of the Empire without unduly forcing it, and they disprove altogether the charge that the Government have been "unsympathetic" in their treatment of the Colonial Premiers and that the Conference has been a failure. It is, however, undeniable that the country, while still in favor of free trade, felt a passing mood of illogical discomfort when the Ministry was obliged to refuse the eloquent and unanimous request of the Colonial Premiers for Imperial Preference. The country could not do away with the feeling that there was something ungracious, and almost churlish, in that refusal; and I think it unquestionable that the enthusiasm engendered by the Conference, and the speeches of many of the Colonial Premiers at large provincial meetings, have stimulated the movement for Tariff Reform and won over many converts to Mr. Chamberlain's propaganda.

Since I last wrote, the Government have brought in their Irish Bill, and the Nationalists, in convention assembled, have rejected it. I rather sympathize with their decision, even while I regret it. The Bill was a very moderate affair even for a measure of Devolution. The Government were pledged not to bring in a Home-Rule Bill, and they fulfilled their pledge with unexpected literalness. The measure they introduced was neither Home Rule nor anything like it. "No law, public or private," said Mr. Birrell, "can ever be made, at any time or in any circumstances, by virtue of any one of its provisions. It does not authorize the levying of a single tax, or the striking of the humblest rate." What it did do was to set up a council of eighty-two elected and twenty-four nominated members to take charge of eight of the most important Boards in Dublin Castle. The

administration of law, justice and the police was excluded from the control of the Council. The Lord Lieutenant was given very considerable powers of veto over the Council's resolutions, including the power—this clause was bitterly resented in Ireland—of taking action himself “when immediate action is necessary in order to preserve the efficiency of the service or to prevent public or private injury.” Drastic provision was made against preference being shown by the Council to any religion or denomination. The Council was to work through committees, the chairmen of which were to be selected by the Lord Lieutenant. It was to be elected for three years, to enjoy full control, including powers of appointment and dismissal, over the Departments placed under its authority, and to have the spending of a sum of \$3,250,000 a year for five years over and above the present cost of the Departments. The Bill also established an Irish Treasury for the administration of the funds required for the Council's work and further provided for the handing over of primary education to one of the new Council's committees. These two provisions were of real value. The first one released Irish government from the grip of the English Treasury, and the second took away education from clerical control and vested it in the hands of laymen. But it can be seen at once that the Bill went very little way towards satisfying Irish Nationalist ambitions, or towards associating the sentiment of the people with the daily routine of government. Distrust of the Irish appeared in every clause of it, and its manifold restrictions and exceptions were humiliating.

There can be no doubt, however, that the Irish Party were ready to accept it. Mr. Redmond, Mr. Dillon and Mr. T. P. O'Connor had all been consulted by the Government as to its leading provisions. It was not a measure that commended itself to them, but they were prepared to advise their countrymen to take it for what it was worth, as the Bill that was not the best, but the best obtainable. Mr. Redmond went over to Dublin intending to recommend the Nationalist Convention to ratify the Bill subject to certain amendments. But he found, when he reached Ireland, that the country was in an uproar of indignation, and unanimous in regarding the Government's proposals as “an insult to the Irish nation.” The Party was willing to accept anything that could be looked on as an instalment, however meagre,

of Home Rule; the people were for Home Rule or nothing. Mr. Redmond is not an O'Connell. If he were, he might have faced the Convention and quelled all opposition. Being Mr. Redmond, he began to hesitate; the extreme Nationalists were denouncing the Bill without stint; the Church detested its educational clauses and was secretly at work against its acceptance; the alternative seemed offered of wrecking the Bill or wrecking the Party. Mr. Redmond, naturally enough, made up his mind to sacrifice anything and everything rather than impair the Party organization. Although he had three-quarters accepted the Bill on its first reading, although he had helped to frame it and had encouraged the Liberal Government to believe that it would be ratified by the Convention, he moved its contemptuous rejection. Certain results are bound to follow from his action. For one thing, it is likely to mark the beginnings of a serious estrangement between the Government and the Irish Party. For another, its effects on Irish opinion and Irish agitation are likely to be convulsive. Everybody in Ireland perfectly well understands that the Irish Party were committed to the Bill, and only rejected it to save their own prestige and at the stern bidding of the country. Mr. Redmond has not merely discredited himself and his Party, among the Irish people, but the whole policy of Parliamentaryism; and, as Americans are probably aware, there exists in Ireland a Party called the Sinn Féin (pronounced "Shinn Fain"—"Ourselves Alone") Party, which repudiates the policy of sending Irishmen to sit in the British Parliament at Westminster, and urges them to have their representatives meet in Dublin and form a Home-Rule Parliament of their own on the spot. The Sinn Féiners, already a formidable power, are certain, after the pitiful and patent failure of Parliamentaryism to win Home Rule, to increase their influence with great rapidity; and, as their programme is one of boycotting England and all things English, any development of their strength is a matter that will touch both the Irish Party and the English Government very closely. Only a simpleton would prophesy about Ireland. Happily, there are many simpletons in the world; and I find that their forecast of the situation points to a rupture of the alliance between the Liberals and the Nationalists, to a revival of the agrarian agitation in certain parts of the west and the midlands, and to the opening up of a period of internecine strife in Irish politics.

ROME, May, 1907.

COUNT COSTANTINO NIGRA, Nestor not only of the Italian but of international diplomacy, speaking on July 25th, 1899, at the first Hague Conference, emphasized the dangers of refusing to solve then the question of an arbitration tribunal, in view of the high degree of interest incited among all humanity. "The impatience," he added, "with which the results of our work are awaited by the public is so great that it would be dangerous to renounce the acceptance of an arbitration tribunal. If the Conference answered this impatience with a *non possumus*, or without giving sufficient satisfaction, the disillusion would be lively. The Conference in this case would incur a grave responsibility before history, before the peoples and before his Majesty the Emperor of Russia himself."

If the clever diplomatist, the erudite historian, the brilliant writer had not been now for several months at the point of death, he would perhaps repeat the same words and express the same ideas with regard to the question of the limitation of armaments, which the second Hague Conference will have to face and solve one way or another, but in a manner calculated to justify its solution and satisfy public opinion.

It was only a question of logical sequence for Italy and for Senator Tittoni, her Minister of Foreign Affairs, when England last June announced her intention of making a proposition for the restriction of military burdens, to accept it cordially, as it seemed natural that all Powers, which had participated at the first Conference and signed its final act and the different conventions and declarations, would have no objection to adhering to the principle of the limitation of armaments, although, of course, there would be much to discuss and many difficulties to meet in finding a concrete, practical and universally acceptable method of doing so.

However, Germany and Austria soon showed that they were of an entirely opposite view and ready to insist on the obligations coming from the Triple Alliance, in order to have Italy on their side. It is not yet definitely certain what the attitude of the young Kingdom will really be at The Hague, but it is well to establish it as fact that the original move of Signor Tittoni corresponds to the feeling of the great majority of the country and is not a consequence of any direct interest, as, contrary to the general belief, the armaments of Italy are already very limited, so that the only

advantage she would obtain would not be in the diminution of her military burdens, but in seeing, perhaps, her neighbors less powerfully armed.

The great Italian national hero, Garibaldi, was ever thinking of the future navy of the Kingdom, and was the first to support the proposal of the then Minister of Marine, Admiral Saint Bon, that all the old and useless vessels should be sold and be replaced by a new fleet, according to modern requirements. The work thus initiated was continued by the famous naval engineer and Minister, Signor Brin, who succeeded in his time in making Italy the third naval power in the world. Soon, however, she could not keep up with the heavy appropriations which not only England and France were voting for their navies, but also Germany and Austria in Europe, and Japan and the United States, so that she had to abandon her original plan of being able to control the seas in which she lies. She continued to build ships of the finest type, such as the armored cruiser "*Vittorio Emanuele*," which the American naval engineer, Mr. H. G. Gillmor, proclaimed the best of the kind, followed by her sister ships, the "*Regina Elena*," the "*Napoli*" and the "*Roma*," the last of which has just been launched at Spezia, but she gradually limited her naval expenditure, which averages now about \$25,000,000 a year, while that of France is \$65,000,000, that of Germany over \$66,000,000 and that of England \$166,500,000.

The same thing may be said with regard to the army. Italy, which in 1899, under Crispi, expended \$62,000,000 yearly for her army, has now consolidated this budget to \$55,400,000, to keep a nominal standing army of 285,228 men, including privates and officers. France spends \$143,700,000 for 575,000 men; England \$144,250,000 for 427,700 men; and Germany \$185,700,000 for 614,323 men. Of course, these budgets include also expenses not intended for the permanent army, but for the preparations which each country makes to be ready for war. Germany, for instance, with her usual clear frankness, does not conceal that in case of war she can put in the field, "not on paper, as is the case in other countries" (these are the words used by prominent German personages), 4,000,000 troops, trained to perfection, provided with ammunition, provisions, means of transport, etc., to stand a long campaign, with a probability of success, even alone against three enemies. The three enemies are not specified, but

it is not difficult to understand that, in the present grouping of the Powers, they might be France, Russia and England. With Italy, just the contrary is the case. Her standing army of 285,228 men is only nominal, as in reality scarcely half of these numbers are really in service, and in some periods of the year even fewer. Nor can this minimum be still further reduced, as in the peninsula the army is intended for use not only in the defence of the country from foreign aggressors, but also in the maintenance of internal order and security.

It must be remembered that the peninsula has not had centuries of unification like other nations, so that both the reigning House and the institutions which rule the country are not so rooted in the hearts of the people as to place them above any attempt to disturb them. The House of Savoy secured the future of the country and its own advancement from the sceptre of little Piedmont to the iron crown of the Italian monarchy, by putting itself at the head of the revolutions which brought about the annihilation of the half-dozen tyrannies by which the peninsula was misgoverned. This gathered about it, in that epic period, all Italians without distinction of faith and party, who wished the unity of the country and independence from foreign yokes. The great task once accomplished, the gratitude felt for the part taken by this noble House continued to keep the whole nation loyal to it—including a large contingent of republicans, who, like Garibaldi, postponed the accomplishment of their ideal to better times, or, like Crispi, turned monarchists—making King Victor Emanuel II a national hero. However, with the exception of Piedmont, where the House of Savoy has ruled for centuries, and where love for it is almost atavic, in the other regions of the peninsula its popularity only originates from its having successfully led the national movement from 1848 to 1870—without doubt a great merit, but not sufficient to bring about the instantaneous amalgamation of all the peoples of Italy who differ profoundly among themselves from ethical, educational and moral standpoints. In one word, the monarchy is not maintained in the greater part of Italy by ancient tradition, but because, given the present situation, it seems the best form of government for preserving the unity and to hasten over this transitory period towards prosperity.

The army is therefore employed to prevent riots and separatist movements—such as those of Sicily and Massa Carrara in

1893-1894 and those of Milan in 1898, in the latter of which Republicans, Socialists and Clericals found themselves united in a common effort at rebellion. When in September, 1904, the Socialists proclaimed a general strike contemporaneously with the birth of the Crown Prince, if they had really known the insignificant forces which the Government had at its disposal, they would have been able, at least temporarily, to become the masters of some of the leading towns, such as, for instance, Venice, where the Prefect had at his disposal only 120 men. In the south, as well as in Sicily and Sardinia, the troops are constantly and entirely employed in police work, which in Continental Europe is undertaken by the central Governments, not by the municipalities. It is, therefore, to the army that is chiefly due the suppression of that brigandage which, partly from political reasons, partly from a kind of unchangeable heredity, partly from the strong individualistic feeling of the south, seemed to be one of the ineradicable plagues of the peninsula, and it is the army which prevents its revival. In more than one-third of Italy, the soldiers are almost entirely absorbed in these duties, instead of being trained for warlike purposes. The insufficiency of the number of men under arms is also proved by the fact that, whenever there are serious or extended disorders, the Government is always constrained to call out some of the reserves. Thus Italy is practically in the same condition as the countries which have a small standing army, which obliges them to have recourse to the militia whenever order has to be forcibly maintained.

Small as it is, the army here has rendered another great service to the country in cementing the brotherhood of the different regions, which, although of the same race, are through dialects, traditions, habits and moral sense, so far apart from each other that there is more difference between a Sicilian and a Piedmontese than between a Piedmontese and a Frenchman, or between a Sicilian and a Greek. It has also been of incalculable assistance in fighting illiteracy, as once under arms instruction is compulsory, and the nearly three years the recruits remain in the army are quite sufficient to give them the rudiments of reading and writing and convince them of the utility of education.

It cannot even be said that Italy has spent much money on fortifications, as, with the exception of Spezia, La Maddalena in Sardinia and Taranto, forming the basis of her naval operations,

her frontiers are practically open to an invasion, so much so that the Austrian officers say that for them to reoccupy Milan would merely be the question of a promenade. In conclusion, Italy used to spend more on armaments when her people were burdened by taxation, indispensable to her emergence from the backward conditions that prevailed at the time of the unification, when the deficit in her State budget was one million dollars, when the State consols at five per cent. were below par, and when the exchange on Italian money was sixteen per cent. Now Italy, with a yearly surplus of from ten to twelve million dollars, with taxation reduced, the State bonds above par, although the interest has been lowered to 3.75 per cent., with no exchange and with a marvellous growth and development of all her industries, manufactures and trades, feels stronger under all aspects, even with regard to international complications, and therefore has less need of a numerous army and of a strong navy. The greatest struggle which the peninsula has to undergo is to redeem her southern provinces and the islands, bringing them up to the same level of prosperity, to the same standard of culture as the north. It is a most serious struggle, but one in which there is no need of army and navy. Success in it will mean for the future of the Kingdom much more than the gaining of several military campaigns.

Thus it is evident to all dispassionate observers how the entire interest of Italy is for the maintenance of peace, not in word only, but in fact, how the limitation of armaments, so much spoken of, has practically already been accomplished here. The original declaration of Senator Tittoni in the Italian Chamber on June 14th, 1906, so favorable to the limitation of armaments, when no one yet imagined that on this question Europe would be divided, was the faithful exponent of the feeling predominant among the ruling classes as well as among the people. The Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs soon found, however, that the great Powers of Europe, with the exception of England and Italy, were all, for reasons sometimes even contradictory, opposed to the proposition. The opposition assumed, indeed, such a form, especially on the part of Germany and Austria, as to acquire a character of reproach to Italy for abandoning her allies on so important a question of international interest, on which might depend the supremacy in Europe of one or another Power in the near future.

ST. PETERSBURG, May, 1907.

THE second Duma, like the first, is emphatically a revolutionary assembly. Over two hundred deputies are for overthrowing the whole social and political fabric, sweeping away the monarchy and founding a democratic republic. Of the remainder, an influential section favor a return to a reformed autocracy; while the centre, revolutionary at heart, agree to postpone their ultimate aims, but to lose no opportunities of furthering them. Hence they run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, voting generally with the revolutionists, but exceptionally with the conservatives. Consequently, at least one-half of the deputies lack the will to legislate or in any other way consolidate the present *régime*, and possess ample means of hindering the others from addressing themselves to the task. But, in addition to the lack of will, there is a lamentable want of power. For most of the deputies are sadly deficient in the rudimentary qualifications of lawgivers. Indeed, one might as well have set them to solve a complex problem of astronomy as to legislate on matters of finance, economics or legal procedure.

It was already manifest, indeed, at the end of the general election, that it would be as impossible to restore order in Russia with the help of this revolutionary legislature as to make ropes of sand. Yet that was the problem which M. Stolypin undertook to solve, not with a light heart or high hopes, but resolutely. His mode of operation was to prove to the Constitutional Democrats that they had nothing to gain, and almost everything to lose, by opposing the Government, whereas they might further their own cause, or at any rate their own interests, by cooperating with the Cabinet. Any project they had at heart, any need, any bill, they might lay before him, he told them, he would consider carefully, favorably, speedily. He would do anything, everything, in reason to deserve their trust and justify their collaboration, if they would only begin by trusting him. That in brief was M. Stolypin's plan. It had many flaws, which outsiders pointed out, but which the Premier thought would not take away from its essential worth.

Very soon the truth dawned upon him. But, as he had undertaken to keep the Duma together at all costs, he refused to dissolve it, even in the face of multiplying provocations.

The danger of this policy, which is inspired by a praiseworthy

desire on M. Stolypin's part to preserve liberal institutions to the country and to bring the Tsar and the nation into permanent partnership, lies not in its almost certain failure, but in the long start it gives to the revolutionary party. The many subversive organizations, which are known as the Socialist-Maximalists, Socialist-Minimalists, Terrorists and Anarchists, wise in their generation, are zealously undermining the monarchic *régime*, inculcating principles of negation on the uncritical minds of the masses, sowing the seeds of class hatred and seducing the soldiers from their allegiance. The self-sacrificing devotion with which this work of destruction is being carried on by fanatics who look upon themselves as martyrs would do honor to a noble and humane cause. But the hindrances with which they meet, formidable at times, would be almost insurmountable, if there were no Duma, no deputies' inviolability, no legal agitation in the provinces, no speeches to constituents, no meetings of electors and elected. In a word, the Duma is absolutely necessary to the speedy success of the revolutionary party. Suspend the constitution, dismiss the deputies, govern the country with the help of the first Chamber and without the second for a couple of years, and the anarchist elements will be forced to carry on their destructive work under most unfavorable conditions. Such is the Monarchists' method. But M. Stolypin upholds the Duma, treats the deputies with marked consideration, shuts his eyes to the excesses of the subversive groups and hopes for the best.

Stolypin must have foreseen the danger which is now being realized as clearly as any mere outsider, however well informed. But he doubtless underrated its imminence, or overrated his power of checking its advance. He certainly disbelieved the rumored spread of disaffection among the troops, and he pictured to himself the state of mind of the peasantry as less feverish than it was and is. It was not until recently that his Cabinet learned the existence and aims of the Revolutionary Army League—a band of suasive proselytizers who travelled all over Russia, got access to the soldiers in the Caucasus, the Crimea, Siberia, the Volga districts, in Moscow, Kieff and St. Petersburg, fraternized with them, promised them better food, higher pay, shorter service terms and more humane treatment generally; rendered them discontented first, disaffected afterwards and then chose from among them well-qualified candidates for admission to the active Ter-

rorists' Legion. The results are now visible in the preparations for a military insurrection. How far the army is tainted with disaffection, nobody can say, because the matter has not yet been fully investigated.

M. Stolypin has but few friends and still fewer helpers. Lacking the necessary time to enlist in the service of the Government a number of resolute, resourceful and trustworthy administrators, he has had to make the best of those whom he found there when he first took office. And they are for the most part an unpromising team. The police, for instance, are in many matters of supreme importance as naïve as a band of Simple Simons, and their self-complacent inactivity would have culminated in the murder of the Tsar, his Prime Minister and the Commander of the Troops, and probably in an armed insurrection in St. Petersburg, had it not been for an act of folly on the part of the Terrorists, who defeated the objects they had in view. For a considerable time past, the bomb-and-revolver organizations had issued a command that the life of the Tsar was not to be attempted until further orders. This decree was the outcome solely of tactical considerations. But it was rescinded early this year and the Emperor was thenceforward lawful prey. What that meant, everybody understood; but the police, who received the news as early as most people, failed to draw any practical consequences from it. So far as they were concerned, everything went on as before.

But the revolutionists immediately drew an important practical consequence from the repeal of the Tsar's inviolability; they hatched a plot to murder him, his Prime Minister and the Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolayevitch. The scheme was conceived with a degree of consummate circumspection which is unprecedented in the annals of crime in Russia. Numbers of alternative plans were formed, which were to be tried successively until one of them should prove successful. The fundamental idea was that the regicides should enter the palace at Tsarskoe-Selo and throw bombs at the Tsar. How to gain admission to the palace was a difficult problem, so long as they had no accomplice inside. In order to simplify it, they cast around for an auxiliary within the precincts. This was not absolutely necessary, because thirty men armed with bombs and revolvers had already managed to go to Tsarskoe-Selo unnoticed, to hire lodgings there in different

villas and to keep in touch with each other without arousing suspicion, and, having accomplished that, they might have effected the rest just as easily.

There was, therefore, no pressing need of enlisting the services of any one inside the palace. But in order to leave as little as possible to chance this step was taken. The conspirators were encouraged to hope it would prove successful by the ease with which the members of the Revolutionary Army League usually enter into communication with the troops and win many of them over. But what holds good of the troops of the line does not hold good of the Guards, who are loyal to a man. And the person with whom the conspirators struck up an acquaintance was a member of the Convoy or Body-Guard of the Tsar, an under-officer of the Cossacks. The Convoy is composed exclusively of Cossacks. To this man, then, treasonable proposals were made, with which he seemed to close. He was invited to meetings, he accepted the invitations and he went. In time he was initiated into the designs of the plotters, and asked to play an active part in the conspiracy. Heedless of his oath, he was to put the Emperor to death, using a dagger for the purpose, previously opening the window of one of the apartments so that his comrades might effect an entrance to the palace and complete the fell work should he have left it unfinished. But when the plot had reached this stage the conspirators were arrested. For the Cossack had from the outset informed his superiors of the advances made to him, and in this way had saved the life of his monarch. When the story, which was first told in the London "Daily Telegraph," was finally confirmed by the Premier in the Duma, the various factions of the second Russian Parliament were compelled to show their colors and raise their visors.

The four groups of the Left, over two hundred and twenty strong, aware that there would be manifestations of loyalty that day, kept away from the sitting until the question of the plot against the Tsar was over and done with. They would not condemn the plot. And then they hurried into the hall to try issues with the Cabinet on another question. Consequently, the Premier spoke to a half-empty House. And among the members who remained there was no enthusiasm. The Centre presented an order of the day which was "correct"; the conservatives

proposed another which was more effusively loyal, but, as the Centre had theirs accepted, the conservatives were disappointed and downcast. Hence there was no inspiring outburst of loyalty, no cheering, no singing of "God Save the Tsar," as there was in the Council of the Empire.

That historic episode was immediately succeeded by another hardly less sensational. Two nights before, the Deputy Ozol's dwelling had been entered by the police in consequence of secret information which they had received. They found over twenty deputies there and over thirty revolutionists, who were not of the Duma, but were, the police affirmed, members of the Central Social Revolutionary Committee. The meeting was being held, the police further affirmed, for a most illegal purpose. It was in close touch with the dangerous Revolutionary Army League, which was arranging ways and means for a military mutiny that was to usher in an insurrection in the capital.

The deputies, invoking their "sacred character," at first refused to admit the right of the police to enter their lodging. But the point was finally decided against them. Still, they were not taken into custody. Their inviolability was respected. Only the other revolutionists who had no "sacred character" to lend them impunity were arrested, and the documents lying about were seized. These documents, M. Stolypin told the Duma, made it clear that a military mutiny was being planned which was to prelude an armed insurrection. And the men who were working hard to bring it about were deputies of the Duma! One more detail was added by the Premier which burnt itself into the minds of all who heard him. He affirmed, looking straight at the men he was accusing, that the members of that same faction were systematic blackmailers. Their party was wont to proclaim boycotts against the shops of petty traders and then demand and receive a certain sum for removing them, so that the poor tradespeople were being squeezed more pitilessly than under the old bureaucratic *régime*.

Still, the Premier stands manfully to his guns. He refuses to dissolve the Duma—yet. He declines to demand the arrest of the revolutionary deputies. He is determined to wait until all Russia and the civilized world feel that, with such a revolutionary body, no constructive government can accomplish anything.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

MONDAY, *June 17.*

The Summer Skies.

It was said of St. Francis that, had he been led upon the farthest starry way, past the bleakest regions of the heavens, to the dimmest and most distant star on the ragged edge of the universe, his imagination would but have found the face of a new friend. Not the loneliness of the way, but the possibility of a new, undreamed-of relation would have captured his imagination. There is a great deal to be got out of friendly relations with the universe. "Consider in the streets at nightfall the faces of men and women, when it is bad weather, what grace and sweetness they manifest," jotted down in his note-book, the subtlest, the most intellectual of painters, whose perceptions were a continual spring of knowledge and of joy. Stevenson tells us that he knew a woman once who said she never got over the interest, the humor and the strangeness of the eyebrows. What a companion that woman would have been!

The truth is that the world is packed full of things to see, things beautiful and things curious; and the sad fact is that most of us walk our course through the world without looking at anything, unless it be other folks' bonnets, or carpets, or curtains, or at ugly bits of paper floating down the street. It is actually true, believe it who can, that there are middle-aged people alive, with two perfectly sound, clear-sighted eyes, who do not know the ways or the motions or the aspects of the stars over their heads: and this despite the fact of their harmonious, orderly behavior, their punctual appearance in the sky at the proper season, and at the regular hours, and their splendid, majestic whirl in circles about the Polar Star. Such folks miss all the serenity and liberation of spirit that come from looking up in June to the fair, bright Spica, and realizing that she (it is impossible to explain why some stars are feminine and some are not, but it is

indubitably true) is speeding at white-heat, at an immeasurable distance, one of the most rarefied and tenuous bodies in the sky, while just above her lies a wonderful double star, Gamma Virgo, one part glowing red and the other green. Spica, herself, used to be called by the Arabs "the solitary one," because her position in the sky was apart from the other bright stars. The nearest very brilliant neighbor is Regulus, the handle star in the summer sickle. This is one of the most neighborly of stars, being visible for eight months in the year; it disappears about the end of August, but early in the November mornings it may be seen again.

The summer stars are not quite so brilliant and so dazzling as the winter ones, but they are more easily observed; and who fails to lie on his back on a hillside one or two clear nights in summer to track their courses, fails also to establish one of the pleasantest and friendliest of universal relationships. Richly but irregularly sown, over the great arching dome of heaven, the starry clusters move in orderly array; around the Polar Star swings the Little Dipper; the long, big Dragon with the triangular head winds gracefully between it and the Big Dipper, the largest utensil in the heavens, while low on the northwestern horizon Auriga is disappearing, and Vega, white and splendid, strikes the lyre in the east; Hercules, big and sprawling, stamps boldly on the head of the Dragon, while Boötes, with his brilliant star, Arcturus, goes a-hunting after the Bear. The hair of Berenice hangs just over the head of Virgo; and of this nebulous group it is told that, as the King Ptolemy Euergetes was starting out on a dangerous expedition against the Assyrians, his beautiful queen, Berenice, vowed to give her hair as a treasure to the gods if he were brought back in safety. And when the king marched home victorious the hair was placed in the temple of Aphrodite and mysteriously disappeared—which loss greatly grieved the ancient queen and her consort until they recognized the amber locks hanging in the sky above Virgo and below the handle of the Dipper.

Low on the widest circle of the horizon Hydra stretches, and Scorpio, with the great red star, Antares, twines himself along to eastward. Altogether, it is a fearsome company of warrior gentlemen and wild animals that prances across the summer skies, and who knows what miracles lie hidden beyond and behind the well-known groups? What shining streams of stars, what convoluted windings and intricate intertwining spirals of lumi-

nous bodies spin in regions spacious beyond our wildest conceptions of area and of distance? At any rate, while we can, let us grow, like St. Francis, to look for a friend in each of the wonderful bodies studding our arched covering: for, as the great and the subtle painter said again, "It is ordained that, to the ambitious who derive no satisfaction from the gifts of life and the beauty of the world, life shall be a cause of suffering, and they shall possess neither the profit nor the beauty of the world."

TUESDAY, *June 18.*

A Precursor of Whitman.

WHITMAN is usually looked upon as without forerunner or parallel. It is strange, then, to find in the recently discovered poet, Thomas Traherne, who died in 1674 and whose poems have only in the last six years been found and published, both thought and form strangely foreshadowing our democratic poet. Both poets, Traherne and Whitman, are preoccupied by the splendor and the beauty of the universe, by the sense that soul is a complete unity pervading the universe, and that essence and manifestation are inseparable. Both emphasize the sanctity of the body.

"Behold! the body includes and is the meaning—the main concern—and includes and is the Soul."

writes Whitman; and, in the same voice and with like accent, Traherne continues:

"Thou hast given me a body
Wherein the glory of Thy power shineth,

Within distinguished into useful parts,
Beautified without with many ornaments.

Limbs rarely poised

And made for Heaven:

Arteries filled

With celestial spirits:

Veins wherein blood floweth,

Refreshing all my flesh,

Like rivers:

Sinews fraught with the mystery

Of wonderful strength,

Stability,

Feeling."

And Whitman again sings:

“Within there runs blood,
The same old blood!
The same red-running blood!

.
If anything is sacred, the human body is sacred.”
.

Traherne has the cataloguing habit that Whitman has. He sings:

“Thou, Lord, hast made Thy servant a sociable creature, for which I
praise Thy name,

A lover of company, a delighter in equals;

.
Give me eyes

To see the beauty of that life and comfort

Wherewith those by their actions

Inspire the nations.

Their markets, Tillage, Courts of Judicature, Marriages, feasts and
assemblies, Navys, Armies,

Priests and Sabbaths, Trades and Business, the voice of the bride-
groom, Musical Instruments, the light of candles, and the grind-
ing of mills,

Are comfortable. O Lord, let them not sleep.

The riches of the land are all the materials of my felicity in their
hands:

They are my Factors, Substitutes and Stewards,

Second selves, who by trade and business animate my wealth,

Which else would be but dead and rust in my hands,—

And when I consider, O Lord, how they come unto Thy temples, fill

Thy courts and sing Thy praises,

O, how wonderful they then appear!

What stars,

Enflaming suns,

Enlarging seas.

Of Divine affection,

Confirming patterns,

Infusing influence,

Do I feel in these.”

This might easily be a page out of “Leaves of Grass.” Indeed, if it were inserted as stanza twelve of the “*Salut au Monde*,” it is doubtful if any one would have questioned the authorship. If one believed in the transmigration of souls, one might be persuaded that the soul which sang Traherne’s songs became impatient at the long hiding, and reincarnated first in Blake and once again in Whitman.

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CHAPTERS FROM MY AUTOBIOGRAPHY—XX.*

BY MARK TWAIN.

PREFATORY NOTE.—Mr. Clemens began to write his autobiography many years ago, and he continues to add to it day by day. It was his original intention to permit no publication of his memoirs until after his death; but, after leaving "Pier No. 70," he concluded that a considerable portion might now suitably be given to the public. It is that portion, garnered from the quarter-million of words already written, which will appear in this REVIEW during the coming year. No part of the autobiography will be published in book form during the lifetime of the author.—EDITOR N. A. R.

[*Notes on "Innocents Abroad."* Dictated in Florence, Italy, April, 1904.]—I will begin with a note upon the dedication. I wrote the book in the months of March and (1868.) April, 1868, in San Francisco. It was published in August, 1869. Three years afterward Mr. Goodman, of Virginia City, Nevada, on whose newspaper I had served ten years before, came East, and we were walking down Broadway one day when he said: "How did you come to steal Oliver Wendell Holmes's dedication and put it in your book?"

I made a careless and inconsequential answer, for I supposed he was joking. But he assured me that he was in earnest. He

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said: "I'm not discussing the question of whether you stole it or didn't—for that is a question that can be settled in the first bookstore we come to—I am only asking you *how* you came to steal it, for that is where my curiosity is focalized."

I couldn't accommodate him with this information, as I hadn't it in stock. I could have made oath that I had not stolen anything, therefore my vanity was not hurt nor my spirit troubled. At bottom I supposed that he had mistaken another book for mine, and was now getting himself into an untenable place and preparing sorrow for himself and triumph for me. We entered a bookstore and he asked for "The Innocents Abroad" and for the dainty little blue and gold edition of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes's poems. He opened the books, exposed their dedications and said: "Read them. It is plain that the author of the second one stole the first one, isn't it?"

I was very much ashamed, and unspeakably astonished. We continued our walk, but I was not able to throw any gleam of light upon that original question of his. I could not remember ever having seen Dr. Holmes's dedication. I knew the poems, but the dedication was new to me.

I did not get hold of the key to that secret until months afterward, then it came in a curious way, and yet it was a natural way; for the natural way provided by nature and the construction of the human mind for the discovery of a forgotten event is to employ another forgotten event for its resurrection.

I received a letter from the Rev. Dr. Rising, who had been rector of the Episcopal church in Virginia City in my time, in (1866.) which letter Dr. Rising made reference to certain things which had happened to us in the Sandwich Islands six years before; among things he made casual mention of the Honolulu Hotel's poverty in the matter of literature. At first I did not see the bearing of the remark, it called nothing to my mind. But presently it did—with a flash! There was but one book in Mr. Kirchhof's hotel, and that was the first volume of Dr. Holmes's blue and gold series. I had had a fortnight's chance to get well acquainted with its contents, for I had ridden around the big island (Hawaii) on horseback and had brought back so many saddle boils that if there had been a duty on them it would have bankrupted me to pay it. They kept me in my room, unclothed, and in persistent pain for two weeks, with no company

but cigars and the little volume of poems. Of course I read them almost constantly; I read them from beginning to end, then read them backwards, then began in the middle and read them both ways, then read them wrong end first and upside down. In a word, I read the book to rags, and was infinitely grateful to the hand that wrote it.

Here we have an exhibition of what repetition can do, when persisted in daily and hourly over a considerable stretch of time, where one is merely reading for entertainment, without thought or intention of preserving in the memory that which is read. It is a process which in the course of years dries all the juice out of a familiar verse of Scripture, leaving nothing but a sapless husk behind. In that case you at least know the origin of the husk, but in the case in point I apparently preserved the husk but presently forgot whence it came. It lay lost in some dim corner of my memory a year or two, then came forward when I needed a dedication, and was promptly mistaken by me as a child of my own happy fancy.

I was new, I was ignorant, the mysteries of the human mind were a sealed book to me as yet, and I stupidly looked upon myself as a tough and unforgivable criminal. I wrote to Dr. Holmes and told him the whole disgraceful affair, implored him in impassioned language to believe that I had never intended to commit this crime, and was unaware that I had committed it until I was confronted with the awful evidence. I have lost his answer, I could better have afforded to lose an uncle. Of these I had a surplus, many of them of no real value to me, but that letter was beyond price, beyond uncledom, and unsparable. In it Dr. Holmes laughed the kindest and healingest laugh over the whole matter, and at considerable length and in happy phrase assured me that there was no crime in unconscious plagiarism; that I committed it every day, that he committed it every day, that every man alive on the earth who writes or speaks commits it every day and not merely once or twice but every time he opens his mouth; that all our phrasings are spiritualized shadows cast multitudinously from our readings; that no happy phrase of ours is ever quite original with us, there is nothing of our own in it except some slight change born of our temperament, character, environment, teachings and associations; that this slight change differentiates it from another man's

manner of saying it, stamps it with our special style, and makes it our own for the time being; all the rest of it being old, moldy, antique, and smelling of the breath of a thousand generations of them that have passed it over their teeth before!

In the thirty-odd years which have come and gone since then, I have satisfied myself that what Dr. Holmes said was true.

I wish to make a note upon the preface of the "Innocents." In the last paragraph of that brief preface, I speak of the proprietors of the "Daily Alta California" having "waived their rights" in certain letters which I wrote for that journal while absent on the "Quaker City" trip. I was young then, I am white-headed now, but the insult of that word rankles yet, now that I am reading that paragraph for the first time in many years, reading it for the first time since it was written, perhaps. There were rights, it is true—such rights as the strong are able to acquire over the weak and the absent. Early in '66 George Barnes invited me to resign my reportership on his paper, the San Francisco "Morning Call," and for some months thereafter I was without money or work; then I had a pleasant turn of fortune. The proprietors of the "Sacramento Union," a great and influential daily journal, sent me to the Sandwich Islands to write four letters a month at twenty dollars apiece. I was there four or five months, and returned to find myself about the best known honest man on the Pacific Coast. Thomas McGuire, proprietor of several theatres, said that now was the time to make my fortune—strike while the iron was hot!—break into the lecture field! I did it. I announced a lecture on the Sandwich Islands, closing the advertisement with the remark, "Admission one dollar; doors open at half-past 7, the trouble begins at 8." A true prophecy. The trouble certainly did begin at 8, when I found myself in front of the only audience I had ever faced, for the fright which pervaded me from head to foot was paralyzing. It lasted two minutes and was as bitter as death, the memory of it is indestructible, but it had its compensations, for it made me immune from timidity before audiences for all time to come. I lectured in all the principal Californian towns and in Nevada, then lectured once or twice more in San Francisco, then retired from the field rich—for me—and laid out a plan to sail Westward from San Francisco, and go around the world. The proprietors of the "Alta" engaged me

to write an account of the trip for that paper—fifty letters of a column and a half each, which would be about two thousand words per letter, and the pay to be twenty dollars per letter.

I went East to St. Louis to say good-bye to my mother, and then I was bitten by the prospectus of Captain Duncan of the "Quaker City" excursion, and I ended by joining it. During the trip I wrote and sent the fifty letters; six of them miscarried, and I wrote six new ones to complete my contract. Then I put together a lecture on the trip and delivered it in San Francisco at great and satisfactory pecuniary profit, then I branched out into the country and was aghast at the result: I had been entirely forgotten, I never had people enough in my houses to sit as a jury of inquest on my lost reputation! I inquired into this curious condition of things and found that the thrifty owners of that prodigiously rich "Alta" newspaper had *copyrighted* all those poor little twenty-dollar letters, and had threatened with prosecution any journal which should venture to copy a paragraph from them!

And there I was! I had contracted to furnish a large book, concerning the excursion, to the American Publishing Co. of Hartford, and I supposed I should need all those letters to fill it out with. I was in an uncomfortable situation—that is, if the proprietors of this stealthily acquired copyright should refuse to let me use the letters. That is just what they did; Mr. Mac—something—I have forgotten the rest of his name—said his firm were going to make a book out of the letters in order to get back the thousand dollars which they had paid for them. I said that if they had acted fairly and honorably, and had allowed the country press to use the letters or portions of them, my lecture-skirmish on the coast would have paid me ten thousand dollars, whereas the "Alta" had lost me that amount. Then he offered a compromise: he would publish the book and allow me ten per cent. royalty on it. The compromise did not appeal to me, and I said so. I was now quite unknown outside of San Francisco, the book's sale would be confined to that city, and my royalty would not pay me enough to board me three months; whereas my Eastern contract, if carried out, could be profitable to me, for I had a sort of reputation on the Atlantic seaboard acquired through the publication of six excursion-letters in the New York "Tribune" and one or two in the "Herald."

In the end Mr. Mac agreed to suppress his book, on certain conditions: in my preface I must thank the "Alta" for waiving its "rights" and granting me permission. I objected to the thanks. I could not with any large degree of sincerity thank the "Alta" for bankrupting my lecture-raid. After considerable debate my point was conceded and the thanks left out.

Noah Brooks was the editor of the "Alta" at the time, a man of sterling character and equipped with a right heart, also a good historian where facts were not essential. In biographical sketches of me written many years afterward (1902), he was quite eloquent in praises of the generosity of the "Alta" people in giving to me without compensation a book which, as (1902.) history had afterward shown, was worth a fortune. After all the fuss, I did not levy heavily upon the "Alta" letters. I found that they were newspaper matter, not book matter. They had been written here and there and yonder, as opportunity had given me a chance working-moment or two during our feverish flight around about Europe or in the furnace-heat of my state-room on board the "Quaker City," therefore they were loosely constructed, and needed to have some of the wind and water squeezed out of them. I used several of them—ten or twelve, perhaps. I wrote the rest of "The Innocents Abroad" in sixty days, and I could have added a fortnight's labor with the pen and gotten along without the letters altogether. I was very young in those days, exceedingly young, marvellously young, younger than I am now, younger than I shall ever be again, by hundreds of years. I worked every night from eleven or twelve until broad day in the morning, and as I did two hundred thousand words in the sixty days, the average was more than three thousand words a day—nothing for Sir Walter Scott, nothing for Louis Stevenson, nothing for plenty of other people, but quite handsome for me. In 1897, when we were living in (1897.) Tedworth Square, London, and I was writing the book called "Following the Equator" my average was eighteen hundred words a day; here in Florence (1904), my average (1904.) seems to be fourteen hundred words per sitting of four or five hours.*

I was deducing from the above that I have been slowing down steadily in these thirty-six years, but I perceive that my

* With the pen, I mean. This Autobiography is dictated, not written.

statistics have a defect: three thousand words in the spring of 1868 when I was working seven or eight or nine hours at a sitting has little or no advantage over the sitting of to-day, covering half the time and producing half the output. Figures often beguile me, particularly when I have the arranging of them myself; in which case the remark attributed to Disraeli would often apply with justice and force:

“There are three kinds of lies: lies, damned lies, and statistics.”

[*Dictated, January 23, 1907.*]—The proverb says that Providence protects children and idiots. This is really true. I know it because I have tested it. It did not protect George through the most of his campaign, but it saved him in his last inning, and the veracity of the proverb stood confirmed.

I have several times been saved by this mysterious interposition, when I was manifestly in extreme peril. It has been common, all my life, for smart people to perceive in me an easy prey for selfish designs, and I have walked without suspicion into the trap set for me, yet have often come out unscathed, against all the likelihoods. More than forty years ago, in San Francisco, the office staff adjourned, upon conclusion (1865.) of its work at two o'clock in the morning, to a great bowling establishment where there were twelve alleys. I was invited, rather perfunctorily, and as a matter of etiquette—by which I mean that I was invited politely, but not urgently. But when I diffidently declined, with thanks, and explained that I knew nothing about the game, those lively young fellows became at once eager and anxious and urgent to have my society. This flattered me, for I perceived no trap, and I innocently and gratefully accepted their invitation. I was given an alley all to myself. The boys explained the game to me, and they also explained to me that there would be an hour's play, and that the player who scored the fewest ten-strikes in the hour would have to provide oysters and beer for the combination. This disturbed me very seriously, since it promised me bankruptcy, and I was sorry that this detail had been overlooked in the beginning. But my pride would not allow me to back out now, so I stayed in, and did what I could to look satisfied and glad I had come. It is not likely that I looked as contented as I wanted to, but the others looked glad enough to make up for it, for they were quite unable to hide their evil joy. They showed me how to stand,

and how to stoop, and how to aim the ball, and how to let fly; and then the game began. The results were astonishing. In my ignorance I delivered the balls in apparently every way except the right one; but no matter—during half an hour I never started a ball down the alley that didn't score a ten-strike, every time, at the other end. The others lost their grip early, and their joy along with it. Now and then one of them got a ten-strike, but the occurrence was so rare that it made no show alongside of my giant score. The boys surrendered at the end of the half-hour, and put on their coats and gathered around me and in courteous, but sufficiently definite, language expressed their opinion of an experience-worn and seasoned expert who would stoop to lying and deception in order to rob kind and well-meaning friends who had put their trust in him under the delusion that he was an honest and honorable person. I was not able to convince them that I had not lied, for now my character was gone, and they refused to attach any value to anything I said. The proprietor of the place stood by for a while saying nothing, then he came to my defence. He said: "It looks like a mystery, gentlemen, but it isn't a mystery after it's explained. That is a *grooved* alley; you've only to start a ball down it any way you please and the groove will do the rest; it will slam the ball against the northeast curve of the head pin every time, and nothing can save the ten from going down."

It was true. The boys made the experiment and they found that there was no art that could send a ball down that alley and fail to score a ten-strike with it. When I had told those boys that I knew nothing about that game I was speaking only the truth; but it was ever thus, all through my life: whenever I have diverged from custom and principle and uttered a truth, the rule has been that the hearer hadn't strength of mind enough to believe it.

A quarter of a century ago I arrived in London to lecture a few weeks under the management of George Dolby, who had conducted the Dickens readings in America five or six (1873.) years before. He took me to the Albemarle and fed me, and in the course of the dinner he enlarged a good deal, and with great satisfaction, upon his reputation as a player of fifteen-ball pool, and when he learned by my testimony that I had never seen the game played, and knew nothing of the art of pocketing

balls, he enlarged more and more, and still more, and kept on enlarging, until I recognized that I was either in the presence of the very father of fifteen-ball pool or in the presence of his most immediate descendant. At the end of the dinner Dolby was eager to introduce me to the game and show me what he could do. We adjourned to the billiard-room and he framed the balls in a flat pyramid and told me to fire at the apex ball and then go on and do what I could toward pocketing the fifteen, after which he would take the cue and show me what a past-master of the game could do with those balls. I did as required. I began with the diffidence proper to my ignorant estate, and when I had finished my inning all the balls were in the pockets and Dolby was burying me under a volcanic irruption of acid sarcasms.

So I was a liar in Dolby's belief. He thought he had been sold, and at a cheap rate; but he divided his sarcasms quite fairly and quite equally between the two of us. He was full of ironical admiration of his childishness and innocence in letting a wandering and characterless and scandalous American load him up with deceptions of so transparent a character that they ought not to have deceived the house cat. On the other hand, he was remorselessly severe upon me for beguiling him, by studied and discreditable artifice, into bragging and boasting about his poor game in the presence of a professional expert disguised in lies and frauds, who could empty more balls in billiard pockets in an hour than he could empty into a basket in a day.

In the matter of fifteen-ball pool I never got Dolby's confidence wholly back, though I got it in other ways, and kept it until his death. I have played that game a number of times since, but that first time was the only time in my life that I have ever pocketed all the fifteen in a single inning.

My unsuspecting nature has made it necessary for Providence to save me from traps a number of times. Thirty years ago, a couple of Elmira bankers invited me to play the game of (1876.) "Quaker" with them. I had never heard of the game before, and said that if it required intellect, I should not be able to entertain them. But they said it was merely a game of chance, and required no mentality—so I agreed to make a trial of it. They appointed four in the afternoon for the sacrifice. As the place, they chose a ground-floor room with a large win-

dow in it. Then they went treacherously around and advertised the "sell" which they were going to play upon me.

I arrived on time, and we began the game—with a large and eager free-list to superintend it. These superintendents were outside, with their noses pressed against the window-pane. The bankers described the game to me. So far as I recollect, the pattern of it was this: they had a pile of Mexican dollars on the table; twelve of them were of even date, fifty of them were of odd dates. The bankers were to separate a coin from the pile and hide it under a hand, and I must guess "odd" or "even." If I guessed correctly, the coin would be mine; if incorrectly, I lost a dollar. The first guess I made was "even," and was right. I guessed again, "even," and took the money. They fed me another one and I guessed "even" again, and took the money. I guessed "even" the fourth time, and took the money. It seemed to me that "even" was a good guess, and I might as well stay by it, which I did. I guessed "even" twelve times, and took the twelve dollars. I was doing as they secretly desired. Their experience of human nature had convinced them that any human being as innocent as my face proclaimed me to be, would repeat his first guess if it won, and would go on repeating it if it should continue to win. It was their belief that an innocent would be almost sure at the beginning to guess "even," and not "odd," and that if an innocent should guess "even" twelve times in succession and win every time, he would go on guessing "even" to the end—so it was their purpose to let me win those twelve even dates and then advance the odd dates, one by one, until I should lose fifty dollars, and furnish those superintendents something to laugh about for a week to come.

But it did not come out in that way; for by the time I had won the twelfth dollar and last even date, I withdrew from the game because it was so one-sided that it was monotonous, and did not entertain me. There was a burst of laughter from the superintendents at the window when I came out of the place, but I did not know what they were laughing at nor whom they were laughing at, and it was a matter of no interest to me anyway. Through that incident I acquired an enviable reputation for smartness and penetration, but it was not my due, for I had not penetrated anything that the cow could not have penetrated.

(To be Continued.) MARK TWAIN.

HAS THE CONSERVATIVE SOUTH A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE?

BY A NATIONAL DEMOCRAT.

THE Republican Party was in its origin and remains to this day a sectional party. Its Presidents, without exception, have been men of the North, and by the electoral votes of the Northern States they have attained office. With the exception of Maryland in 1896, no Southern State, save in the reconstruction period, when the white vote was in large part excluded, has ever given its electoral votes to a Republican candidate for the Presidency. The enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, in 1854, precipitated the "irrepressible conflict" upon the slavery question and destroyed the Whig party; for upon that question the party was divided. The majority of the Northern Whigs were ready to join the Republican Party; the Southern Whigs became Democrats. Since that time, with the exception of the years when free government was suppressed in the South and military rule and the negro vote gave the Republicans a foothold there, the white Republicans of the South, a hopeless and impotent minority, have counted for little either in the councils of the party, in elections or in national or local legislation.

The strength of the Republican Party lies altogether in the North, and the sectional character of its aims and policy has been repeatedly reflected in the attempts of its chief statesmen to confirm and perpetuate its sway by diminishing the voice and influence of the Democratic South in Presidential and Congressional elections.

The Democratic Party is powerful alike in the North and in the South. It has elected many Democratic Governors, Congressmen and Senators in the Northern States. The present Governors of six Northern States are Democrats. When the Sixtieth Con-

gress assembles next December, forty-seven Democrats from Northern States will have seats in the House of Representatives. In existence more than a century, the Democracy has always been a national party.

Yet in sixty years no Southern Democrat has been elected to the Presidency. James K. Polk of Tennessee, elected in 1844, was the last. Since the nomination of John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky in 1860, forty-seven years ago, that party has made no Southern man its candidate. McClellan, Seymour, Greeley—who was Northern, and Republican into the bargain—Tilden, Hancock, Cleveland, Bryan and Parker were all of the North.

Thus by custom and prescription it has come about that the men of one-half the Union are excluded from the honors of the Chief Magistracy. No statesman who is a citizen of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas or Virginia—thirteen States, with a geographical area of 793,000 square miles, and a population numbering 23,500,000—may ask his friends, in present conditions, to present his name to the great quadrennial council of his party as an aspirant to the nomination of the high office of President.

Ambition stirs the souls of Southern men, upon many among whom wisdom has been bestowed. The unwritten decree bids them choose, as the goal of the one and the field for the other, no higher place than a State office or a seat in the national House or Senate. The Constitution declares that no bill of attainder shall be passed; yet, by the custom and practice of parties, an unenacted attainder has wrought disqualification of a great part of the citizens of the Republic, debarring them from privileges and honors freely open to their fellow countrymen.

This practice, denounced by reason, repugnant to justice and opposed by considerations of the highest public welfare, is sustained only by an outworn sanction. It is time to make an end of it! The argument of political expediency no longer avails as the warrant and justification for debarring Southern Democrats from the Presidency. Rather have the march of years and of events, the changing opinions of men and the raising of new issues of weight and moment, brought the complete rehabilitation of the South clearly into the view of the Democratic Party as the path of wisdom and of safety.

The brave men of the South have a right to demand, and they should demand in the Presidential year of 1908, that this disability be forever removed, that they no longer be constrained to accept with unquestioning faith and loyalty the candidates the Northern Democrats may offer to their suffrages, and that the pathway to the White House shall once more be opened to their statesmen.

Have they not expiated the errors of the past by almost half a century of renunciation? Passions have cooled, old resentments are forgotten. If the uncalled-for question of the complete "reconstruction" of the South and of its entire loyalty to the Union be raised, let its contribution to the war that effaced the last vestige of Spanish dominion from the New World give the answer.

It is a weary rôle the Democracy of the South has been asked to play—to efface itself, always to defer to the judgment and to confirm the resolves of the Democrats of the North, to accept their candidates without question, to support them with devoted loyalty, and to follow them uncomplainingly to the defeat that, with two exceptions in fifty years, has been their doom. The position of the South has been hard. It has become unbearable. The Democrats of the former Slave States have had no option. Not two courses, only one has lain open to them. However little the candidate might be to their liking, no matter how slight might be the chance of his election, they have been forced by compelling considerations of their own welfare and safety to support him. To elect him, if possible, has been their hope. To maintain at all costs the control of their party, a party of white men, over the offices of their own States, has been with them a policy dictated by supreme need, and, although national candidates supported by the solid South have one after another gone down to defeat, the Democrats of these States have in all these years maintained an efficient party organization and have kept the State Governments in their own hands. They elect their Governors. Legislators chosen by them make the State laws. There is no shadow of doubt that men from any part of the country, in their place and with their experience and their memories of the wreck and ruin, the confusion, the scandals and the horror of negro domination, would do what they have done. Permanently establishing the government of white men in their respective States, which was the matter of supreme moment to

them, they have patiently put up with exclusion from the full privileges of their political birthright.

The time is ripe and overripe for change. It is time to discredit the contention that only a man from one section of the country can be trusted in the office of President. A little more than twenty years ago, Henry W. Grady, at the annual banquet of the New England Society in New York, spoke a message of cordial good-will from the South to the North. In the most eloquent passage of that memorable utterance he said, referring to the war between the States:

"I am glad that the omniscient God held the balance of battle in His mighty hand, and that human slavery was swept forever from American soil and the American Union was saved from the wreck of war."

He spoke of the imperishable brotherhood of the American people, and continued:

"Now, what answer has New England to this message? Will she permit the prejudice of war to remain in the hearts of the conquerors when it has died in the hearts of the conquered? Will she transmit this prejudice to the next generation that in their hearts, which never felt the generous ardor of conflict, it may perpetuate itself? Will she withhold, save in strained courtesy, the hand which, straight from his soldier's heart, Grant offered to Lee at Appomattox?"

It was the privilege of the conqueror to impose terms; the conquered must accept the consequence of defeat. The South took up arms to sever the Union of the States, thereby expecting to secure for itself the full enjoyment of what it considered its rights. It was mistaken; it lost its cause. It was in accordance with logic, with law and with usage, that it should be made to pass through a period of probation before it could be restored to its former status and receive back its political franchise. Well would it have been for the men and women of the Southern States, well for the whole Union, if Abraham Lincoln had been spared to carry out his far-seeing, wise and humane policy of reconstruction, as distinguished from the harsh, punitive policy later adopted under the leadership of Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner, Ben Wade and Henry Winter Davis. To the contention of the Democrats, as expressed by their resolution in the House, that "acts of secession are not valid to destroy the Union and yet valid to destroy State Governments, and the political privileges of their citizens," there was no satisfactory answer.

Lincoln's conditions of reconstruction included the ending of resistance, the appointment of provisional Governors, oaths of amnesty to be taken by at least one-tenth of the white voters, a Republican form of government without interference by Congress in the States, with no mention of negro suffrage.

Between this plan and the plan of reconstruction adopted by Congress in the heat and passion of the conflict with President Andrew Johnson, the plan of dividing the South into military districts under district commanders appointed by the President, having authority to annul the acts of State Governments which were provisional only, and might be superseded or abolished by the Federal law, there was all the difference that lies between a vengeful conqueror, making a desert and calling it peace, and a wise, far-seeing, great-minded ruler recalling to their allegiance his erring but not unforgivable provinces. Lincoln thought the South worth saving as an integral part of the Union of States. Thaddeus Stevens proposed to confiscate all of the estates of the rebels above the value of \$10,000 or including more than 200 acres of land; each freedman to receive forty acres of land thus taken, and the residue of the spoil, estimated at that time at \$3,500,000,000 to be applied to the payment of the national debt.

Toward a foreign enemy, distrusted and feared, which a conqueror intended to destroy utterly, such a policy would be at least intelligible, whatever might be said of its humanity. But the Southern States were to be brought back into the Union; they were to constitute a part of the national dominion, and in the view of a conqueror with even the slightest perception of the economic necessities of the period of upbuilding to follow the desolation of war, like Grant, who bade Lee retain the horses of his army as they would be needed for the spring ploughing, the policy advocated by Stevens would have seemed one of madness and barbarism.

Then came negro suffrage. If the Thirteenth Amendment prohibiting slavery were ratified, Lincoln was content to be "pretty nearly or quite done with Constitutional Amendments." Not so Sumner and the radical reconstructionists. Resistance on the part of the South to the outrages and oppressions of reconstruction measures, was to be punished by subjecting the white population to the rule of the negro, to the end that the fruits of reconstruction, as the dominant party had planned and imposed it,

might be made secure. The ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment was forced upon the States of the South, and reconstruction, except for its failures, its crimes, its frightful consequences to the people who were its victims, was complete.

Contemporary opinion of this work of oppression, in which passion supplanted patriotism and the establishment of party supremacy was made paramount to the reestablishment of the perfect union of the States, spoke its protest in a memorial addressed to Congress by the New York Chamber of Commerce. A special meeting of that body was held on May 10th, 1866, called to consider and report upon the tax proposed by Congress of five cents a pound on cotton. There was talk at the meeting of the tyranny of taxation without representation. It was pointed out that the unjust impost would deepen the economic blight that already rested upon the South. In the memorial occurs these passages:

"The Committee feel that it would be wiser and better to lift up those who are now cast down, and by just and generous legislation to inspire the Southern people with the hope of better days, rather than by an opposite course to prolong the era of political and commercial distrust. . . .

"It should appear in after-years, when prosperity in the South takes the place of present adversity and fraternal relations are again restored in and out of Congress, that in the days of her weakness the North and West did not take undue advantage of the South."

That voice of the larger statesmanship, that vision of the coming time when the conquered half of the Union should vie with the conquering half in adding to its wealth, and in helping us on in our irresistible progress toward our present greatness among nations, may have been heard, but it was not heeded. Yet it was all easy to foresee. To an unprejudiced mind the planning of a wise and saving policy would not have been difficult. Lincoln was without prejudice. He saw into the future. The "Elder Statesmen" of the New York Chamber of Commerce took thought of future years and gave wise counsel. But long after the last shot was fired, after the soldiers of the victorious army had returned to productive toil, while the defenders of the lost cause, vanquished, tattered, ruined, were seeking ways and means to begin life anew, the vindictive spirit swayed Congress, and in decades of stagnation and poverty the South and the country paid the penalty of that blindness and perversity.

Present opinion of the policy that prevailed forty years ago, and particularly of the policy of placing the ballot in the hands of freed slaves, may be read in a multitude of utterances.

Speaking at Lexington, Virginia, upon the occasion of the centennial of the birth of General Robert E. Lee on January 19th last, Charles Francis Adams used these words:

"Because no blood flowed on the scaffold and no confiscation of homes or lands marked the close of our war of secession, it has always been assumed by us of the victorious party that extreme, indeed unprecedented, clemency was shown to the vanquished. On the contrary, it may not unfairly be doubted whether a people prostrated after civil strife has often received severer measure than was inflicted on the so-called reconstructed Confederate States immediately succeeding the close of strife."

Discredited at the time, repudiated by the political heirs of its authors and of its beneficiaries, condemned by the blight and disaster inflicted upon millions of people, the policy of ostracism pursued against the South has had its full day. If we are not now one Union of States, we never shall be one; and if either the passions of far-off conflict or the ban of long-past errors are still ghosts that can be made to walk and inspire fright, then it is clear that we are forevermore doomed to be not one people, but two.

It is not so. There is no taint of blood, no caste, no sectional disparity in this country of ours that abridges the privileges or bounds the honorable ambition of the men of one State more than those of another.

The Presidency is open to a candidate from the South.

Other reasons than considerations of human justice and the desire to make reparation for old wrongs, reasons of present vital force, commend the choice of a Southern Democrat for the honors of the nomination and of party leadership in 1908. It would be an act of wise national policy and of economic redemption. It would provide a way of escape from present-day tendencies toward courses of folly and of danger.

The South in coming years is undoubtedly to be the home of conservatism. It is to those States that we must look for sobered public opinion to oppose the radical doctrines that in the North have obscured the ancient faith of both parties, until, as Mr. Cleveland puts it, we see upon the banners borne by their leaders

new and strange symbols betokening the adoption of principles born of the restless, unsteady spirit of innovation, principles untried in our national life and unsanctioned by experience.

Disputable as the assertion may appear, the South, through the greater part of its political history, has been guided by the spirit of conservatism. The Civil War, with all its dreadful waste and fought as it was to destroy the Union, originated chiefly in the South's desire to defend and conserve political and property rights it held to be inalienable. The men of the South believed in the sovereign right of a State to resist Federal encroachment, and impartial history now concedes that the necessary compromises of the Convention that framed the Constitution, compromises without which it would have failed of ratification by the States, left that great question undetermined, to be forever settled by the war of 1861-65. They believed slaves to be property, lawful property. The extreme and unhappy measures to which they resorted were for the protection of what they believed to be the rights of their States, and of their property rights, which they had persuaded themselves were under menace from the triumphant Republican Party.

That the Know-nothing movement obtained no foothold in the South was an evidence also of the conservatism of its people. That manifestation of a narrow and prejudiced radicalism was confined to the North, where it attained to the dignity of party organization and political importance. The speeches of Henry A. Wise of Virginia gave voice to the broader enlightenment of the South, which favored a liberal policy of welcome and assimilation toward emigrants from the Old World, whose sturdy arms and patient toil have been of immeasurable service in the development of our national resources.

If the reproach be brought against the South that it gave hospitable acceptance to the financial doctrines of Mr. Bryan in 1896, it may be replied that his ideas attained their greatest momentum in the West and Northwest, and that belief in the virtues of bimetallism had taken root in so many Republican minds that the Republican candidate of that year doubted the expediency of a gold-standard declaration, and only after being much labored with did he reluctantly consent to make such a declaration himself.

Furthermore, at St. Louis in 1904, Southern delegates showed,

as Mr. John Sharp Williams phrased it, that while their warm hearts prompted them to express by cheers their personal admiration for Mr. Bryan, their cool judgment rejected much of his counsel and sanctioned the choice of other guides.

But most of all, and conspicuously, the conservatism of the South is manifested in its present critical and repelling attitude toward the newer articles of the Bryan faith. While recently solicited expressions from representative Democrats of the North present Mr. Bryan as the candidate certain to be named by the Democratic Convention next year, no other name being under consideration, representative men and many of the prominent Democratic newspapers of the South openly dissent from his doctrines, discountenance his ambition and express the hope that in the coming contest the party banner may be committed to other hands.

From the time when in his Madison Square Garden speech, delivered upon his return from Europe, Mr. Bryan advocated the Government ownership of railroads as a cure for abuses of corporate privilege, thus evidently hoping to take some of the wind out of the sails of Mr. Roosevelt, then and now stretched taut by every favoring breeze of radicalism, the South has looked with cold reserve upon the ambitious projects of the Nebraskan. The people of the Southern States have abundant reason for "viewing with alarm" any project for putting the operation of their railroads, under Federal laws, into Federal hands; and although Mr. Bryan has amended and modified his Government ownership plan, and has even attempted to withdraw it from present public consideration, the South continues to feel and to proclaim a profound distrust of a statesman capable of formulating, out of hand, a policy so repugnant to the people of States that in two campaigns have given him their loyal support.

Of necessity, the South is committed to conservative courses by its very rapid increase in wealth and productive power. Men who, after incredible hardships, by their genius and their toil have accumulated property, are little inclined to put it in jeopardy by inviting to posts of Government control and responsibility the "ambitious, unsteady and unsafe" advocates of strange and subversive policies. Nor can a continuance of industrial prosperity so dearly won be imperilled by encouraging one of the contestants in a mad race of radicalism.

In the past six years, the value of the South's cotton crop has

exceeded by \$1,185,963,100 the total value of the whole world's output of gold and silver. In two decades she has produced 184,182,400 bales of cotton, having a value of \$7,929,530,837. In gold or credits her exports of raw cotton have brought to the country more than \$2,000,000,000 in the last six years. In 1906, she produced 3,467,000 tons of pig-iron, \$641,720,000 worth of cotton, farm products of the value of \$2,000,000, lumber products of the value of \$300,000,000, and the assessed value of her property was \$8,025,000,000, an increase of nearly one hundred per cent. over the assessed valuation in 1890.

The South is astir with industrial life. From those States will come in the next decade the chief increase in the national wealth. Her best brains and her stoutest hands are engaged in the regeneration and the building up of her productive industries.

The voices, the votes and the influence of the men who are producing this new wealth in the South may surely be counted upon to help on any intelligently organized effort to rescue the Democratic Party from the perils of reckless adventures, and to set its feet once more in the path of safety.

The South has men of Presidential amplitude and capacity. She has but to come to a consciousness of her right, of her interest, of her power, and to offer to the Democracy of the nation a candidate of recognized worth to secure instant attention. If she would unite her forces with the Democrats of those Northern States where counsels of conservatism still prevail, or where such counsels would at once prevail if the path of hope and of success could be brought into view, the control of the National Convention could be secured, and the dawn of a new day would break upon the disorganized ranks of the Democracy.

These are but some of the reasons, for there are many others, why these States of the Union with a population of over twenty-three millions, the intelligent portion of which is already possessed by the spirit of conservatism, and by inclination no less than by interest is induced to follow conservative courses, should take their right and equal place in the coming great contest. So, I repeat, the path to the White House should not be closed to the men of the South, but rather broadened, that the standard of politics and government may be lifted up in our country.

A NATIONAL DEMOCRAT.

STATE VALUATION OF RAILROADS. SOME OF THE PROBLEMS.

BY CHARLES HANSEL.

IN 1900, an exhaustive and intelligent survey was made of every railroad in the State of Michigan—including rolling-stock in and out of the State, and every item owned, controlled or operated by the railroads—in order to determine their value for the purpose of taxation. The problems which arose in this study were numerous and complex, and the Governor decided to appoint a commission, composed of engineers from outside of the State, to adjudicate the various questions propounded by the engineer in charge of the survey. The writer was a member of this commission and fully appreciates the difficulty of establishing the value of a railroad, either for the purpose of taxation or ascertaining its general value to the State, or to all the States.

The Sunberg Committee of the Minnesota State Senate has lately made public a report setting forth the results of its study on the railways of Minnesota. This report does not advise us as to the object in view in attempting to place a valuation upon the property of the several railroads in that State. The terms "cost" and "value" are frequently used synonymously, but it is not always apparent that cost and value are directly related.

If the topography, climate, distribution of fuel and water, and the competition by means of navigation were equal throughout the State, and if an infinite mind had directed the development of the country in the location and construction of its railways, it might be practicable to establish the value and, also, a flat rate for service per mile for all railroads throughout the State. The value of a railroad to an undeveloped country, where it furnishes the only means of transport, cannot be measured by the same rule which may be applied to a more populous section.

Comparisons between the railroads of Great Britain and the United States have been frequently attempted, generally to the disadvantage of this country. Such comparisons are of little value because of the widely different conditions which were attendant upon the building of the first railways in both countries. Great Britain was a developed country, with large industries throughout the land; a heavy traffic awaited more convenient means of transportation than could be afforded by the canal and the highway; and, in the building of the first railroads, the entire subject of location and construction was carefully investigated and supervised by Parliament. Money was cheap. The railroads were carefully and substantially built, and were certain to secure an abundant traffic.

In the United States, the situation was directly opposite. The country was unexplored; little was known of the conditions west of the Mississippi; and there were not more than ten million white inhabitants. Money was dear. There were few factories, and no assurance of traffic to support the railroads. There was no government direction in the location or construction of the railroads; consequently, no large plan was followed in their building. The courage of the individual, unsupported by the assurance of traffic, inaugurated the great system of railroads which to-day is unrivalled.

The average cost of all railways in the United Kingdom is \$270,000 per mile. The average cost of all railroads in the United States is \$64,000 per mile.

England developed her railroads; the United States was developed by the railroads.

The conditions have been reversed since 1830. The problem with the railroads to-day is not so much how to get more business as how to carry the existing traffic at low cost. Modern methods of construction were not applied in the original building of any of the railroads in the United States. They were built along the line of least resistance, without much regard to grade or curvature. The economic demands of modern traffic have required, upon the part of such railroads as the Pennsylvania, the Baltimore and Ohio, the Vanderbilt lines, the Harriman lines and other trunk lines, that they should expend enormous sums of money on improvements which are, in a large measure, merely corrective of original defects in location and construction which resulted from

former methods and from enforced economy due to the high price of money and the uncertainty of earnings. The policy of the original constructors was to build as cheaply as possible. To cheapness of construction was sacrificed shortness of line and flatness of grade and curvature. This policy was, perhaps, the better one at the time it was adopted, because the country was sparsely settled, and the most sanguine failed to grasp the growth that was to follow. We must, therefore, keep in mind all the items of cost, from the very inception of the railroad to the present time, in an attempt to determine the whole cost; and even though we may be able to determine its cost in this careful manner, we may not be able to determine its value.

In its physical condition and in the quality of its service, the greater part of the mileage of our trunk-line systems equals, and in many respects excels, the railroads of Great Britain and the Continent. The rates of carriage for both passenger and freight are below the rates charged for similar service in any other country, and, at the same time, enormous dividends are paid; while in Great Britain, with rates of carriage considerably higher than here, the dividends paid are entirely unsatisfactory to the holders of the shares; and the last report of the railroads of Great Britain calls serious attention to the low net earnings of the railways and public carriers, and suggests that it may be necessary to advance the rates.

In Great Britain, no new work or general improvement can be carried out without the detailed plans and estimates of cost being first submitted to Parliament; and that body decides whether or not the work is to be done. If the proposed construction is authorized, an issue of fresh shares must be sold to provide money for the improvement. This system naturally increases the capital account of the railroads year by year, the theory being that the stockholder of to-day should not have his dividend diminished for improvements which are for the benefit of the stockholder of to-morrow. The net earning value of the improvements has evidently been overestimated, and the market value of shares is, on most English railways, constantly falling. In the United States, a considerable amount of development and many permanent improvements have been made from the earnings, and the stockholder has been compelled to await the time when, through the great development of the country, he may

receive dividends earned beyond the necessity for improvements and maintenance.

The expenditures called for by the 1907 orders (in the United States) for equipments alone is enormous. One road has ordered 6,700 freight-cars, exclusive of undelivered orders of last year's contracts; 110 passenger-cars, and 191 locomotives, besides 21 due from 1906 orders. Another railroad has ordered 150 locomotives, 4,000 forty-ton box-cars, and 1,000 fifty-ton steel cars. We do not know whether this equipment is to be charged to operating expenses or otherwise. The items are cited as an index of the enormous demand for increased equipment.

Generally speaking, the capital stock issue of the railroads of this country represents increment or appreciation, franchise value and good-will, as most of the railroads have been built from the sale of bonds; and it is only within the last few years that the common stock has been offered to the public for the purpose of making definite improvements or acquiring additional trackage or other facilities. The present value of the stock, therefore, represents the increased value of the property; and the problem seems to be to determine what percentage of this increment is due to the stockholders of the railroads, and what percentage is due to the State. There should be a fair division of this increased value. Since the existing stock is now in the hands of the public, however, and not in the possession of the railroad creating it, it seems difficult to consider any retroactive division of the increment. We should determine how the future increment will be shared between the railroad and the State, whose servant it is.

The work in Michigan was designed to fix a value upon the railroads of that State for the purpose of taxation. The value was divided into physical and franchise, or intangible, value, and the method of determining franchise value in that State was to capitalize the net earnings at five per cent. and add the amount to the estimated value of the property, obtained by adding item to item of the cost of reproduction. Under this system, if the net earning is \$1,000 per mile, \$20,000 is added to the value of the railroad for the purpose of taxation; and had this \$1,000 been expended upon the property, thereby eliminating net earnings and creating physical value and increased efficiency, or if it had been absorbed in operating expenses, the railroad would have saved \$19,000 per mile in its taxable value.

If the purpose of determining the physical and franchise value of the railroads within a State is to secure equal taxation on all property, treating all property on a common theory, it would appear that all corporations and business of every kind operating under the protection of patents, good-will, etc., should be assessed on physical and intangible value. The intangible, or use and occupancy, value of a railroad is similar to the patent, trade-mark or good-will value of a business. Many of the manufacturing industries charge a large amount of their capital issue to patents and good-will; and, indeed, in many cases, the costly factory would have small value for any other purpose than the specific one it was built to serve. The United States Steel Corporation might be selected as a notable example.

All business organizations and corporate companies, other than public utilities, are free to limit their productions, and are not compelled to operate at a loss in order to preserve their charter rights. In the case of a railroad or other public utility, however, certain service must be continuously given for the benefit of the public, whether this service is performed at a profit or at a loss to the corporation. It is fair to presume that neither the railroads, or public utilities, nor the private industries, or industrial corporations, would care to eliminate the intangible, patent, trade-mark or good-will value in estimating the total value of their respective properties, except, perhaps, for the purpose of taxation.

Since the railroad and other public utilities are common carriers and the servants of the people, and are subject to special police regulation which requires them to perform public services which, in some cases, are unprofitable, may not the value of a railroad be properly considered on a different theory from that applied to other property not operating under a similar charter?

The earning power of a railroad is gauged by the volume of business, the cost per ton or passenger mile and the fixed charges. The cost per train mile is approximately the same whether the train has a capacity of two hundred tons or four hundred tons. It is evident, therefore, that the earning capacity of a railroad which, by reason of its flat grades and easy curvature, can haul four hundred tons per train would be, on a given tonnage, nearly one hundred per cent. more than the earnings of another railroad which, with the same equipment and crew, could haul but two

hundred tons per train. It will be frequently found that the road capable of carrying the greater tonnage, at smaller cost per ton mile, would cost much less to build than the road of smaller capacity costing more to construct, for the reason that the first-named road lies in easier country or has been located with greater skill. Assuming, however, that each road costs \$50,000 per mile to build, one earns \$2,000 per mile net, the other \$1,000 per mile net. According to the Michigan theory, the first road would be taxed on a basis of \$90,000 per mile, the second on a basis of \$70,000 per mile. This scheme may work out fairly well for purposes of taxation, but the value of these two roads, viewed by an investor, would be in favor of the road earning \$2,000 per mile, as it has the capacity of earning twice the dividends. It is, of course, difficult to insure accurate and equal accounting to determine the net earnings of a railroad, and the gross earnings cannot be considered as a measure of the value because of the difference in capacity to haul freight cheaply. The gross earnings of one road, by reason of the business carried, may be greater and its net earnings less than that of another railroad which, by reason of its location, organization, etc., is able to carry its business at a much smaller cost per ton per mile. If it were practicable to determine what the net earnings should be, it would be practicable to base one value of a railroad entirely upon its net earnings. Net earnings are properly declared after fixed charges and operating expenses are paid. In order to provide a check on the fixed charges, it seems necessary to fix upon a plan for determining the cost of the physical property of the railroad.

The independence of each State complicates many of the difficulties. One of the problems before the Michigan Commission was to determine the value of a railroad terminal as compared with the value of the road per mile outside the terminal. This question is difficult to determine even though the terminals and all the mileage lie within a single State; but, as is frequently the case, both terminals may lie without the State. The value of a railroad for the purpose of conducting traffic is its continuity of track, its physical condition, its terminals and general trackage, and its motive power and rolling-stock. Generally speaking, the oldest railroads have the largest terminal properties, and, as the country developed, these terminal properties became more and more valuable; and, in some cases, they became the most im-

portant feature in the value of the railroads because, by reason of owning these large terminal properties, they were able to develop and furnish terminal facilities for new railroads seeking entrance to the cities in which the terminals were located. The value of these terminals to the old roads is often sufficient to offset the excessive cost of the original construction of the line between and the improvements which have followed.

There are cases where it would be economical for a railroad to abandon its line entirely and build through different territory between two large cities, thereby saving in operating cost for carrying the same tonnage between the same terminals. This saving in cost of operation, if capitalized at five per cent., would more than equal the cost of building a new line. Towns and industries, however, have grown up along the old line which must be served, and railroads are generally prohibited from acquiring parallel lines. Consequently, the higher cost of carrying between the terminals must continue; and, if a new organization constructs a line in the easier territory suggested, and secures satisfactory terminals, it is apparent that the traffic of the new company can be conducted at a smaller cost, providing, however, they can secure the tonnage. The securing of business depends not only on convenient terminals and efficient organization, but also upon the contract agreements the road has with other railroads which are in a position to give or withhold the business.

It seems to be generally conceded that many of the railroads of this country have abused their corporative privileges and that the State and Federal Governments should take supervision over their general conduct. There is danger, however, of unjust legislation if each State works independently. In some States, statutes have been enacted covering the control of some specific part of a railroad, such as the crossing of one railroad with another at grade, notably in Illinois, Ohio and Indiana. Under the new statutes in Indiana, a new railroad building through that State is compelled to pay all the cost of installing the grade crossing, together with the installation of a complete system of interlocking and signalling and its operation and maintenance forever. While this law was intended to protect traffic at grade crossings, it puts upon the junior road a very large expense.

The cost of a railroad is one thing. The value of a railroad may be measured in many different ways according to the neces-

sity for its continued operation. The investor gauges its value according to its ability to pay fixed charges and dividends. The State may measure its value on the broader lines of the greatest good to the greatest number, or it may narrow its view by considering its tax-producing appraisal. The town or village or industry which has had birth and life by reason of the railroads view its value from the point of view of local selfish interest; and so we find many meanings for the word "value" as applied to railroads.

If we take the broad view of its general usefulness we may question the propriety of placing a greater value on one part of a railroad than on another part or we may not say that one railroad is more valuable than another to the State; but rather that, since it is the continuity of track and the service rendered that make a railroad valuable, every foot of it is just as valuable as every other foot, regardless of the difference in cost between the various sections. After all, we may not be far wrong when we say that, since the ability to pay taxes and dividends depends upon the ability to earn, the true measure of value is its net earning.

The railroad has another value not directly measured by the standard of money—and that is, its value as one of the great promoters of temperance, industry and loyalty. The railway management long since uttered its ultimatum against the use of intoxicants, and to-day we find no more potent force for the promotion of temperance than the railroads. A man who drinks need not hope for employment on a railroad. There are no more loyal servants than the railroad commands. All of the various branches of the service are thoroughly organized and year by year are gleaning, from experience and study, the knowledge of how to secure the best results. The real working forces of our railroads are constantly alert to the necessity of vigilance and progress.

If any one doubts the earnestness and ability of the railroad forces let him attend a convention of the American Railway Association, the Maintenance of Way Association or the Master Car-Builders, Master Mechanics, or the Signal Associations. He will learn that day by day, for years, these men have worked on the solution of all the multifarious problems attendant upon the building, maintaining and operation of railroads. If the rail-

roads were able and willing to work to their adopted standards, we would find the number of accidents greatly reduced.

The majority of railroad men would welcome State or Federal supervision of the railroads so that they might have the power of the law behind their specifications. Individual States have attempted radical legislation as a corrective of the evils by forcing a blanket rate for carrying passengers. This will not correct the trouble, nor is it even justice.

What we need is a safe and efficient railway system throughout the land, which will give impartial service. We need more railroad facilities. We need to know the method of issuing and placing the securities which form so large a part of our investments. We want the railroad to earn money enough to build, equip and operate according to the highest-class specifications which it is reasonable to impose under the various conditions. Can we not accomplish this by Federal supervision?

The first step should be to secure knowledge of actual conditions by a careful appraisal of the costs, the physical condition, the operating expenses, and the business available. While this appraisal is being made, chartered public accountants or Government examiners should prepare a statement of the accounts, covering, as far as possible, all the construction charges. Having ascertained the physical condition, we should compel the installation of the improvements necessary to bring each particular road up to the standard determined upon for its class.

Knowing all the conditions, we must sanction rates which will provide revenue sufficient to enable the roads to carry out the improvements we require. There should be Government inspection of the accounting, of the physical conditions and of the operating methods; and these inspectors should be shifted continually, so that no man might check his own work.

In order to accomplish this, it seems necessary to organize the several State Railroad Commissions into a national body, the chairman of which might properly be a Federal appointee. This national body could then formulate regulations which would insure uniform standards and could conduct all the work outlined without involving the question of State rights. All accidents could be investigated by the engineers of the several States and reported to the national body, thus insuring uniform action and avoiding large expense. The national organization could formu-

late and recommend legislation, so that we might have uniform laws to govern the railroads.

It is likely that this national body would be of such great importance to each State that the best men would be selected to serve upon it. By this means, the importance of the Railroad Commission of each State would be increased and the whole country would be benefited. The railroads would know exactly what was to be expected; and, while the road might be inter-State so far as boundary lines were concerned, its operation would be simplified by having the same conditions to meet in every State. We should avoid any attitude which would tend to throttle progress in any of the details of a railroad; we should govern in such manner as to invite capital to the building of much-needed facilities; and we should, and can, place a premium on the honest and able administration of every railroad.

CHARLES HANSEL.

THE NEW THEOLOGY IN ENGLAND.

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON.

"And he said, So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the ground; and should sleep and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how."

I.—THE REV. R. J. CAMPBELL, THEOLOGIAN.

THERE are signs that we are in the midst of a religious awakening equal in power and promise to any in history, more impersonal than any in history. As the wind bloweth whither it listeth, so the wind of the Spirit is blowing on the hearts of men, kindling in them a new sense of reverence before the divinity of life. It is said that Luther once declared that in fifteen years there would be no Catholic Church. But, in reality, the Catholic Church owes as much to Luther as do the Protestant Churches and drew from the religious upheaval of his day a new accession of spiritual force and purity. In like manner, one might have thought, a generation ago, when the tide of Darwinism was in full flood, that in fifteen years there would be no more Christian belief. Just the opposite result has come from Darwin's teaching—as was inevitable, seeing that it contains so much spiritual truth. Christian belief, purified by the touch with nature's forces, has burst forth into new life and growth which is already transforming the thought of the world, and with it the Christian Churches.

The tides of thought set in motion by Darwin are washing away the incrustations of centuries. It may seem strange, but it is true, that one result of Darwin's work is to bring us closer to the teaching of Jesus; less strange, perhaps, if we remember that Jesus was full of the sense of the growing forces of nature, drawing thence all his images of spiritual life, and teaching evolution in a far wider sense than Darwin. The appeal to

experience, the return to nature, must bring us closer to the thought and feeling of Jesus. So it is natural, while it is also wonderful, that the great recent growth in knowledge should bring out the teaching of Jesus with fresh lustre and power.

Darwin studied natural life with reverence, courage, intuition and faith. The movement which we may call the New Theology studies all life, natural and spiritual, in the same spirit. And, just as many others were feeling their way to the teaching of evolution at the same time as Darwin, so many hearts in many countries are awakening to-day to the new spiritual light. One of the most forceful and eloquent prophets of the new views in England is Mr. R. J. Campbell, who has succeeded Dr. Parker, as minister of the City Temple. His recent book, "The New Theology," has been made the subject of scores of sermons, in praise or blame. An American edition has brought it within the reach of readers in this country. I shall try to give some account of its thought, as far as possible, in the writer's own words.

The New Theology is essentially Christian, in the fullest sense. It holds that the religious experience which came to the world in Jesus can supply all needs, and only requires to be freed from limiting statements in order to lay firm hold once more upon the civilized world. The New Theology is an untrammelled return to the Christian sources in the light of modern thought. Its starting-point is a re-emphasis of the Christian belief in the divine immanence in the universe and in mankind. The New Theology holds that we know nothing and can know nothing of the Infinite Cause whence all things proceed except as we read Him in His universe and in our own souls. It is the immanent God with whom we have to do; and, if this fact is once fully grasped, it will simplify all religious conceptions and give a working faith.

The word "God" stands for many things; but, in the thought of the movement we are considering, it stands for the uncaused Cause of all existence, the unitary principle implied in all multiplicity. Every one of necessity believes in this infinite unity. The finite universe is one means to the self-realization of the infinite. Supposing God to be the infinite consciousness, there are still possibilities for that consciousness which it can only know

as it becomes limited. Those to whom this thought is unfamiliar have only to look at their own experience to see how reasonable it is. You may know yourself to be a brave man, but you will know it in a higher way if you are a soldier facing the cannon's mouth; you will know it in a still different way if you have to face the hostility and prejudice of a whole community for standing by something which you believe to be right. It is one thing to know that you are a lover of truth; it is another thing to realize it when your immediate interest and your immediate safety would bid you hedge and lie. These facts of human nature may tell us something about God. To all eternity God is what He is and never can be other, but it will take Him to all eternity to live out all that He is. In order to manifest the possibilities of His being, God must limit that being. There is no other way in which the fullest self-realization can be attained. No part of the universe has value in and for itself alone; it has value only as it expresses God. To see one form break up and another take its place is no calamity, however terrible it may seem, for it only means that the life contained in that form has gone back to the universal life, and will express itself again in some higher and better form. To think of God in this way is an inspiration and a help in the doing of the humblest tasks. It redeems life from the dominion of the sordid and the commonplace. It supplies an incentive to endeavor, and fills the heart with hope and confidence. To put it in homely, every-day phraseology, God is getting at something and we must help Him. We must be His eyes and hands and feet; we must be laborers together with Him. This fits in with what science has to say about the very constitution of the universe; it is all of a piece; there are no gaps anywhere. It is a divine experiment without risk of failure, and we must interpret it in terms of our own highest.

It follows from what has already been said that we know nothing and can know nothing of God except as we read Him in the universe, and we can only interpret the universe in terms of our own consciousness. In other words, man is a microcosm of the universe. What the universe may be, we do not know. We can only know it in so far as it produces images in our minds, and enters into our individual consciousness. The New Theology starts with the assumption that the universe is God's thought about Himself, and that "in so far as I am able to think it

along with Him, 'I and my Father (even metaphysically speaking) are one.'" The so-called material world is our consciousness of reality exercising itself along a strictly limited plane. We can know just as much as we are constituted to know, and no more. But it is all a question of consciousness. The larger and fuller a consciousness becomes, the more it can grasp and hold of the consciousness of God, the fundamental reality of our being as of everything else.

We have an opening into larger fields of consciousness in our knowledge of what is called the subconscious mind, or the subliminal consciousness. Our discovery of its existence has taught us that our ordinary consciousness is but a small corner of our larger consciousness. It has been well compared to an island in the Pacific, which is really the summit of a mountain whose base is miles below the surface. Summit and base are one, and yet no one realizes when standing on the little island that he is perched at the very top of a mountain peak. So it is with our every-day consciousness of ourselves; we find it difficult to realize that this consciousness is not all there is of us. But when we come to examine the facts, the conclusion is irresistible, that of our truer, deeper being we are ordinarily quite unconscious. Beyond the ordinary self, whom we are familiar with, there is a larger self, vastly greater than we know. This larger self is, in all probability, a perfect and eternal spiritual being integral to the being of God. The surface self is the incarnation of some portion of that true eternal self which is one with God.

Another inference from our knowledge of the subconscious mind is that of the fundamental unity of the whole human race. Ultimately your being and mine are one, and we shall come to know it. Individuality only has meaning in relation to the whole, and individual consciousness can only be fulfilled by expanding until it embraces the whole. Nothing that exists in our consciousness now and constitutes our self-knowledge will ever be obliterated or ever can be, but in a higher state of existence we shall realize it to be a part of the universal stock. "I shall not cease to be I, nor you to be you; but there must be a region of experience where we shall find that you and I are one."

A third inference, already implied in all that has gone before, is that the highest of all selves, the ultimate Self of the universe, is God. The New Testament speaks of man as body, soul and

spirit. The body is the thought form through which the individuality finds expression on our present limited plane; the soul is a man's consciousness of himself as apart from all the rest of existence and even from God—it is the bay seeing itself as the bay and not as the ocean; the spirit is the true being thus limited and expressed—it is the deathless divine within us. The soul, therefore, is what we make it; the spirit we can neither make nor mar, for it is at once our being and God's. "God is my deeper Self and yours, too; He is the Self of the universe and knows all about it." He is never baffled and cannot be baffled; the whole cosmic process is one long incarnation and uprising of the being of God from itself to itself. The being of God is a complex unity, containing within itself and harmonizing every form of self-consciousness that can possibly exist. No one need be afraid that in believing this he is assenting to the final obliteration of his own personality. No form of self-consciousness can ever perish. It completes itself in becoming infinite, but it cannot be destroyed.

We come now to the personality of Jesus. In the view of the New Theology, the character of Jesus represents the highest standard for human attainment; it is an ideal already manifested in history. If the life of Jesus was lived consistently, from first to last, with perfect love, directed toward impersonal ends, in such a way as to be and do the utmost for the whole, what can we call it except divine? We should restrict the word "divine" to the kind of consciousness which knows itself to be, and rejoices to be, the expression of a love which is a consistent self-giving to the universal life. Jesus was divine because his life was governed wholly by this principle.

In Jesus, humanity was divinity, and divinity humanity. Christendom recognizes the life of Jesus as the standard of human excellence. But this is not to say that we shall never reach that standard too. Quite the contrary. We must reach it, in order to fulfil our destiny and to crown and complete the work of Jesus. Traditional orthodoxy would restrict the description, "God manifest in the flesh," to Jesus alone. The New Theology would extend it in a lesser degree to all humanity, and would maintain that, in the end, it will be as true of every individual soul as ever it was of Jesus: "as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one of us. . . . I

in them and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one."

The reason why the name of Jesus has such power in the world to-day is because a perfectly noble and unselfish life was crowned by a perfectly sacrificial death. The life and death together were a perfect self-offering, the offering of the unit to the whole, the individual to the race, the Son to the Father, "and, therefore, the greatest manifestation of the innermost of God that has ever been made to the world." In this self-offering was the perfect manifestation of the eternal Christ, the humanity which reveals the innermost of God, the humanity which is love. To partake of the benefits of that Atonement, we have to unite ourselves to it; "to die to self with Christ, and rise with Him into the experience of larger, fuller life, the life eternal."

While the resurrection is a symbol, the New Theology holds that it is also a fact, taking its stand on broad ground that, without a belief in a resurrection, Christianity could not have made a start at all. The disciples must have become convinced that they had seen Jesus face to face, after the world believed Him to be dead and buried. How are we to account for this confidence of theirs that they had once more looked upon the face of Jesus?

In the view of Mr. Campbell, insistence upon the impossibility of a physical resurrection presumes an essential distinction between spirit and matter, which he cannot admit. The philosophy underlying the New Theology may be called a monistic idealism, and monistic idealism recognizes no fundamental distinction between matter and spirit. The fundamental reality is consciousness. The so-called material world is the product of consciousness exercising itself along a certain limited plane; the next stage of consciousness above this is not an absolute break with it, although it is an expansion of experience or a readjustment of focus. "Admitting that individual consciousness persists beyond the change called death, it only means that such consciousness is being exercised along another plane; from a three-dimensional, it has entered a four-dimensional, world. This new world is no less and no more material than the present; it is all a question of the range of consciousness. . . . Does this throw any light upon the mysterious appearances and disappearances of the body of Jesus? . . . Here we have a being, whose consciousness belongs to the fourth-dimensional plane, adjusting Himself to

the capacity of those on a three-dimensional plane for the sake of proving beyond dispute that—

‘Life is ever lord of death,
And love can never lose its own.’

This seems to me the most reasonable explanation of the post-resurrection appearances of Jesus, and the impression produced by them on the minds of His disciples.”

So far, the views of this eloquent preacher on the main points of Christian teaching. I have used his own words as far as possible throughout, inserting marks of quotation where misunderstanding might arise from the use of the first person. It must be held in mind that Mr. Campbell addresses himself with persuasive reasonableness to the many doubts and objections which his views cannot fail to arouse. To do full justice to his thought and method, readers must go to his book.

II.—SIR OLIVER LODGE, SCIENTIST.

Theology has gone thus far toward an understanding and reconciliation with the modern philosophic spirit. Let us see what science, the other pole of organized thought, has to say of the same high problems. It would, of course, have been conceivable that the new forces of knowledge should profoundly affect theology, but that, at the same time, students of science should restrict themselves to the study of natural phenomena, and hold aloof from all religious themes. They have not done so, however. One of the most eminent men of science, Sir Oliver Lodge, has devoted years of thought and study to these very questions, viewed in the light of scientific knowledge. Let me try to give some account of his conclusions, as stated in his recent book, “The Substance of Faith,” once more using his own words as far as possible.

In the view of Sir Oliver Lodge, the law of the Universe, and the will of God are to be regarded as in some sort synonymous terms. It is impossible properly to define such a term as “God,” but it is permissible reverently to use the term for a mode of regarding the Universe as invested with what in human beings we call personality, consciousness and other forms of intelligence, emotion and will. These attributes, undoubtedly possessed by a part, are not to be denied to the whole, however little we may be able as yet to form a clear conception of their larger meaning.

We are a part of the Universe, and the Universe is a part of God. Even we also, therefore, have a Divine Nature and may truly be called sons and co-workers with God.

The process of evolution can be regarded as the gradual unfolding of the Divine Thought, or *Logos*, throughout the universe, by the action of Spirit upon matter. Achievement seems as if irradiated by a certain happiness: and thus a poet like Browning is led to speak of the Divine Being as renewing his ancient creative rapture in the processes of nature: joying in the sunbeams basking upon sand, sharing the pleasures of the wild life in the creatures of the woods,

“Where dwells enjoyment there is He;”

and so to conjecture that

“God tastes an infinite joy
In infinite ways—one everlasting bliss
From whom all being emanates, all power
Proceeds; in whom is life for evermore.”

The Intelligence which guides things is not something external to the scheme, clumsily interfering with it by muscular action, as we are constrained to do, when we interfere at all; but is something within and inseparable from it, as human thought is within and inseparable from the action of our brains. In some partially similar way we conceive that the multifarious processes in nature, with neither the origin nor maintenance of which we have had anything to do, must be guided and controlled by some Thought and Purpose, immanent in everything, but revealed only to those with sufficiently awakened perceptions. To the highest members of our race, the Intelligence and Purpose, underlying the whole mystery of existence, elaborating the details of evolution, are clearly visible.

The double nature of man,—the inherited animal tendencies and the inspired spiritual aspirations,—if they can both be fully admitted, reconcile many difficulties. Our body is an individual collocation of cells, which began to form and grow together at a certain date, and will presently be dispersed; but the constructing and dominating reality called our “soul” did not then begin to exist, nor will it cease with bodily decay. Interaction with the material world then began, and will then cease, but we ourselves in essence are persistent and immortal. Even our personality

and individuality may be persistent, if our character be sufficiently developed to possess a reality of its own. In our present state, truly, the memory of our past is imperfect or non-existent; but, when we waken and shake off the tenement of matter, our memory and consciousness may enlarge too, as we rejoin the larger self of which only a part is now manifested in mortal flesh.

The ancient doctrine of a previous state of existence, of which we are now entranced into forgetfulness, is inculcated in the well-known lines of Wordsworth's "Ode":

"Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
The Soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar:
Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home."

The idea of gradual incarnation—growing as the brain and body grow, but never attaining any approach to completeness even in the greatest of men—sets one above innumerable petty difficulties, and seems an opening in the direction of the truth. On this view, the portion of the larger self incarnated in an infant or a feeble-minded person is but small: in normal cases, more appears as the body is fitted to receive it. In some cases, much appears, thus constituting a great man; while in others, again, a link of occasional communication is left open between the part and the whole—producing what we call "genius." Second childishness is the gradual abandonment of the material vehicle, as it gets worn out or damaged. But, during the episode of this life, man is never a complete self, his roots are in another order of being, he is moving about in worlds not realized, he is as if walking in a vain shadow and disquieting himself in vain.

As to the question whether we ever again live on earth, it appears unlikely on this view that a given developed individual will appear again in unmodified form. If my present self is a fraction of a larger self, some other fraction of that larger self may readily be thought of as arriving,—to gain practical experience in the world of matter, and to return with developed character to the whole whence it sprang. And this operation may be repeated frequently; but these hypothetical fractional appearances can hardly be spoken of as reincarnations. We must not dogma-

tize, however, on the subject, and the case of the multitudes at present thwarted and returned at infancy may demand separate treatment.

The idea of Redemption or Regeneration, in its highest and most Christian form, is applicable to both soul and body. The life of Christ shows us that the whole man can be regenerated as he stands; that we have not to wait for a future state, that the Kingdom of Heaven is in our midst and may be assimilated by us here and now. The term "salvation" should not be limited to the soul, but should apply to the whole man. What kind of transfiguration may be possible, *or may have been possible*, in the case of a perfectly emancipated and glorified body we do not yet know.

The most essential element in Christianity is its conception of a human God; of a God, in the first place, not apart from the Universe, not outside it and distinct from it, but immanent in it; yet not immanent only, but actually incarnate, incarnate in it and revealed in the Incarnation. The nature of God is displayed in part by everything, to those who have eyes to see; but it is displayed most clearly and fully by the highest type of existence, the highest experience to which the process of evolution has so far opened our senses. The Humanity of God, the Divinity of man, is the essence of the Christian revelation.

Here is the central thought of Sir Oliver Lodge, speaking as a representative of the foremost science of our time. One cannot fail to see that, point by point, he is teaching the same doctrine as Mr. Campbell: the immanent God; the personal self as only a fragment of the higher self; the higher self as a link, a stepping-stone to the divine consciousness; the incarnation of Jesus, His life and death, as revelations of divine consciousness, and therefore a prophecy of that future when "we shall be like Him in glory." The thoughts, the very words, are the same. Not that either borrows from the other; but the same Spirit is blowing on the hearts of both, telling of a new awakening of the religious life of mankind.

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

CHARLES ANDERSON DANA.

BY MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

IT is, from many points of view, an admirable piece of biography that is presented in a volume of some 550 pages, "The Life of Charles A. Dana," by James Harrison Wilson, LL.D., late Major-General U.S.V. (Harpers). The author met the subject of the book in the spring of 1863, during the operations against Vicksburg; and he served with him in the field during three of the most memorable campaigns of the Civil War. As a bureau officer of the War Department, General Wilson subsequently served under him for a short period, when Mr. Dana was Assistant Secretary of War. The two became close personal friends, and their intimacy remained unbroken up to Mr. Dana's death in October, 1897. Under the circumstances, the biographer was peculiarly well fitted to depict the first fifty years of his subject's life, and to describe the remarkable, if not unique, qualifications of his friend for the task upon which he entered early in 1868, when he assumed the editorship of the New York "Sun." If the book be open to criticism on any score, it is, perhaps, on this, that a great majority of readers might have liked to see a larger proportion of the space at the author's disposal devoted to the three decades during which Mr. Dana made a deep and lasting impression on his contemporaries, and his use of which in the development of a great newspaper constitutes his best title to remembrance. It is the last thirty years of his life to which, within the brief compass of this notice, we shall largely confine ourselves, after a cursory survey of the preceding many-sided experiences by means of which Charles A. Dana was so thoroughly equipped for the function of Editor-in-Chief.

I.

Born in 1819 at Hinsdale, a small town in Western New Hamp-

shire, Charles Anderson Dana was the descendant of a family which for six generations had been settled in New England. If we except an attenuated stream of Italian influence, derived from an ancestor of the first settler, the Dana family was of absolutely pure New England blood, which partly accounts, as the biographer suggests, for the fact that Mr. Dana all his life was one of the most stalwart believers in the American people, and one of the most devoted partisans of American institutions that the country has produced. For the self-reliance which was to form a distinctive element of his character, he was, doubtless, indebted in part to the circumstance that, after he entered his twelfth year, he had to be self-supporting, and to begin the process of self-education which he pursued until the end of his life. While still a youth, he taught himself Latin, Greek and German; and it was almost exclusively through his own exertions that he fitted himself to matriculate without conditions in 1839 at Harvard College, from which institution he ultimately received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, as of the class of 1843. He maintained himself for some two years at college, partly by school-teaching, and partly by newspaper writing; but, in the autumn of 1841, he joined the Brook Farm Association, which represented an honest and conscientious effort to combine cooperative labor with democratic living and intellectual improvement.

Here he remained until the summer of 1846, when he removed to New York, where he presently secured from Horace Greeley, whose acquaintance he had made five years before, employment as City Editor of the "Tribune." He remained attached to that paper as City Editor, European Correspondent, Managing Editor and Chief-of-staff, or First-Assistant Editor, until March, 1862, when he found further association with Greeley impracticable, and tendered to the trustees of the "Tribune" his resignation, which by them was reluctantly accepted. His literary activity had not been by any means confined to the columns of the "Tribune"; for in 1854 he had found time to edit "Putnam's Monthly," and in 1857 had brought out the "Household Book of Poetry," which has gone through many editions, and is still looked upon as one of the best collections, if not the very best, of the kind published in the English language. With his old Brook Farm friend, George Ripley, he entered in 1858 on the preparation of "The American Cyclopædia," the last volume of which

was completed in 1863. His receipts from the copyright on these works, his dividends from the shares in the "Tribune," of which he had become an owner, and his salary, which gradually had been raised to \$50 a week, enabled him and his family to live in comfort till the outbreak of the war between the States.

Immediately after terminating his connection with the "Tribune," he became associated with the War Office, where he maintained the most confidential relations to Lincoln and Stanton, and at more than one critical conjuncture was known as "the eyes of the Government at the front." Resigning the post of Assistant Secretary of War in July, 1865, he went to Chicago for the purpose of becoming editor of the "Daily Republican." He made the "Republican" a brilliant, able and interesting newspaper; but, as the promised capital of half a million dollars was not forthcoming, he decided, after a year of struggle and disappointment, to give up the enterprise, and buy or found a newspaper in New York. Late in December, 1867, or early in January, 1868, he closed the contract for the control of the New York "Sun," to which paper was to be given the fruitful remainder of his life.

II.

Summary as is this catalogue of the principal events in that part of Charles A. Dana's life which preceded his acquisition of the "Sun," it cannot have failed to demonstrate that no man, European or American, ever came to the editorship of a high-aiming journal so qualified by wide and ripe experience, and by diversified attainments. He knew his own country, North and South, East and West, as few have known it; he had learned to know Europe as an eye-witness of the fateful scenes of 1848; he knew books; he was proficient in a dozen languages and literatures; he was thoroughly conversant with public affairs not only as an observer and as a commentator, but as an actor; he had held for years a high and onerous post in the Federal administration, and he had made the intimate acquaintance of a multitude of public men in military and civil life. Above all, he knew the newspaper business with absolute completeness; its methods, its limitations, its purposes, its aspirations and its possibilities. He had come to be, in fine, an incomparable repository of knowledge, which was to be applied by him to the criticism of public affairs, with a wisdom acknowledged by impartial onlookers, and with

a benignity, a generosity and an acute sense of justice which only those nearest to him could at the time thoroughly appreciate, but which history will recognize.

As we pointed out at the time of his death, there has never lived in the United States a more genuine American than was Charles A. Dana. Never has our Commonwealth possessed a citizen more deeply impregnated by birth and education with the spirit of our institutions, or more thoroughly and fruitfully conversant with their workings and their transformations during the nineteenth century. From this point of view he has been at times compared with Horace Greeley. It is certain, however, that his mental training, in adolescence and early manhood, was much more broad, rigorous and stimulating, and that his stores of knowledge were far ampler and more various than were those of the elder journalist. Yet Greeley himself was not more purely and unmistakably a product of this country, of its traditions and of its atmosphere, than was Dana, whose stalwart and uncompromising Americanism was the outcome of ante-natal prepossessions, as well as of deep-rooted convictions and lifelong associations. Dana differed from Greeley, however, not only by virtue of a more virile temperament and much greater moral steadiness, but also in this significant particular that a far wider and more profound intellectual training had given him more unerring intuition, greater range of vision and of sympathy and a more powerful logical faculty. He had none of Greeley's premature self-confidence, and none of the latter's ill-timed irresolution after the die was cast.

We have seen that the habits and methods of application which Dana acquired at college gave him the instrument of self-instruction, but we should add that, from that day to the close of his life, he found or made opportunities of study amid the incessant imperative duties of a most exacting calling. Without underrating the charm or the value of classical history and literature, he used his academical attainments to unlock the treasures handed down in those languages of modern Europe which are daughters of the Latin speech, and he used his mastery of his native Anglo-Saxon to obtain an intimate acquaintance, not only with the kindred German, but with the allied Scandinavian tongues. As regards the scope and thoroughness of his literary accomplishments, he has never had an equal in this country within his own

profession. Literature, however, represented only one side of his equipment. He was one of the few men who, despite the cares of business and the constant labors of an arduous profession, have been able to keep pace with the current of scientific research and speculation; with the biological, botanical, astronomical, dynamical and philosophical discoveries and tendencies of his own time. Nor should the fact be overlooked that, in a singularly prehensile and trustworthy memory, were garnered the products of long observation and reflection on political, historical, sociological and economical phenomena. In a word, it could be said of him with incomparably more truthfulness than it was said of Ferdinand Lassalle that he came to journalism armed with all the learning of his epoch.

III.

As we pointed out in some former comments on the subject of this biography, it is characteristic of a great editor, as of a veritable social philosopher, that there is no topic of human interest in which he does not feel a lively intellectual concern. "*Nihil humani a me alienum puto*"—"I count nothing alien to me that is human"—should be recognized as the index of his attitude and the inspiration of his work. To an abiding and a pervasive sense of human solidarity, however, the heart must contribute as well as the head. Only an instinctive sympathy and a personal experience of struggle and hardship can reveal to the moral nature the pathos and solemnity of the problems of man's existence. The essential conditions of such a revelation were not lacking, as we have seen, in the early life of Charles A Dana. Not ignorant of poverty, he knew how to commiserate the poor. Himself unpropped by any of the accidents of fortune, he longed to make his fellow workers independent of such accidents. That the wish should become a hope and a deliberate endeavor was, perhaps, to be expected from an ardent youth in the fifth decade of the nineteenth century, when the minds of men were rocked by the ground-swell of revolution, and when the watchers on the hilltops caught, as they thought, glimpses of a wider and more benignant social order. Rightly to interpret Mr. Dana's subsequent career as editor of "The Sun," adequately to appreciate the sympathetic as well as the dynamic aspect of his character, one should not lose sight of the circumstance chronicled above, to wit, his entrance at the age of twenty-three into that band of wistful

reformers of society, whose Brook Farm experiment was a failure more illustrious than many a brilliant self-seeking success. It is also noteworthy that his first newspaper training was obtained in association with the "Harbinger," a journal avowedly devoted to social renovation. The imprint made upon the plastic fibre of his young manhood by such aspirations and experiences was never effaced. The influence of a youthful, but sincere and fervent, effort at the amelioration of social conditions ran like a silver streak, unchecked by the less sanguine hopes and the sobered convictions of riper years, through more than half a century of journalistic work. Hence it came to pass that, through the fifteen years of his association with the "Tribune" and the twenty-nine years of his control over "The Sun," Mr. Dana never shut his columns to the dreams and the proposals of any honest devotee to the improvement of society. He never denied to social reformers, what they vainly may have sought in many quarters, a forum of free discussion. An audience he never refused, though approval he might withhold. His reason may have forbidden him to countersign their arguments, but his heart told him that their aims at least were right.

The time has come to say that the magnitude of the services which Mr. Dana rendered to the "New York Tribune," considered as an organ of popular education, has never been appreciated. He himself was never known to allude to the self-effacement which obscured the volume and the value of his contributions to that newspaper. He seemed to have the kind of pride which shrinks even from the semblance of self-vindication, and which feels too firm a confidence in the power of future accomplishment to care to rehearse the past. Yet it is no secret to those familiar with the inner history of that journal that the extraordinary circulation and influence attained by it during the decade preceding the Civil War was largely, if not mainly, due to the development of Mr. Dana's aptitude for his vocation. So far as the "Tribune" became anything outside of a political newspaper—and it did, in fact, become something far more comprehensive, elevated and powerful than the mere advocate of political opinions—it was he, rather than Horace Greeley, who created it. The latter, indeed, was primarily, and would have been, if left to himself, exclusively, a writer of political leading articles. It was not Greeley, but his many-sided young coadjutor, who took

all learning for his province, and made the "Tribune" for a time a fountain of enlightenment and stimulation to the whole people of the North. There is also reason to believe that, even in politics, at more than one grave crisis, when Greeley's own faith faltered and his purpose swerved, he leaned for guidance and support on his more resolute co-worker. On the date of the passage of the Nebraska bill, for instance, Greeley almost despaired of the Republic, and it was Mr. Dana's hand that seized the "Tribune's" helm, and made it an irresistible promoter of the creation and the triumph of the Republican Party. Again, at the outbreak of the Rebellion, Greeley's heart sank, and his mind fluttered, and, refusing to heed the counsel of his undismayed associate, he caused the paper, which had made Lincoln's election possible, to become, in the eyes of the new President, an object of aversion and distrust.

There is no doubt that Mr. Dana's withdrawal from the "Tribune," which took place at this juncture, and his acceptance soon afterward of the office of Assistant Secretary of War, opened one of the most interesting chapters of his rich experience. The present biographer has well brought out how Dana, as the eye and right hand of Stanton at the front, watched and manipulated the mainsprings and driving-wheels of the stupendous machinery of war which had for its field a continent and for its aim the restoration of a dismembered empire. At the front, Dana was in a position to see victories in embryo and great commanders in the germ. His intuitive judgment of abilities and character, derived partly from nature, and partly from the practice of a profession which requires the power of instantaneous appraisal, he put at the service of his country on more than one unrecognized but critical occasion. Incompetence he punished with Roman ruthlessness; but many a gallant soldier he rescued from unmerited disgrace and showed him how he might pluck honor out of the jaws of disesteem. It is an indisputable fact, though he never asked nor received credit for it, that to Charles A. Dana more than to any other man was due the failure of the intrigue organized against Grant by McClelland during the siege of Vicksburg. Dana knew Grant and believed in him, and the Assistant Secretary's word had weight with Stanton. It is hard to recall another instance in modern history where the gift of judging men correctly has had more momentous con-

sequences. Of course, however, the range and value of Mr. Dana's work at the War Office are but faintly indicated by the effect of his divination of the skill and promise of commanders. Unnoticed but indispensable went on the ceaseless organization of fresh forces to fill the gaps created by battle and disease; the preparation and forwarding of arms, ammunition and supplies; in a word, the myriad labors which make up the secret process of forging the thunderbolts of war. In all these functions Mr. Dana played an unwearied and inestimable part.

IV.

We have noted above that, after Lee's surrender had made the War Department by comparison a sinecure, Mr. Dana accepted the invitation of the owners of the Chicago "Republican" to become its editor. That this journal failed was owing to causes entirely beyond his control. The occasion which was to tax his powers to the utmost came a little later. He had for the first time an opportunity of carrying out fully and permanently his ideas of a newspaper's possibilities and of newspaper rewards, when, at the end of the year 1867, he organized the company which bought "The Sun." Once free to embody his view of the aims and standards of journalistic work, Mr. Dana produced a newspaper which in this country had then no parallel in respect of keenness, comprehensiveness and trustworthiness of observation; breadth and accuracy of knowledge; luminous and fruitful scholarship; soundness of reasoning and matured good sense. He justified the title of his journal, for in it he offered a daily conspectus of all that meets the solar rays. For the first time it might be said of an American editor that, while graduating the space allotted to each subject by its relative importance, he did in very truth obey the dictum of Dr. Johnson, and survey mankind from China to Peru. His conception of news and editorial comment differed widely from that of preceding editors. He believed that, not only as regards local incidents and local politics, but as regards the personages, events, movements, discoveries and discussions of the world at large, a great newspaper ought to be, not only the abstract and brief chronicle, but, we may add, the expounder of the time. Besides discharging its former news-gathering function, he thought that a daily journal should supplant the lecturer, supplement the pulpit and absorb the old-

fashioned magazine and quarterly review. Here, again, Mr. Dana stood forth as the author of an innovation of incalculable value. He may be said to have invented the cheapest and most useful instrument of popular education that the world has known. What he once had made of the "Weekly Tribune" he incomparably expanded and improved upon in the Sunday "Sun."

In the case of a man who thought for himself and had the courage of his opinions, it was inevitable that the grounds of his conclusions should sometimes be misapprehended, and his motives misconceived. Among the conjunctures when he suffered temporarily from such misinterpretation may be mentioned those when he did not hesitate to condemn Grant's administration, and to denounce the attempt of ill-advised friends of that President to give him a third term; when he castigated Hayes as the beneficiary of the fraud perpetrated on the American people by the Electoral Commission; when he declined to support the candidacy of Cleveland against Blaine; and when he repudiated the nomination of Bryan and the Democratic endorsement of the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. On every one of these occasions he was accused by ill-informed onlookers of acting from personal predilection or antipathy. Those who stood nearest to him and could best judge, however, can testify that, in every one of the instances cited, the conduct of his paper was shaped, not by prejudices, but by convictions, which he deemed it a supreme public duty to enforce. If there ever was an unselfish, a high-minded and a conscientious editor, who strove early and late to play the part of a patriot, that man was the creator of "The Sun." Thus it came to pass that, in the eyes of those who truly knew him, it was a position of unique distinction which Charles A. Dana ultimately occupied at the head of a fraternity of toilers to whom he had given unprecedented dignity and a limitless horizon. Having exhibited impressive proof of what he could do as an editor, he was, above most of his contemporaries, the man who should have been selected by wise citizens to serve the State in a legislative or an executive capacity. He would have had nothing to gain, however, by exchanging for a seat in the Federal Senate, or in the White House, a desk which, for prestige and influence, might well have been likened to a throne.

One of Mr. Dana's special titles to the remembrance of his

fellow workers in the newspaper calling is the fact that, more than any other man alive on either side of the Atlantic, he raised their vocation to a level with the legal and medical professions as regards the scale of remuneration. He honored his fellow craftsmen of the pen, and he compelled the world to honor them. Unforgotten, also, is his possession in a preeminent degree of the truly imperial faculty for choosing useful lieutenants. Almost he may be said to have founded a school of journalists. Certainly, he trained and left behind him a company of pupils and disciples, many of whose names are familiar, as, for example, those of Paul Dana, his son and successor in the editorship; William M. Laffan, the present owner of the paper; Edward P. Mitchell, long chief-of-staff and now the editor; Francis P. Church and Edward N. Kingsbury, the widely known editorial writers, and Chester A. Lord, for many years the managing editor. Two or three others still live to cherish and revere his memory. As, on the day of his funeral, those veterans beheld the body of their chief borne to its last resting-place, there may well have risen to their lips the Roman acclamation: Farewell, great Captain! Farewell, born Leader of Men! *Ave, Imperator, atque vale! Morituri te salutamus!*

MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

THE PROBLEM OF CHILD IDLENESS.

BY THOMAS SPEED MOSBY, PARDON ATTORNEY OF MISSOURI.

THE solution of the child-labor problem, which, in view of the unanimity of public opinion upon the subject, may be regarded as practically assured, leaves still looming ominously beyond it the portentous problem of child idleness. Statistical information with regard to child-labor is abundantly at hand, and we know exactly the number of children employed in the factories of every State, their hours and their wages. But as to the number of children reared in idleness, we have, unfortunately, no other or better guides than the records of the reformatories and penitentiaries afford us.

These records indicate that the age of greatest criminality is somewhere between the ages of twenty and twenty-five, and that from sixty to seventy per cent. of felons are entirely unskilled in any trade or profession. The United States Census of 1890 showed that, of 52,894 convicts, 31,426 were ignorant of any kind of trade. French statistics covering a period of over fifty years reveal the following number of indictments per 100,000 of each of the classes named: Agriculture, 8; liberal professions and proprietors, 9; factory laborers, 14; commerce, 18; domestic service, 29; without regular trade or occupation, 405.

In the reformatories, where the prisoner by reason of his youth has had less time in which to acquire a trade, the percentage of the unskilled is necessarily much greater than in the penitentiaries. The writer had occasion to discuss this subject with the superintendent of an institution of this kind, which has upon its records the names of 3,154 boys whom it has received during a period of several years. The ages of the boys, at the periods of reception and discharge, ranged between ten and twenty-one years, thus covering the entire period between childhood and manhood.

"How many of these boys had ever been apprenticed before reaching your institution?" the superintendent was asked.

"None," was the reply.

"How many had knowledge of a trade?"

To the last question the very prompt and positive answer was this:

"Absolutely none; if they had, they would never have come here."

In the reformatory to which reference is here made every boy is taught a trade, and it is very seldom that one of them is again heard of as a violator of the laws.

In the largest penitentiary in the United States, where more than two thousand convicts are constantly confined, about sixty-five per cent. are without knowledge of any occupation when received. In some penitentiaries, the percentage is even greater. In this prison the factory system prevails, all are taught some trade, and only about fourteen per cent. ever return to crime.

All investigations in this country show, beyond question, that the American criminal is not a product of the trades, of the workshop or the factory. Although no trade or profession is immune from crime, we here find it at the minimum. And this is true of both sexes. The feminine delinquents are not recruited from the ranks of the factory girls. As a rule, they are women who do not care for work.

"Just as the twig is bent the tree's inclined." The child-idler is simply the adult-idler in the making. And, as Archbishop Tillotson quaintly said: "Idleness and luxury bring forth poverty and want; and this tempts men to injustice and that causeth enmity and animosity." The boy who is allowed to grow up unskilled in any occupation is the boy who is most likely to lapse into the state of mental, spiritual and physical stagnation which the author of the "Anatomy of Melancholy" has aptly characterized as "the nurse of naughtiness, the chief author of mischief, one of the seven deadly sins, the cushion upon which the devil chiefly reposes, and a great cause not only of melancholy, but of many other diseases"—and, he might well have said, of crime.

As has been shown, the age of greatest criminality follows immediately upon the age of legal maturity, and the class of greatest criminality is the non-working class. Bring a child to maturity without knowledge of useful work, and you place him in a class

which statistics show is the most likely to commit crime, and at the age when most crimes are committed—thus assuring a kind of double probability of moral delinquency and industrial failure. Contrast such a case with that of the boy who has learned to make an honest living. Whether he be shoe-cutter, machinist, electrician, brass-moulder or what not, in all human probability he will continue to ply his trade. He will feel some sense of responsibility to his work. His mind will be occupied by the duties of his calling, and he will pass by the idle and the dissipated at a time when, as experience has shown, the human mind is most susceptible to the influences that make for crime. Nor is this a mere supposition. It is a fact verified by the prison records.

If the habits formed in youth may be regarded as in any sense an index or forecast of the character of the adult, then, in the light of the criminal statistics, the problem of child idleness may justly lay claim to some measure of the dignity and importance so freely accorded to the much-mooted problem of child-labor; and before making it impossible for the youth to acquire practical (as well as theoretical) knowledge of gainful pursuits, we should reckon the latent dangers that lurk within the possibilities of a generation brought up without effective knowledge of useful work.

To be sure, it by no means follows that, in teaching the child to work, his powers should be taxed beyond their capacity. To do so is inhuman in the extreme. The labor of the child should not proceed beyond the limits of healthful exertion; and the primary consideration, at all times, should be an educational and not a financial one. He should by no means be taught that the only object of labor is to earn money; but he should be made to understand his obligation to serve, inasmuch as he is served; to give, as he receives; to bring to the world, as he takes from it—and he should be taught the means of performing that obligation. With such an education he will be both able and willing to fashion with hand or brain, and he will go forth to his duties, feeling, not that the world owes him a living, but that he owes to the world a life.

THOMAS SPEED MOSBY.

EPIC OF THE WEST'S EXPANSION.

BY CHARLES M. HARVEY.

LET us of these Oklahoma and Indian Territory admission days beware of laughing too loudly at Josiah Quincy's indignation in 1811, when somebody hinted to him the possibility that some time or another in the remote future there might be six States west of the Mississippi. Quincy was opposing Louisiana's admission because she was on the wrong side of that river. The proposition to admit Louisiana seemed to him to be monstrous. It was worse than monstrous; it was absurd. Congress had no authority, Quincy passionately declared, to throw the rights, the liberties and the property of the people of the United States "into hotch-pot with the wild men on the Missouri, or with the mixed, though more respectable, race of Anglo-Gallo-Americans who bask on the sands of the Mississippi."

We had fought eight years with the most powerful nation on the globe in order to establish our independence. Then we had set up an elaborate scheme of government to utilize the benefits we had gained. To dilute all these advantages by allowing a lot of semi-savage fur-traders, *voyageurs* and adventurers in the recently Franco-Spanish region west of the Mississippi to share in them involved an anticlimax which outraged Quincy's æsthetic sense even more than it assailed his ideas of political propriety.

But, as he viewed the situation, Quincy was right. His horizon, nailed down on the Alleghanies' crest, had a few loopholes in it through which he got stray glimpses of Ohio, Tennessee and Kentucky, but nothing farther onward. Benjamin Goodhue, a somewhat earlier Massachusetts Federalist, opposed any elaborate expenditure of labor or money in laying out the projected seat

of government at Washington. The centre of population, which was east of Baltimore then, he argued, would be drawn farther east as settlements extended along the Atlantic. Washington, therefore, was too far west to be easy of access to the people. To the men of the Goodhue and Quincy period and temper, "Beyond the Mississippi" was as remote as "Beyond Thule" was to the contemporaries of Alexander of Macedon.

Wiser men, however, than Goodhue or Quincy also failed, and for excellent reasons, to foresee Oklahoma and Arizona as commonwealths which would share in the government of the country. In his first inaugural, Jefferson congratulated his fellow citizens on "possessing a chosen country with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation." The country which Jefferson spoke of in such expansive language extended only to the Mississippi's east bank and was cut off from access to the Gulf of Mexico by Spain's Florida, which not only comprised our present State of that name, but included a strip along the southerly ends of Alabama and Mississippi, and Louisiana's easterly projection. And many of Jefferson's contemporaries said that his notions of his country's future growth and progress were wildly fantastic in their optimism. In this case, at least, Jefferson steered clear of that reproach which Fox attributed to Burke of being "wise too soon."

No American of a century ago could have foreseen the erection of Oklahoma, Arizona and their partners of to-day into Statehood, for there was no real West at that time. The Trans-Mississippi region is the West of to-day and to-morrow. Yesterday's West, stretching from the Alleghanies to the big river, was the parent of that of to-day, but this West is as unlike its fore-runner as a son contributing to and sharing in the world's added experiences and improvements is apt to be unlike his father.

Nor did yesterday's West have a concrete existence when Jefferson went into office. It was in 1812 that the old West first revealed itself. The Federalists of that day called the second conflict with England "Mr. Madison's war." The country, however, knew it was Henry Clay's war. Clay, then Speaker of the House, coerced Madison into fighting England by making his renomination for President in 1812 contingent on his adoption of the war policy of the South and West.

Such social and political triumphs as the war contributed to

the country were won by the West. They were won by Harrison and his Ohioans and Kentuckians at the battle of the Thames, in Canada, where he defeated Proctor, the British commander, killed Tecumseh, the Shawnee, an immeasurably greater soldier than Proctor, and vanquished Tecumseh's red warriors, who were far more formidable fighters than any of Proctor's white troops. They were won by Jackson at New Orleans, where, with his Kentuckians, Tennesseans and Louisianaans, he overthrew Wellington's veterans at Chalmette. Those battles gave the United States nearly all the military glory which it gained in the land fighting of the war of 1812.

On the scale of that time, Jackson's inauguration in 1829 sent more people to Washington than went to see Roosevelt inducted into office in 1905, and the gathering was more miscellaneous. Said Justice Joseph Story: "All sorts of people were there, from the highest and most polished down to the most vulgar and gross in the nation. I never saw such a mixture. The reign of King Mob seemed triumphant." "It was the people's day," wrote Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith, a chronicler of the time, "the people's President, and the people would rule."

Jackson's election was the West's first distinctive political triumph. The conservative East derided him when it first heard of his Presidential aspirations. To New England the idea of Old Hickory occupying the chair of Washington and Monroe seemed as fantastic as was the barbarian Maximin's succession to Alexander Severus as Emperor of Rome. Even the founder of his party was startled at the thought of his advent as head of the government. "I feel much alarmed at the prospect of seeing General Jackson President," said Jefferson to Webster in 1824.

Could the East have foreseen that three decades later a succession of Western men, unbroken save by the cases of Cleveland and Roosevelt, were to head the Government for half a century, it would have regarded Jackson's apparition as still more of a portent of peril. But, in the light of what Jackson revealed himself to be as President, the West had a right to say of him, in the language of Kipling's potter:

"If I have taken the common clay

And wrought it cunningly,

In the shape of a god that was digged a clod,

The greater honor to me."

The West's advent as a ruling force in the country's politics had an even larger influence on the Government's structure and subsequent history than did Adams's appointment of John Marshall to be head of the Supreme Court. Destitute as it was of all caste and class distinctions, the West's example abolished the property qualification for the suffrage which prevailed in the East at the outset. It placed poor and rich on the same level at the ballot-box. Created as they were by Congress, the Western States were nationalist from the beginning.

Physical causes also coincided to make the date of Jackson's advent of vast consequence to the West and the country. In 1811 the "New Orleans," built at Pittsburg by Fulton, Livingston and Nicholas J. Roosevelt (granduncle of the President), went down the Ohio and Mississippi and introduced steam on Western waters. The "General Pike," the first steamboat seen north of the mouth of the Ohio, tied up at the levee in St. Louis in 1817. In 1819 the "Independence" and the "Western Engineer" entered the Missouri's lower stretches. The "Virginia" steamed up the Mississippi in 1823, through the country of the Sacs and Foxes and Winnebagoes, to Fort Snelling, several decades before Minnesota had a local habitation or a name. On the rivers of the nearer and older West, steamboats were beginning to swarm in the year of Jackson's first election. That year saw the laying of the corner-stone in the construction of the Baltimore and Ohio, the earliest of the country's great railways, and thus witnessed the creation of a force which was destined to swing the country's population and industrial centre and the centre of its political and social gravity into the Mississippi valley.

"Europe stretches to the Alleghanies," says Emerson, "America is beyond." America began to assert herself about the end of the nineteenth century's first quarter. Jackson's advent was marked by a din like that which greets a new nation or a new millennium. He shook up parties, blotted out old political lines, and threw all his enemies—Democrats, National Republicans, Nullifiers, Anti-Masons and nondescripts—into the coalition which, in 1834, adopted the name of "Whigs." Old Hickory filled the stage as completely in his day as Young Hickory does in 1907. He dwarfed Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Van Buren and the rest of the leaders of both parties to the level of supernumer-

aries and superfluities. Personal government this was. It had no room in it for straddlers or negationists. Men could be neutral under Van Buren, Buchanan or McKinley, but everybody had to be either for or against Jackson.

The West furnished the country with issues—the Oregon controversy with England, Texas annexation, the Mexican war, the acquisition of New Mexico and California by conquest and purchase, and the struggle between the North and South for the possession of Kansas—from the days of the West's earliest President onward till the advent of the long line of Western Executives, which stretches, save for the Cleveland interregnum, from Lincoln's time to the accession of Roosevelt.

It was related at the time that Jackson urged his friend Sam Houston and his fellow Americans of Texas, who were in rebellion against Mexico, to retreat to the Sabine, and to bait Santa Anna into following them on to United States territory. This would give Jackson an opportunity to make war on Mexico, to annex Texas, as Houston and his followers wanted, and to extend the country's boundaries to the Rio Grande. Many persons believed the story. The Texans finished the war themselves, and did it at San Jacinto instead of retreating to the Sabine, but the essential part of the programme was carried out, though several years after Jackson had stepped down from office.

From St. Louis as a base, and with Independence and Westport Landing on the Missouri as starting-points, went Becknell, the Chouteaus, Glenn, Fowler and the other traders who opened the Santa Fé trail over which marched Kearny, Doniphan, Price and the rest of the Americans who carried their banners into the heart of Mexico in 1846, and participated with Taylor, Scott and Fremont in the conquest of New Mexico and California. "To-morrow," said Philip St. George Cooke, one of the officers of Kearny's expedition, in his diary, "three hundred wilderness-worn dragoons . . . set forth to conquer . . . a Pacific empire; to take a leap in the dark of a thousand miles of wild plains and mountains, only known in vague reports. Our success—we never doubt it—shall give us for boundary that world line of a mighty ocean's coast, . . . and shall girdle the earth with civilization." The atmosphere palpitated with the spirit of adventure.

In his last message to Congress, in 1848, Polk exultantly called the roll of the accessions of territory—Texas, Oregon

(the present States of Oregon, Washington and Idaho, and parts of Montana and Wyoming), New Mexico (the present New Mexico, all of Arizona except the strip below the Gila River, the States of Nevada and Utah, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming) and California—which had been made during his Presidency, and he proudly pointed out that, “the Mississippi, so lately the frontier of our country, is now only its centre.” It was manifest destiny marching on.

On the West's and the country's development all this had a decisive influence. The tract covered by these various acquisitions was larger in area than Jefferson's Louisiana purchase from France in 1803. It fills a bigger space on the map than does the territory which Washington and George Rogers Clark extorted from George III in the treaty of Paris of 1783. Politically, moreover, the acquisition counted for more than it did in superficial measurement. It met the demands of physical geography in giving us a scientific frontier on the Gulf of Mexico and on the Pacific, removed all possibility of the planting of a new Mexico or a new Canada in the path of the westward march of American empire, and prepared the way for the Alaskan, Porto-Rican, Hawaiian and Philippine annexations, and for the social conquests which America has been winning in recent years.

While this rounding out in 1845-48 of the territory of the United States to its logical proportions was going on, things were taking place in the Old World—Ireland's potato famine of 1846, which started the exodus to America that is under way to this day, and the abortive rebellions of 1848 in Prussia, Austria, Saxony, Baden, Hungary and other countries in Central Europe, which have sent millions of immigrants to us for the liberty that they could not get in their home land—which were destined to assist materially in building up this new empire in the West.

These events attracted the earnest attention of the United States, especially of the West, which was soon to be profoundly and advantageously affected by them, and mass-meetings expressing sympathy with the German and Hungarian patriots were held in Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago and other towns in their section. In 1849, in his first annual message, that robust old Western campaigner, Zachary Taylor, told Congress that he deemed it to be his duty “to stand prepared, upon the contingency of the establishment by her of a permanent government,

to be the first to welcome independent Hungary into the family of nations." No such favor for rebels against the authority of any great nation would be expressed by any President of the United States in our day.

Even before Polk's and Santa Anna's peacemakers at Guadalupe Hidalgo had, in the early weeks of 1848, fixed up the treaty which brought the war to an end and established our title to California and the rest of the territory won from Mexico, James W. Marshall made the gold discovery in the raceway of Sutter's mill, on the American fork of the Sacramento, which started an inrush from the four quarters of the globe that put California on the world's map. The American frontier had reached the Missouri by the opening of 1848. California's gold strikes, and the opening of Oregon to undisputed American settlement under the British treaty, swung the frontier as far westward in a single year as it had marched in the slow stages of the previous 240 years since Newport, Gosnold and Captain John Smith established at Jamestown the first permanent colony of English-speaking people ever planted in the New World.

With the West as a stage, events now came on with a rush. The South's desire to share in the new domain incited the repeal of the Missouri slavery prohibition compromise, which it accomplished in the Kansas-Nebraska Territorial organization bill that Douglas framed and Pierce signed in 1854. This started the struggle between North and South for the possession of Kansas, which convulsed the country.

"We cross the prairies as of old
The pilgrims crossed the sea,
To make the West, as they the East,
The homestead of the free.
We go to rear a wall of men
On Freedom's southern line,
And plant beside the cotton-tree
The rugged Northern pine."

These lines from Whittier's "Lays of the Emigrants," sung by the first colony of Free State men as they were leaving Boston for Kansas in July, 1854, showed the spirit of the settlers who were to fight the North's and liberty's battles on the Western plains. The Kansas contest killed the Whig party, and created the Republican party on the basic issue of preserving the Territories for freedom. The divergence between the Northern and the Southern elements of the Democracy in the later stages, 1858,

of the Kansas struggle split that party in the middle in the Charleston Convention of 1860, elected Lincoln, and this precipitated secession and civil war, out of which came emancipation, the negro issue, which is before the country still, and the new and more perfect Union of to-day.

Incidentally—and likewise coincidentally with some of the great events here enumerated—the Republican party passed a Free Homes law, signed by Lincoln in 1862, which attracted immigrants from all over the world, as it was intended to do, and added millions to the trans-Mississippi region's population. This and the war rendered necessary the trans-continental railroads, the first of which, begun in 1864, was finished in 1869, and four have been built since. To supply new lands when the fertile acres under Lincoln's law are exhausted, President Roosevelt induced Congress to pass the national irrigation act, applying wholly to the country west of the big river, to which he placed his signature in 1902.

As a resultant of the operation of all these forces there has been a population movement westward of epic largeness. The centre of the country's population, which was near Clarksburg, West Virginia, in 1840, just before the Texas, Oregon and California annexations, swung 55 miles westward by 1850; the California gold-diggings and the Oregon colonization sent in 88 miles farther between 1850 and 1860; the Free Homes law, the diffusion of railways through the West and the building of the trans-continental lines have kept the centre moving westward, its location in 1900 being near Columbus, in western Indiana.

From the Declaration of Independence till now, 25,500,000 immigrants have come to the United States, most of whom have settled in the West. All except 5,000,000 of these have come since Lincoln signed the Homestead Act. These, with the immigrants from the Eastern States, have written the West's prairies, deserts and mountains all over with human history. In the number of persons involved, and the number of miles traversed, this has been immeasurably the largest movement of people in any equal length of time in the annals of the globe. We are too near to it in time and distance to be able to throw it into the proper perspective, and to gauge its dimensions and significance. To describe its majesty and dramatic sweep would require a Gibbon or a Mommsen. In numerical proportion it

is a far greater population movement than that invasion of the Roman Empire by the Germanic tribes in the fifth century which altered the current of the world's history.

For Americans the compass pointed in only one direction—westward, always westward. Just before the annexation of Texas, Oregon and California, the West, to the popular fancy, had almost as many mysteries as peopled Central Africa in the days of Herodotus. Its old maps, with the Great American Desert flung across them from Missouri's and Iowa's westerly border to the Sierra Nevada and Cascade mountains, were about as vague as ancient Greece's maps with their margins of dragons and griffins.

As a political force, the Trans-Mississippi region had its beginning less than two-thirds of a century ago. Just previous to the accession of Texas, there were only three States—Louisiana, Arkansas and Missouri—west of the big river. With the admission of Oklahoma the number is twenty-one (to be increased to twenty-three eventually by the entrance of Arizona and New Mexico), as compared with twenty-six east of that stream. Moreover, Texas is allowed, under the admission act, to divide herself into four other States, if she wishes to do so. Probably she will never act upon the privilege. It is possible, however, in the concentration of population which the future may bring, that some of the other big Trans-Mississippi States may divide themselves, as Massachusetts long ago let Maine shift for herself, and as Congress cut Dakota Territory in two just before admitting both sections to Statehood. Out of Alaska's 600,000 square miles of territory, half the dimensions of the country east of the Mississippi, there may be four or five States carved in the coming time.

Of the contiguous part of the United States, sixty per cent. of the area is west of the river, and only twenty-eight per cent. of the population. The country's geographical centre, leaving out Alaska and our island possessions, is in Smith County in Northern Kansas. When Roosevelt's irrigation act abolishes the arid spaces, and the vast expanses of that locality fill up, the population proportion is likely to increase to 40 or 50 per cent. of the country's total. It may go beyond 50 per cent. when our trade with Asia's 800,000,000 people, half those of the entire globe, is developed, and when Seward's dream of half a century ago is realized of the Pacific as a highway of commerce thronged as much as the Atlantic.

That locality has the largest of all the States in area, which is one day to become the largest also in population. In population, it has the fifth and sixth States (Texas and Missouri), the fourth city (St. Louis), and the third largest export port (Galveston), which is soon likely to pass New Orleans and to stand next to New York. It already has 46 per cent. of the country's railway mileage of main track, 40 per cent. of the country's farms, 55 per cent. of its acres of improved land; it produces 20 per cent. of the country's manufactures, 16 per cent. of its coal, 99 per cent. of its gold and silver, and furnishes 60 per cent. of the country's aggregate exports. The centres of the country's production of wheat and oats are west of the Mississippi, the centre of the petroleum production has just jumped across that stream, and that of cotton production, now on the east bank, is likely to make the leap by 1910.

"West of the Rocky Mountains will be the big end of the United States within the lifetime of millions now with us," says James J. Hill, President of the Great Northern Railway. That prophecy looks forward to the time when Hill's own and his rivals' steamship lines of to-day on the Pacific will be as far surpassed in number, dimensions and speed as the Atlantic's crude Cunarders of 1840 are by the fleets of ocean greyhounds of 1907. Southwest and Northwest—localities in which until a few decades ago there "weren't no ten commandments," are filling up with settlers at a rate unknown in the past.

"O you youths, Western youths,
So impatient, full of action, full of manly pride and friendship,
Plain I see you, Western youths, see you tramping with the foremost,
Pioneers, O pioneers."

But the poet's words, applicable to the conditions of colonization days east of the big river, need revision to make them fit the present situation. The Trans-Mississippi's "pioneers" of 1907 are not "tramping" in or riding in prairie-schooners. Many of them are coming in palace-cars. The 33,000 rural postmen, traversing the 700,000 miles of delivery routes, most of them west of the river, carry newspapers and letters to the farmers' gates before the ink is fairly dry on them. The trolley-lines, the rural automobile routes, the rural circulating libraries and the long-distance telephones keep the pioneer of 1907 in close touch with the entire globe.

Irving points out that in many respects the plainsman astride of a horse must be a superior person to the man who treads laboriously through the forest, or who crouches in a canoe, as did the frontiersmen east of the river. This pre-eminence of locality sticks. To-day's West has larger horizons than yesterday's, offers greater opportunities, engages in more audacious enterprises, and has a more exuberant optimism. Its typical sons have much of the *insouciance* of Mark Twain's Nicodemus Dodge, printer.

That section blazes new paths in achievement. Beginning with Wyoming in 1869, that community, with Colorado, Idaho and Utah, have abolished all distinctions between women and men at the ballot-box in elections up to and including those for President. In the new State composed of Oklahoma and Indian Territory are 90,000 Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks and Seminoles, who dissolved, on March 4, 1906, the tribal organizations which have lasted since many centuries before Columbus, have diffused themselves in the mass of the country's citizenship, and will take their chances with the whites from this time onward in making and observing the country's laws.

The Mississippi's sunset side has had several Presidents of the Senate—Atchison of Missouri, Ingalls of Kansas and Manderson of Nebraska; one Speaker of the House—Henderson of Iowa; and more Cabinet officers than can easily be counted. It has had one Presidential candidate of a great party—Bryan of Nebraska—and his first canvass was the most exciting since Lincoln's election in 1860.

Here are a few of the West's distinctive contributions to the building of the United States:

It abolished the property qualification for the suffrage;

It levelled all divergencies between the sexes in the higher education;

In four of the Rocky Mountain States it made women and men equal at the polls;

Beginning with the Indian Territory in 1907, it has put the ballot in the red man's hand;

It made the Democratic party democratic;

It created the Republican party which has run the government for nearly half a century, except for two short interruptions, and gave the country Lincoln, Grant, the Shermans and many other of the great characters of the age;

In 1861-65 it killed State sovereignty, established nationalism, abolished slavery, and fashioned a "more perfect Union" than the fathers of the nation had devised;

By shutting out Spain, France, England and the rest of the world from the path of our advance sunsetward, it made America American.

If, as Petrarch says, "History is poetry freed from the incumbrance of verse," then the soul of the West must have been soaring and singing from the beginning. The region which sent Lewis and Clark through darkest America from the mouth of the Missouri to the mouth of the Columbia; which started Moses Austin from St. Louis to get from Ferdinand VII of Spain permission to colonize Texas; which produced Becknell and the rest of the Santa Fé overland traders, who were to Americanize much of New Mexico and some of old Mexico long before Zachary Taylor's guns resounded along the Rio Grande; which saw John Colter discover the marvels of the Yellowstone (and get laughed at when he told about them in St. Louis afterward); which was with Marcus Whitman and his fellow colonists moving through South Pass on their way to win Oregon for the United States; which rode with Kearny and Doniphan through Mexico to the Gulf and the Pacific; which stood with Fremont when he raised his flag of the star and the bear at Sonoma, at the beginning of the revolt, which placed California under the Stars and Stripes; which was present at the meeting of the rails of Oakes Ames' and Huntington's transcontinental lines at Promontory Point, in Utah; and which looked on remotely and impotently while Sitting Bull and Rain in the Face annihilated Custer and his army in the "Year of a Hundred Years"—has had poetry, melodrama and tragedy studded through its entire annals.

But have we at last reached the end of the romance of the West, of its grand passions? Hardly. Yesterday Josiah Quincy's "wild men on the Missouri" held an exposition to which all the world was bidden, and to which all the world came. Tomorrow, beginning with the Indian Territory and Oklahoma, the emancipated race of Geronimo, Crazy Snake and Red Cloud, reversing the defeats of King Philip, Pontiac and Tecumseh, will be sitting in the legislative halls at Washington helping to make laws for the continent which once they owned.

CHARLES M. HARVEY.

THE NEW CITIZENSHIP LAW.

BY GAILLARD HUNT, CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF CITIZENSHIP,
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WHEN a future historian shall write an account of the achievements of this the most remarkable administration of our government since the Civil War, he will give prominent place to the naturalization law of a year ago and the citizenship law which was approved last March and is now becoming effective, for these two measures are the culmination of a hundred years of effort for reform and affect the very foundation of our political structure.

The first naturalization law, passed in 1789, was a failure in preventing frauds upon our citizenship which had sprung up even before the Constitution was adopted, and the numerous laws afterwards passed were all mere palliatives which never gave relief, because they did not reach the true cause of the evil, which was the lack of control by the national government over a national subject. In consequence, the frauds went on increasing until they had spread over the entire country, and in certain localities had become so extensive that they excited the gravest alarm on the part of thinking men. If our citizenship was to be trafficked in with impunity by corrupt courts and foreigners, it would only be a question of time when the whole electorate would be hopelessly debased. The new naturalization law has interfered not at all with the convenience of naturalization for honest men, but has established such an effective system of national supervision of naturalizing courts that extensive fraudulent naturalizations are no longer possible. By forbidding any naturalizations within three months before a Federal election, it has put a stop to naturalizations for political purposes; by requiring reports of pending naturalizations and returns of

naturalizations conferred to be made to a central bureau in Washington, it has introduced uniformity of practice among the many courts which were before administering the law in innumerable variant ways; it has rendered collusion between courts and naturalization lawyers impossible, by requiring that the Government at Washington shall be informed of every application for naturalization at least three months before the application is heard.

Along with the insistence upon reform in our naturalization laws has always gone an earnest request for a law to define American citizenship, to do away with the uncertainties and obscurities which have surrounded it and to declare how it may be lost. Both the naturalization law and the citizenship law resulted from a notable cooperation between the Executive and Congress; both passed Congress with hardly any debate in the House and none in the Senate, and both had little opposition in the Lower House and none in the Upper. Because of the lack of opposition they did not attract the attention which their importance deserved; and, as comparatively few people realized their full portent, such discontent as they have occasioned has come too late. That there is discontent goes without saying. So far as the naturalization law is concerned, the objections to it comes chiefly from petty courts throughout the country which are now not permitted to naturalize, and which formerly derived part of their prestige and their fees from naturalization business. Dissatisfaction with the new citizenship law flows from those people who have been living abroad in fancied security of their American citizenship, and who now find themselves obliged to take positive steps to preserve a status which they have heretofore supposed attached to them indefinitely, without the performance of any obligations on their part. Both of these laws originated in the House of Representatives, but each resulted from a report made by executive officers, and the Senate can claim little agency in them. The citizenship law was based upon a report made to Secretary Root by a board of officers of his Department, the members being James Brown Scott, the Solicitor for the Department of State, David Jayne Hill, our Minister at The Hague, and the writer of this article, with Samuel B. Crandall, Ph.D., of the Department as Secretary. The original desire of the Executive had been to have an examination into the question made by a larger body composed of

jurists and publicists not in the public service, and Secretaries Hay and Root both asked Congress to create such a commission; but the House Committee on Foreign Affairs reported against the project, and suggested that the Secretary of State appoint a board of officers of his own Department to make the report. Secretary Root then named the board which met last summer and presented a report and recommendations which he forwarded to Congress with a strong endorsement. From this report sprang a bill, introduced in the House by the Hon. James Breck Perkins of New York, which became a law on March 2nd.

The law does not change or even modify the American doctrine of citizenship. That was already settled by the Constitution and the decisions of the Supreme Court. Anybody born in the United States, no matter what his race, unless he is an Indian living with a tribe, or however ineligible to our citizenship he may be for any other reason, is a citizen of the United States. His foreign mother may have been merely passing through the United States, and he may have been sent beyond our borders a moment after he was born; he may never have seen the United States except with a baby's eyes; all these things are of no consequence. Birth, mere birth, accidental or not, in the United States gives citizenship of the United States. It attaches to the child no matter what his parents may do, until he reaches manhood, when he may choose another nationality. Probably the world will never agree whether the doctrine of citizenship by birth or of citizenship by descent is the more reasonable. We inherited the former with the English common law, and this country and England are its two most important supporters.

Broadly speaking, an individual becomes a citizen of the United States by birth or naturalization, and these facts have been well settled; but how does he lose American citizenship? This was the question to which the citizenship board chiefly addressed itself, and which Congress settled a few months ago by declaring that an American shall be held to have expatriated himself when he becomes naturalized as a citizen of another country, or when he takes an oath of allegiance to another state, or when he lives permanently outside of the United States without intent to return; and, whereas our doctrine of citizenship comes from feudalism and the common law, our rule of expatriation comes from the Roman law and the *code Napoléon*. The rule is simple enough,

and no American has a right to complain if, by violating it, he finds he has by his own act lost his American nationality; nor will any complaint be heard from those who lose our citizenship as a consequence of deliberately acquiring another; but protests long and loud will surely come from those who find themselves cut off from the protection of this government because of their prolonged residence in foreign lands. The naturalization law had already endeavored to reach them. It was directed chiefly to the point of preventing frauds upon our citizenship in this country; but, while the bill was under discussion in the House, Mr. Crumpacker of Indiana carried an amendment which was designed to reach a class of fraudulent citizens who had thus far supposed themselves immune from punishment, and who enjoy the protection of the United States while they live permanently under some other government.

That the naturalization laws of the United States have always offered an easy avenue of approach to citizenship, and that the way was carelessly guarded, are facts which have been well known in other countries; and the consequence has been that many foreigners have come here with the express purpose of securing naturalization and going away immediately afterwards. We make few demands upon our citizens while they are at home and none when they are abroad, and we are zealous in protecting them from the demands of foreign governments. The inevitable consequence has been that we have had a constantly increasing number of so-called American citizens living abroad—men who have lived in the United States for only five years and in many cases have fraudulently secured naturalization papers after less than five years of residence; who never were really domiciled here; who never have performed any of the duties of American citizenship and who never intended to do so; who play no part in the development of the United States and are merely a burden to its government. They hold in their hands certificates which proclaim them to be American citizens; they are often loud in their assertions of loyalty to the United States; they claim rights, but perform no corresponding duties. In a notable report on naturalization, made to Congress in 1905 by Secretary Hay, he showed that sixteen per cent. of the naturalized citizens who applied to him for passports had been naturalized within six months of the date of their applications—had been naturalized,

in fact, after they had determined to go abroad and in order that they might go under American protection—and that passports were often applied for on the same day on which the naturalizations were secured. When it is remembered that many travellers go abroad without securing passports and depend upon their certificates of naturalization as sufficient proof of their citizenship, it becomes plain that the number of people who have lived in the United States as aliens and have gone abroad as citizens is considerable. Until the new naturalization law went into effect, it was not actually against the letter of the law for a man to commit this fraud; for, when he applied for citizenship, he was required merely to show that he had resided in the United States for five years, and no inquiry was made concerning his future intentions. The new naturalization law requires that he must not only be resident in the United States, but that he must entertain in good faith an intention of continuing to reside here, and that this fact shall appear on his naturalization certificate. Mr. Crumpacker's amendment logically pursued this requirement by providing that, if any one who was naturalized should go abroad and establish a permanent residence within five years after his naturalization he should be presumed, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, to have acquired his naturalization in bad faith, and by proper proceedings in court it should be set aside. The new citizenship law goes a step further by providing that any naturalized American citizen who goes abroad at any time to reside permanently shall be held to have expatriated himself, and that the permanence of the residence shall be presumed after he has resided for two years in the country of which he was previously a citizen, or for five years in some other foreign country; but the presumption may be overcome by proof that the residence is only temporary and that an intent to return exists. This part of the law only applies to naturalized citizens, and it is in fact the only place in the new law in which any discrimination is made between them and native citizens. The discrimination is only fair, however, for one who has already changed his nationality is more apt to change it again than one who has never changed it at all, and some action to protect us from imposition on the part of naturalized citizens who leave the United States had become necessary. One thing which has made it more necessary than it has ever

been before is the great tide of emigration which is setting towards our shores. Thousands upon thousands of the aliens who are coming in will become naturalized as American citizens; some of them will go back when they have made a competency; others will go back because they have not made a competency; a turn from industrial prosperity to industrial depression in the country will cause many to take ship for home or for foreign lands where the chances of bread-winning may appear to be more favorable than they are here. An intolerable condition of affairs would eventually come about if these men should be free to claim American citizenship as long as they chose to do so, and the only way to avoid this is to require some affirmative action on their part as the price of their continuing to be considered Americans.

I have said that the expatriation law is the culmination of many years of effort to secure reform in our citizenship; but it is more than that. It has settled a question which vexed the minds of our statesmen from the time of the foundation of the republic, and, historically considered, it is a stone to mark the progress of liberal ideas. The Declaration of Independence enumerated among the grievances of the Colonies against George III that he had interfered with the naturalization of aliens, and before the Constitution was adopted all the States conferred naturalization. The Constitution provided, as a matter of course, for a Federal rule of naturalization, and the right to make Americans out of aliens was regarded as a cardinal principle of American policy. It was insisted, too, from the beginning of the Government that one thus received into our fold ceased to be an alien, and, except in the matter of the holding of a few offices, enjoyed the same rights as a native American, having by his naturalization experienced a new political birth. This was American law, but there was at the same time the heritage which had come to us of the English common law and its rule that a man who was once an Englishman could never by any means be anything else, and we tacitly accepted this doctrine also. The illogical position was thus presented of a country with liberal laws by which a foreigner could become its citizen, and no laws at all by which its citizen could become a foreigner. In the absence of statute, the courts naturally fell back on the common law, and generally ruled that there was no way by which an American could divest himself of his citizenship. The political

branch of the Government, less trammelled by precedent, declared that, if expatriation was a right of a foreigner, it was a right of an American; and while Secretaries of State were refusing to give a man protection while he was abroad, on the ground that he had expatriated himself, the courts were declaring that he was still an American so far as his rights at home were concerned.

This anomalous condition prevailed until certain events occurred which concentrated public attention upon it and forced it to an issue. Shortly after the Civil War, when the feeling of strong nationality was at its height, a number of Americans born in Ireland returning to that country were arrested charged with political offences, and at the same time there were a number of arrests in Germany of former Germans on the ground that they had not performed their military duty, and in both countries the validity of the naturalization of the arrested men was denied. As they had many friends in the United States, and as many thousands of our citizens were of Irish and German nativity, public opinion became aroused, one State legislature after another proclaimed the right of expatriation and petitions for action poured in upon Congress. It is a common statement that the law of 1868 was passed in fear of German and Irish voters in the United States, who were so numerous in the North and West that no man could long enjoy public life if they marked him for destruction; but this is a short-sighted view of a movement which was only accelerated by circumstances, being, in fact, the natural and inevitable result of the American policy of naturalization. If foreigners were to be admitted to every right of citizenship in the United States, then they ought to be recognized as American citizens in other countries, even in the country of their nativity. Naturalization was a barren privilege if it did not carry with it the right to this Government's protection everywhere in the world. The act of 1868 was introduced by the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives through General N. P. Banks of Massachusetts, the chairman, with a notable report which was an able defence of the right of expatriation. The bill was debated extensively in both House and Senate by the leading statesmen of the day, and its principle was accepted by all. The debate turned almost entirely, however, upon the right of a foreigner to become a citizen of

the United States and to be recognized as such by foreign governments, and an effort made to introduce a concomitant measure declaring how an American might accomplish expatriation failed to arouse interest, because no actual cases demanded attention. The consequence was that the bill as passed entirely ignored this side of the question. It proclaimed expatriation to be an inherent right of all men, that any opinion of a judicial or executive officer of the United States to the contrary was opposed to American policy, that any claim of a foreign government to the allegiance of one of its former citizens who had become naturalized as an American citizen was without justification, and that naturalized citizens who went abroad were entitled to the same protection of persons and property from this Government as native citizens; but it went no further. Nevertheless, this law has always been construed as meaning that an American has the right of expatriation as well as a foreigner, and the conflict of opinion on the subject was put to sleep; but it left the question of what should be held to constitute expatriation where it was before. Our population consists of citizens, naturalized or native, and foreigners, and a man of foreign birth is a foreigner until he is naturalized. Was it not, therefore, logical to say that an American could not become a foreigner until he should obtain foreign naturalization? If mere domicile in the United States did not confer American citizenship, should mere domicile in a foreign country take it away? This was the great question which the legislation of 1868 left no nearer settlement than it had been in 1795, when the Supreme Court said, through Judge Paterson: "A statute of the United States relative to expatriation is much wanted. . . . Besides, ascertaining by positive law the manner in which expatriation may be effected would obviate doubts, render the subject notorious and easy of apprehension, and furnish the rule of civil conduct on a very interesting point." The question was finally settled by the new citizenship law after one hundred and nineteen years of waiting.

As I have said, our doctrine of citizenship is that a man belongs to the soil on which he is born; but, early in our history as a nation, we adopted a law contradictory to this and declared that a child born of American parents temporarily abroad was an American citizen. No explanation of the contradiction need be attempted and none can be successfully made; for, if the doc-

trine is completely right, the law is wrong. The law was, at first, applicable only to those already born abroad, and for some years the status of foreign-born American children was uncertain, until Horace Binney took up their cause, and with the aid of Daniel Webster in the Senate secured the legislation which now stands. Just in principle as this law is, it has given opportunity for a number of cases of flagrant imposition upon this Government and foreign governments. Children born abroad of American parents grow up in foreign lands, do not even learn our language, and are educated with a view to their remaining abroad all their lives; but they assert American nationality as soon as they reach the age when they become liable to perform military service to the government under which they are living. Their citizenship is of no benefit to us, but of great profit to them; and their claim to our protection often causes friction between this Government and that of the country in which they were born. The new citizenship law requires them, as the price of their protection as American citizens, to report to an American consul upon reaching the age of eighteen years and declare their intention of remaining American citizens and of residing in the United States, and upon reaching the age of twenty-one to take the oath of allegiance. One who wilfully neglects these requirements, or having fulfilled them nevertheless makes his permanent residence in foreign lands, forfeits the right to American protection.

Before closing this paper, it is proper to glance at the question of the status of married women under the new law. The position of spinsters need not concern us, for their citizenship is subject to the same rules as apply to men. They may be naturalized or they may expatriate themselves as men do; but, as soon as one of them marries, she becomes subject to special provisions of law. Our first naturalization laws said nothing about married women, and the courts generally held that, as naturalization was a personal privilege, a foreign woman did not acquire American citizenship by marrying an American, nor an American woman lose it by marrying a foreigner. The woman's position was thus more independent in the early days of the Republic than it became later, for in 1855 a law was passed which required that a foreign woman who married an American should be considered an American. The act was, however, silent on the subject of the status of an American woman who married a foreigner.

Some State laws declared she did not lose her American citizenship, court decisions were contradictory, and the Executive, following the rule that the husband and wife are one, the husband being that one, declined to claim her as an American in international intercourse. If her status was uncertain while she was married, it became even more so when she became a widow or secured a divorce. How was she to regain her citizenship which she had lost by her marriage? Although American-born, must she sue for naturalization like a foreign-born alien? Without any law to justify it, she was generally considered as regaining her American nationality by simply residing in the United States, but when she went abroad, and especially when she went to the country of which her husband had been a citizen, it was hard to say what she was or to make any certain claim to her allegiance. It is true that the determination of a woman's citizenship is not ordinarily as important a matter as it is in the case of a man; but when it is remembered that aliens are not permitted in many foreign countries and in several of the States of the Union to inherit or acquire real estate, it becomes apparent that the question of a woman's nationality is often of vital importance to her. The citizenship law has removed the citizenship of women from the realms of doubt by ordering that an American woman marrying a foreigner shall lose her American nationality as long as the marital relation lasts. When it terminates by the death of her husband or by their absolute divorce, she may revert to her American citizenship by residing in the United States, or, if she is abroad, by declaring her intention to reside in the United States before an American consul; but she may retain the nationality of her husband by making formal election of her desire to do so. On the other hand, a foreign woman who becomes an American citizen through her marriage shall, upon the termination of the marital relation, be presumed to have retained her husband's citizenship if she continues to reside in the United States, unless she formally declares her intention to return to the foreign allegiance which she had before her marriage.

Such, briefly put down, are the provisions of this notable law designed to carry out to the full the enlightened American doctrine of expatriation, and to elevate our citizenship by expelling from it those who obtained it for fraudulent reasons and who seek to put it to base purposes.

GAILLARD HUNT.

MARK TWAIN.

BY WILLIAM LYON PHELPS, LAMPSON PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH
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DURING the last twenty years, a profound change has taken place in the attitude of the reading public toward Mark Twain. I can remember very well when he was regarded merely as a humorist, and one opened his books with an anticipatory grin. Very few supposed that he belonged to literature; and a complete, uniform edition of his "Works" would perhaps have been received with something of the mockery that greeted Ben Jonson's folio in 1616. Professor Richardson's "American Literature," which is still a standard work, appeared originally in 1886. My copy, which bears the date 1892, contains only two references in the index to Mark Twain, while Mr. Cable, for example, receives ten; and the whole volume fills exactly 990 pages. Looking up one of the two references, we find the following opinion:

"But there is a class of writers, authors ranking below Irving or Lowell, and lacking the higher artistic or moral purpose of the greater humorists, who amuse a generation and then pass from sight. Every period demands a new manner of jest, after the current fashion. . . . The reigning favorites of the day are Frank R. Stockton, Joel Chandler Harris, the various newspaper jokers, and 'Mark Twain.' But the creators of 'Pomona' and 'Rudder Grange,' of 'Uncle Remus and his Folk-lore Stories,' and 'Innocents Abroad,' clever as they are, must make hay while the sun shines. Twenty years hence, unless they chance to enshrine their wit in some higher literary achievement, their unknown successors will be the privileged comedians of the republic. Humor alone never gives its masters a place in literature; it must co-exist with literary qualities, and must usually be joined with such pathos as one finds in Lamb, Hood, Irving or Holmes."

It is interesting to remember that before this pronouncement

was published, "Tom Sawyer" and "Huckleberry Finn" had been read by thousands. Professor Richardson continued: "Two or three divisions of American humor deserve somewhat more respectful treatment," and he proceeds to give a full page to Petroleum V. Nasby, another page to Artemus Ward and two and one-half pages to Josh Billings, while Mark Twain had received less than four lines. After stating that, in the case of authors like Mark Twain, "temporary amusement, not literary product, is the thing sought and given," Professor Richardson announces that the department of fiction will be considered later. In this "department," Mark Twain is not mentioned at all, although Julian Hawthorne receives over three pages!

I have quoted Professor Richardson at length, because he represents an attitude toward Mark Twain that was common all during the eighties. Another college professor, who is to-day one of the best living American critics, says, in his "Initial Studies in American Letters" (1895), "Though it would be ridiculous to maintain that either of these writers [Artemus Ward and Mark Twain] takes rank with Lowell and Holmes, . . . still it will not do to ignore them as mere buffoons, or even to predict that their humors will soon be forgotten." There is no allusion in his book to "Tom Sawyer" or "Huckleberry Finn," nor does the critic seem to regard their creator as in any sense a novelist. Still another writer, in a passing allusion to Mark Twain, says, "Only a very small portion of his writing has any place as literature."

Literary opinions change as time progresses; and no one could have observed the remarkable demonstration at the seventieth birthday of our great national humorist without feeling that most of his contemporaries regarded him, not as their peer, but as their Chief. Without wishing to make any invidious comparisons, I cannot refrain from commenting on the statement that it would be "ridiculous" to maintain that Mark Twain takes rank with Oliver Wendell Holmes. It is, of course, absolutely impossible to predict the future; the only real test of the value of a book is Time. Who now reads Cowley? Time has laughed at so many contemporary judgments that it would be foolhardy to make positive assertions about literary stock quotations one hundred years from now. Still, guesses are not prohibited; and I think it not unlikely that the name of Mark Twain will out-

last the name of Holmes. American Literature would surely be the poorer if the great Boston Brahmin had not enlivened it with his rich humor, his lambent wit and his sincere pathos; but the whole content of his work seems slighter than the big American prose epics of the man of our day.

Indeed, it seems to me that Mark Twain is our foremost living American writer. He has not the subtlety of Henry James or the wonderful charm of Mr. Howells; he could not have written "Daisy Miller," or "A Modern Instance," or "Indian Summer," or "The Kentons"—books of which every American should be proud, for they exhibit literary quality of an exceedingly high order. I have read these books over and over again, with constantly increasing profit and delight. I wish that Mr. Howells might live forever, and give to every generation the pure intellectual joy that he has given to ours. But the natural endowment of Mark Twain is still greater. Mr. Howells has made the most of himself; God has done it all for Mark Twain. If there be a living American writer touched with true genius, whose books glow with the divine fire, it is he. He has always been a conscientious artist; but no amount of industry could ever have produced a "Huckleberry Finn."

When I was a child at the West Middle Grammar School of Hartford, on one memorable April day, Mark Twain addressed the graduating-class. I was thirteen years old, but I have found it impossible to forget what he said. The subject of his "remarks" was Methuselah. He informed us that Methuselah lived to the ripe old age of nine hundred and sixty-nine. But he might as well have lived to be several thousand—nothing happened. The speaker told us that we should all live longer than Methuselah. Fifty years of Europe are better than a cycle of Cathay, and twenty years of modern American life are longer and richer in content than the old patriarch's thousand. Ours will be the true age in which to live, when more will happen in a day than in a year of the flat existence of our ancestors. I cannot remember his words; but what a fine thing it is to hear a speech, and carry away an idea!

I have since observed that this idea runs through much of his literary work. His philosophy of life underlies his broadest burlesque—for "A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court" is simply an exposure of the "good old times." Mark Twain

believes in the Present, in human progress. Too often do we apprehend the Middle Ages through the glowing pages of Spenser and Walter Scott; we see only glittering processions of "ladies dead and lovely knights." Mark Twain shows us the wretched condition of the common people, their utter ignorance and degradation, the coarseness and immorality of technical chivalry, the cruel and unscrupulous ecclesiastical tyranny and the capricious insolence of the barons. One may regret that he has reversed the dynamics in so glorious a book as Malory's "Morte d'Arthur," but, through all the buffoonery and roaring mirth with which the knights in armor are buried, the artistic and moral purpose of the satirist is clear. If I understand him rightly, he would have us believe that *our* age, not theirs, is the "good time"; nay, ours is the age of magic and wonder. We need not regret in melancholy sentimentality and picturesqueness of bygone days, for we ourselves live, not in a material and commonplace generation, but in the very midst of miracles and romance. Merlin and the Fay Morgana would have given all their petty skill to have been able to use a telephone or a phonograph, or to see a moving picture. The sleeping princess and her castle were awakened by a kiss; but in the twentieth century a man in Washington touches a button, and hundreds of miles away tons of machinery begin to move, fountains begin to play and the air resounds with the whirl of wheels. In comparison with to-day, the age of chivalry seems dull and poor. Even in chivalry itself our author is more knightly than Lancelot; for was there ever a more truly chivalrous performance than Mark Twain's essay on Harriet Shelley, or his literary monument to Joan of Arc? In these earnest pages, our national humorist appears as the true knight.

Mark Twain's humor is purely American. It is not the humor of Washington Irving, which resembles that of Addison and Thackeray; it is not delicate and indirect. It is genial, sometimes outrageous, mirth—laughter holding both his sides. I have found it difficult to read him in a library or on a street-car, for explosions of pent-up mirth or a distorted face are apt to attract unpleasant attention in such public places. Mark Twain's humor is boisterous, uproarious, colossal, overwhelming. As has often been remarked, the Americans are not naturally a gay people, like the French; nor are we light-hearted and careless, like the Irish and the Negro. At heart, we are intensely serious,

nervous, melancholy. For humor, therefore, we naturally turn to buffoonery and burlesque, as a reaction against the strain and tension of life. Our attitude is something like that of the lonely author of the "Anatomy of Melancholy," who used to lean over the parapet of Magdalen Bridge, and shake with mirth at the horrible jokes of the bargemen. We like Mark Twain's humor, not because we are frivolous, but because we are just the reverse. I have never known a frivolous person who really enjoyed or appreciated Mark Twain.

The essence of Mark Twain's humor is Incongruity. The jumping frog is named Daniel Webster; and, indeed, the intense gravity of a frog's face, with the droop at the corners of the mouth, might well be envied by many an American Senator. When the shotted frog vainly attempted to leave the earth, he shrugged his shoulders "like a Frenchman." Bilgewater and the Dolphin on the raft are grotesquely incongruous figures. The rescuing of Jim from his prison cell is full of the most incongruous ideas, his common-sense attitude toward the whole transaction contrasting strangely with that of the romantic Tom. Along with the constant incongruity goes the element of surprise—which Professor Beers has well pointed out. When one begins a sentence, in an apparently serious discussion, one never knows how it will end. In discussing the peace that accompanies religious faith, Mark Twain says that he has often been impressed with the calm confidence of a Christian with four aces. Exaggeration—deliberate, enormous hyperbole—is another feature. Rudyard Kipling, who has been profoundly influenced by Mark Twain, and has learned much from him, often employs the same device, as in "Brugglesmith." Irreverence is also a noteworthy quality. In his travel-books, we are given the attitude of the typical American Philistine toward the wonders and sacred relics of the Old World, the whole thing being a gigantic burlesque on the sentimental guide-books which were so much in vogue before the era of Baedeker. With so much continuous fun and mirth, satire and burlesque, it is no wonder that Mark Twain should not always be at his best. He is doubtless sometimes flat, sometimes coarse, as all humorists since Rabelais have been. The wonder is that his level has been so high. I remember, just before the appearance of "Following the Equator," I had been told that Mark Twain's inspiration was finally gone, and

that he could not be funny if he tried. To test this, I opened the new book, and this is what I found on the first page:

"We sailed for America, and there made certain preparations. This took but little time. Two members of my family elected to go with me. Also a carbuncle. The dictionary says a carbuncle is a kind of jewel. Humor is out of place in a dictionary."

Although Mark Twain has the great qualities of the true humorist—common sense, human sympathy and an accurate eye for proportion—he is much more than a humorist. His work shows very high literary quality, the quality that appears in first-rate novels. He has shown himself to be a genuine artist. He has done something which many popular novelists have signally failed to accomplish—he has created real characters. His two wonderful boys, Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn, are wonderful in quite different ways. The creator of Tom exhibited remarkable observation; the creator of Huck showed the divine touch of imagination. Tom is the American boy—he is "smart." In having his fence whitewashed, in controlling a pool of Sabbath-school tickets at the precise psychological moment, he displays abundant promise of future success in business. Huck, on the other hand, is the child of nature, harmless, sincere and crudely imaginative. His reasonings with Jim about nature and God belong to the same department of natural theology as that illustrated in Browning's "Caliban." The night on the raft with Jim, when these two creatures look aloft at the stars, and Jim reckons the moon laid them, is a case in point.

"We had the sky up there, all speckled with stars, and we used to lay on our backs and look up at them, and discuss about whether they was made or just happened. Jim he allowed they was made, but I allowed they happened; I judged it would have took too long to *make* so many. Jim said the moon could a *laid* them; well, that looked kind of reasonable, so I didn't say nothing against it, because I've seen a frog lay most as many, so of course it could be done. We used to watch the stars that fell, too, and see them streak down. Jim allowed they'd got spoiled and was hove out of the nest."

Again, Mark Twain has so much dramatic power that, were his literary career beginning instead of closing, he might write for us the great American play that we are still awaiting. The story of the feud between the Grangerfords and the Shepherdsons is thrillingly dramatic, and the tragic climax grips one by the

heart. The shooting of the drunken Boggs, the gathering of the mob and its control by one masterful personality, belong essentially to true drama, and are written with power and insight. The pathos of these scenes is never false, never mawkish or overdone; it is the pathos of life itself. Mark Twain's extraordinary skill in descriptive passages shows, not merely keen observation, but the instinct for the specific word—the one word that is always better than any of its synonyms, for it makes the picture real—it creates the illusion, which is the essence of all literary art. The storm, for example:

"It was my watch below till twelve, but I wouldn't a turned in anyway if I'd had a bed, because a body don't see such a storm as that every day in the week, not by a long sight. My souls, how the wind did scream along! And every second or two there'd come a glare that lit up the white-caps for a half a mile around, and you'd see the islands looking dusty through the rain, and the trees thrashing around in the wind; then comes a *h-wach!*—bum! bum! bumble-umble-um-bum-bum-bum-bum—and the thunder would go rumbling and grumbling away, and quit—and then *rip* comes another flash and another sockdolager. The waves 'most washed me off the raft sometimes, but I hadn't any clothes on, and didn't mind. We didn't have no trouble about snags; the lightning was glaring and flittering around so constant that we could see them plenty soon enough to throw her head this way or that and miss them."

"Tom Sawyer" and "Huckleberry Finn" are prose epics of American life. The former is one of those books—of which "The Pilgrim's Progress," "Gulliver's Travels" and "Robinson Crusoe" are supreme examples—that are read at different periods of one's life from very different points of view; so that it is not easy to say when one enjoys them the most—before one understands their real significance or after. Nearly all healthy boys enjoy reading "Tom Sawyer," because the intrinsic interest of the story is so great, and the various adventures of the hero are portrayed with such gusto. Yet it is impossible to outgrow the book. The eternal Boy is there, and one cannot appreciate the nature of boyhood properly until one has ceased to be a boy. The other masterpiece, "Huckleberry Finn," is really not a child's book at all. Children devour it, but they do not digest it. It is a permanent picture of a certain period of American history, and this picture is made complete, not so much by the striking portraits of individuals placed on the huge canvas, as by the

vital unity of the whole composition. If one wishes to know what life on the Mississippi really was, to know and understand the peculiar social conditions of that highly exciting time, one has merely to read through this powerful narrative, and a definite, coherent, vivid impression remains.

By those who have lived there, and whose minds are comparatively free from prejudice, Mark Twain's pictures of life in the South before the war are regarded as, on the whole, nearer the truth than those supplied by any other artist. One reason for this is the aim of the author; he was not trying to support or to defend any particular theory—no, his aim was purely and wholly artistic. In "Uncle Tom's Cabin," a book by no means devoid of literary art, the red-hot indignation of the author largely nullified her evident desire to tell the truth. If one succeeds in telling the truth about anything whatever, one must have something more than the *desire* to tell the truth; one must know how to do it. False impressions do not always, probably do not commonly, come from deliberate liars. Mrs. Stowe's astonishing work is not really the history of slavery; it is the history of abolition sentiment. On the other hand, writers so graceful, talented and clever as Mr. Page and Mr. Hopkinson Smith do not always give us pictures that correctly represent, except locally, the actual situation before the war; for these gentlemen seem to have "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in mind. Mark Twain gives us both points of view; he shows us the beautiful side of slavery—for it had a wonderfully beautiful, patriarchal side—and he also shows us the horror of it. The living dread of the negro that he would be sold down the river, has never been more vividly represented than when the poor woman in "Pudd'nhead Wilson" sees the water swirling against the snag, and realizes that she is bound the wrong way. That one scene makes an indelible impression on the reader's mind, and counteracts tons of polemics. The peculiar harmlessness of Jim is beautiful to contemplate. Although he and Huck really own the raft, and have taken all the risk, they obey implicitly the orders of the two tramps who call themselves Duke and King. Had that been a raft on the Connecticut River, and had Huck and Jim been Yankees, they would have said to the intruders, "Whose raft is this, anyway?"

Mark Twain may be trusted to tell the truth; for the eye of the born caricature artist always sees the salient point. Caricatures

often give us a better idea of their object than a photograph; for the things that are exaggerated, be it a large nose, or a long neck, are, after all, the things that differentiate this particular individual from the mass. Everybody remembers how Tweed was caught by one of Nast's cartoons.

Mark Twain is through and through American. If foreigners really wish to know the American spirit, let them read Mark Twain. He is far more American than their favorite specimen, Walt Whitman. The essentially American qualities of common sense, energy, enterprise, good humor and Philistinism fairly shriek from his pages. He reveals us in our limitations, in our lack of appreciation of certain beautiful things, fully as well as he pictures us in coarser but more triumphant aspects. It is, of course, preposterous to say that Americans are totally different from other humans; we have no monopoly of common sense and good humor, nor are we all hide-bound Philistines. But there is something pronounced in the American character, and the books of Mark Twain reveal it. He has also more than once been a valuable and efficient champion. Without being an offensive and blatant Jingo, I think he is well satisfied to be an American.

Mark Twain is our great Democrat. Democracy is his political, social and moral creed. His hatred of snobbery, affectation and assumed superiority is total. His democracy has no limits; it is bottomless and far-reaching. Nothing seems really sacred to him except the sacred right of every individual to do exactly as he pleases; which means, of course, that no one can interfere with another's right, for then democracy would be the privilege of a few, and would stultify itself. Not only does the spirit of democracy breathe out from all his greater books, but it is shown in specific instances, such as "Travelling with a Reformer"; and Mark Twain has more than once given testimony for his creed, without recourse to the pen.

At the head of all American novelists, living and dead, stands Nathaniel Hawthorne, unapproached, possibly unapproachable. His fine and subtle art is an altogether different thing from the art of our mighty, democratic, national humorist. But Literature is wonderfully diverse in its content; and the historian of American Letters, in the far future, will probably find it impossible to omit the name of Mark Twain, whose books have warmed human hearts all over the world.

WILLIAM LYON PHELPS.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY FREDERIC TABER COOPER, THOMAS WALSH AND CLAYTON
HAMILTON.

"THE PRINCESS."*

MARGARET POTTER is one of those authors whom it seems worth while to discuss seriously, not so much on account of their achievement, as because of the potential force they have revealed that promises still greater things in the near future. The value of her productions up to the present day, inclusive of her latest volume, "The Princess," is to be determined only by boldly striking a balance between their many obvious merits and equally obvious faults. There is a spectacular quality about her style, an Oriental vividness of verbal coloring that draws attention like the flamboyant contrasts of an artistic poster. And when the reader's attention is once drawn and held, he finds that underneath the surface glow and glitter there is a drama in the course of enactment that is throbbing painfully with tense human passions,—a drama not merely original, but of purposed audacity. These, then, are Mrs. Potter's chief assets: a fertile invention and fearless handling of unique situations; a rush and sweep of word and phrase which seem often to symbolize the pent-up flood of emotions it interprets; and most important of all, because herein lies the chief hope for her future work, a very real and frank recognition of the basic, primordial human passions and weaknesses, an ability to make us conscious of the warring elements of flesh and spirit in every man and woman.

Having conceded these gifts, one must add the qualifying comment that Margaret Potter does not always make the best use of

* "The Princess." By Margaret Potter. New York: Harper & Brothers.

them. Instead of controlling her very uncommon power and fertility of language, she often gives it too free a rein. She has not yet learned the forcefulness of restraint and simplicity. Her flow of words seems always under a certain hydraulic pressure. In picturing life, she deliberately chooses exceptional types, those who live upon the heights, who occupy the seats of the mighty. She holds a mirror up to nature, but it often suits her purpose to select a mirror with a curved surface, which curiously magnifies and exalts certain characters, and changes the perspective and the focal point. She needs the accessories of royal robes, the pomp and splendor of the throne-room, the prerogatives of despotic power, to gain her best effects. She prefers to hold our interest by the force of contrast, rather than to make her appeal to the ultimate kinship of human hearts.

"The Princess," which furnishes the excuse and the justification of the present analysis, represents the highest achievement of its author yet given to the public. Announced as the second volume of a trilogy of Russian life, which began with "The Genius," it is easily a long step in advance of the earlier volume. The background of the story, not merely the nomenclature of streets and buildings, but the pervading sense of a social system and an ethical code differing essentially from our own, is drawn in with a sureness of touch that reveals not merely the patient hours of faithful study and careful documentation, but also that inborn gift of reconstruction, that instinct for visualizing distant lands or vanished epochs. And to understand how helpless mere knowledge may be, without that further gift, one need only recall those soulless productions of erudition, Becker's "Charicles" and "Gallus."

Of the plot of "The Princess," it does not seem necessary to speak here in detail. It is too big, too complex, too panoramic, to lend itself readily to a brief retelling. The action passes within the imperial circles of modern Russia; much of it, indeed, within the threshold of the imperial palace. The various members of the reigning house pass in and out of the story, each of them sketched in with bold confidence, and each impressing you, as you read, that they are real people, with real emotions and not at all the conventional lay figures of the usual historical novel. The central theme of "The Princess," as the foreword explicitly states, is the Loneliness of the Great, the price that royalty has to pay, in

standing aloof from the multitude and solving the riddle of creation alone and unaided. And the specific case which Margaret Potter has selected to illustrate her theme is the life of a certain Russian princess, who having, through long years of wedded misery, borne proudly and silently the degradation of a husband's cruelty and neglect and open infidelity, must begin over again the same silent struggle in the case of her son, whom she cannot with all her love keep from the vileness of the life his father led before him, nor from the wretchedness of a loveless marriage like her own. The book has in it a certain strain of mysticism, a strange visitation from time to time of a dead and gone musician, whom her readers will recall as having played the leading rôle in "The Genius." This reincarnate spirit, who comes again and again to the Princess in her hours of bitterest need, to warn her how she may avoid the doom hanging over those dear to her, may be taken seriously, or as a mere figment of her brain. But in either case, what the author wishes to drive home is the fact that, for those who endure the Loneliness of the Great, it is impossible, even though a warning may come to them from the dead, to break away from the trammels of custom, to be untrue to the prescribed code of their order.

There is one other thought which it seems worth while to express in connection with "The Princess," and that is in regard to what is conventionally regarded as a proper or improper subject for current fiction. As already intimated, the book handles with the greatest frankness the phases of life which are an inevitable consequence of the profligacy of the mighty. And there is no very good reason why it should not, so long as it treats life honestly and fearlessly. And yet, such are the conventions that regulate the propriety of the novels we read, that if Margaret Potter had chosen to lay her scene in New York and attribute to American men and women one tithe of the frailties that she assigns to titled Russians, the book would have called forth a vigorous protest. And this is a pity, because it simply compels a novelist like Mrs. Potter, who has something definite to say about the basic facts of life, to leave her own country and wander far afield for her stage-settings, which must always have in them something of the artificial, the exaggerated, the spectacular. Nevertheless, Margaret Potter is one of the younger novelists to-day who display a healthy and vigorous talent, and one who is eminently worth watching.

She seems just now to be at the parting of the ways. She belongs to the school of romantic fiction, and at present stands somewhere, let us say, between the talent of a George Sand and the sensationalism of a Ouida. The next year or two ought to show definitely in which of the directions she will ultimately turn her path.

FREDERIC TABER COOPER.

WRIGHT'S "LIFE OF WALTER PATER."*

THERE can be no gainsaying Walter Pater's preeminent interest to the student of literature, and so far as his personal history bears upon the processes of his thought and expression, investigations such as those pursued by Mr. Thomas Wright in his recent "Life of Walter Pater" have a distinct value. Nevertheless there is much that seems unnecessary and diffuse in these volumes: the biographer places too great a reliance upon the cumulative effect of unimportant conversations and recollections, and his anxiety to see Pater through the eyes of certain of his early friends promotes a sense of uneasiness in the reader lest there should be another side to many of these stories.

Mr. Wright purports to show us the real Pater—an unprepossessing boy whose retired disposition could be partly accounted for by his descent from a long line of Roman Catholics of Dutch origin who lived secluded from their neighbors in Buckinghamshire. He grew up amid a refined parsimony which showed itself in his later character in an abiding respect for the advantages of birth and prosperity. From the beginning we find him "playing at priest": a visionary boy full of the "lust of the eye" for all things beautiful, an exceeding horror of suffering, and an affection for cats.

At the King's School, Canterbury, he shows himself to be "essentially a monk—sometimes an ascetic and painfully devout monk, sometimes a mocking, sceptical monk." Mr. Benson has declared that Pater was popular among his schoolmates: his new biographer finds that they considered him a hopeless milksop, while he regarded them as barbarians. Snowballing, it seems, filled him with terror: he did not care for blackened eyes, nor for the pet snakes of his associates.

At Oxford, where he had won an exhibition, a marked revulsion

* "The Life of Walter Pater," by Thomas Wright. Two volumes. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

of his religious feeling seems to have set in. He is no longer "the saintly boy" of Canterbury: Heraclitus, Pythagoras, Plato, Schelling and Hegel take the place of Stanley, Kingsley and Maurice. He spends vacations at Heidelberg: takes tea and is "tead with" assiduously: indulges in "Mephistophelian sneers" at trammelling creeds, quotes Voltaire and only relinquishes his intention of taking Anglican Orders when rebuffed by the Bishop of London at the instance of some of his own friends.

A classical fellowship at Brasenose College, Oxford, allowed him for the first time in his life to feel some security as to his finances; and at the thwarting of his purpose of taking orders, he turned with ardor to the philosophic and literary studies of the Renaissance. It was his period of emancipation: "Laughter gave him a saturnine, Mephistophelian look. Report said that he had sat to Solomon the painter for the portrait of Judas Iscariot."

In spite of his weakness in Greek and Latin, a weakness that could not be hidden even from his own pupils, Pater might entertain some expectations of advancement in the University. His relations with the students seem to have been amicable enough, for while he took little part in social affairs, he could look kindly on the undergraduates' horse-play. "They are like playful young tigers that have been fed," was one of his remembered phrases. On another occasion the recommendation of some reforms drew from him the protest: "I do not know what your object is. At present the undergraduate is a child of nature; he grows up like a wild rose in a country lane: you want to turn him into a turnip, rob him of all grace and plant him out in rows."

A second hitch in the programme of Pater's life was his difficulty with Jowett, the regius professor of Greek. It was a turning-point in his career. Up to this time Pater's teaching by word of mouth and pen could be summed up in the words, "Imitate the men of the Renaissance and enjoy yourself"—a doctrine which, added to his personal attitude and the extravagances of some of his so-called disciples, roused the opposition of Jowett to Pater's efforts to obtain the Proctorship, with its three hundred pounds a year. Mr. Benson has given a version of this affair to which Mr. Wright takes decided exception. He denies that Jowett had "wrongly identified Pater with the advanced æsthetic school and credited him with the views expressed by Mr. Rose, a character in Mr. Mallock's satiric

study of the day, "The New Republic." Mr. Wright contends that the trouble with Jowett occurred in 1874, before the æsthetic movement took shape at Oxford: while "The New Republic" did not appear until 1877.

For whatever cause, the loss of the Proctorship marked the advent of a new thought in Pater's writings,—the old Spartan and monastic doctrine of self-restraint and discipline, "the charm of *ascesis*, of the austere and serious girding of the loins in youth,"—the philosophy of his "Marius the Epicurean," of "Plato and Platonism," and "The Marbles of Ægina." Not that any outward change came over Pater's personal habits; indeed, many of these chapters on discipline were prepared "by a man in fairly good health who mortified himself by lying in bed half the day—who indeed actually wrote some of them between the sheets at near upon noon."

Mr. Wright furthermore has been greatly exercised at Mr. Benson's rather curious omission of any reference to St. Austin's Priory in Walworth, where a very ornate ritual was observed by a brotherhood in which Mr. Richard C. Jackson, an intimate associate of Pater's, figured for a while as the Rev. Brother a'Becket. That this gentleman was the original upon whom Pater based the character of his Marius, Mr. Wright seems amply to establish; indeed, Mr. Jackson's omnipresence in this new biography becomes almost a nuisance, although a recent communication to "The Academy," in which he exclaims against Mr. Wright's irreverent handling of Pater,—particularly the reference to him as "a vicar-age Verlaine,"—would imply that he must not be held sponsor for all that these volumes convey.

In a biography so extensive as that of Mr. Wright's, the almost total absence of details of Pater's home life leaves a sense of incompleteness. Here, as is also the case in Mr. Benson's work, there is no *Pater-familias*. Much matter, however, relating to his friends and colleagues, gives this recent *Life* considerable charm and value. The fair sex, indeed, will find little attention devoted to it; in fact, one of the rare instances in which the ladies figure on the scene is that in the anecdote of Pater at a large reception in a Ladies' College at Oxford. The head of the house, seeing him approach, dropped her glove purposely. Instead of gallantly picking it up, he walked on and trod on it.

"Didn't you see how I rewarded the action?" he whispered to

an astonished friend. "If I had not remembered how, in spite of the honors heaped upon him by Queen Elizabeth, Sir Walter Raleigh was in the end led out to execution, perhaps I, too, might have made a fool of myself. Believe me, my dear sir, it was an insinuation of the devil that caused this woman to drop her glove."

Dr. F. W. Bussell, in summing up Pater's literary career, speaks of his life as "the gradual consecration of an exquisite sense of beauty to the highest ends: an almost literally exact advance through the stages of admiration in the Symposium, till at last he reached the sure haven, the one source of all that is fair and good." In the light of these words and of much that Mr. Wright has revealed to us, "Marius the Epicurean" assumes more and more the sense of a personal revelation of its author: into the figure of a friend, or more likely a composite of his friends, he has read the experiences of his own soul,—a soul "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." "Marius" becomes, as it were, the Parsifal of æstheticism, and beneath its outward calm and precision goes on that eternal drama of "the soul at war with sense," which has been the foundation of all the supreme things of literature and art.

It was, therefore, with a certain fitness that Pater should devote his last days to the study of Pascal—that Calvinist of Rome—whose inner life presents so many correspondences with his own. Not only in the philosophy of the French thinker, but also in his very methods of expression, he found himself strangely mirrored at the last. In such a passage, for instance, as that from the essay "*Sur l'Eloquence et la Style*" lies all the philosophy of Pater's style: "The very same sense is materially affected by the words that convey it. The sense receives its dignity from the words rather than imparts it to them." It is indeed the key to the excellence and the defects of Pater's works. "If I live long enough," he once remarked to Mr. Edmund Gosse, "I shall learn quite to like writing." For the dictionary in bed was at once his rack and his pillow, and a word that pleased him must sooner or later have a place found for it in his writings. "Lose the whole world, but find the *mot propre*," he had learnt from Flaubert, whose style is considered the immediate model of his own. It is generally overlooked, however, that Flaubert was no stylist in the sense in which the French recognize it in a Renan or a Loti. There was something Teutonic in his cast of mind which we feel equally in

the work of Pater. As yet, unfortunately, we possess no proper estimate of the relationship and debt of the English pre-Raphaelite and æsthetic movement to the German Romanticists of the "blue flower."

It is in the word rather than in the phrase that we must continue to look for Pater's greatness as an artist. He himself early realized that his sense of rhythm was defective, for Mr. Wright conclusively shows that notwithstanding Mr. Benson's statement to the contrary, he endeavored to write verse, but without success. Therefore, it is to the eye rather than the ear that he makes his appeal; his is the art of the mosaicist who picks out his rich materials bit by bit and lights up or shadows them into precision, nuance or suggestion like some master workman in a shadowy apse of Monreale or Venice. It is a self-conscious kind of expression which Mr. Wright compares to that of the fashionable Claytons who used to preach in lavender kid gloves. Yet Pater smashed no domestic crockery merely to make a noise in the world; but built up slowly and surely a structure of beauty in its ultimate and purest conception. If his writings never brought him more than three hundred pounds a year, he might remember Renan's remark that "nothing is less important than prosperity," and if in glancing back over his half-lonely, half-misinterpreted life we find that it teaches a moral as well as an artistic lesson, we reach a conclusion in which there is no doubt that he, the English great master of "Art for Art's Sake" would himself rejoice.

THOMAS WALSH.

"NINEVEH, AND OTHER POEMS."*

A NEW poet is an event; and the mere promise of an accomplished and important poet is a matter of unusual moment. In "Nineveh, and Other Poems," Mr. George Sylvester Viereck has shown himself a poet, and has given promise of importance and accomplishment to come. His present volume exhibits a natural aptitude for emotional expression. He speaks in spontaneous and eloquent verse, melodious with memories of the recurrent haunting harmonies of Poe, the sea-surge of Mr. Swinburne and the plangent tenderness of Oscar Wilde, and ringing also with a

* "Nineveh, and Other Poems." By George Sylvester Viereck. New York: Moffat, Yard & Company. 1907.

certain hammer-blow of passion which is entirely his own. He speaks with authority of the half-sensuous and half-religious hysteria of adolescence. He knows the awe of ancientness, the reverence of mystery, the sanctity of beauty. He knows both one and the other phase of the adolescent conflict between the body and the soul. He is capable of blasphemy and prayer. And he has imagination, chiefly of the panoramic sort. So many remarkable qualities united in the work of a poet only twenty-two years old make his volume worthy to be read; and the hope these qualities awaken of what he may become, makes his volume worthy to be studied.

I call him a poet not because of his fluency of verse, which is largely a matter of repatterned auditory reminiscence, nor because of the content of his work, which is as yet devoid of message; but because his best pieces are alive. They have an individual existence, apart from what they say or how they say it. They seem to have sprung full-grown from their creator's mind. They are born, not made. But, on the other hand, he is as yet neither an important poet nor an accomplished one. He is not important, because he is empty of great things to say; and he is not accomplished, because he has not learned to say things perfectly. But he gives promise of becoming both important and accomplished; and the best service that may be rendered to him, therefore, is to point out what as yet he lacks and indicate the lines along which he must develop in order to become of real value to the reading world.

It is only because I appreciate and laud his easy spontaneity of utterance that I presume to call attention to his technical defects. He seems to write entirely by ear, just as some people play the piano, rather than by studious and consciously commanded artistry. The ardor of his composition almost disguises the fact that he really knows very little about rhythm; but the fact betrays itself in certain pieces, and once betrayed, grows evident in nearly all. For instance, he is unable to command blank verse, the most delicate of English rhythms. The lines in "Aiander" are thumpingly end-stopped and almost without variety of cadence. One wonders at how much the writer's ear has failed to hear in the blank verse of the masters,—Milton and Tennyson, for example. Again, in his *vers libres*, he lacks sureness of auditory purpose in his alternation of long lines with short,—the kind of

sureness, I mean, that Wordsworth exhibits in his ode on "Intimations." He obeys the dictates of his rhythmic mood, rather than making his rhythmic mood obey the dictates of his mind. For this reason he almost always fails to maintain a stanzaic form that he has invented, and changes his mind about the form with each new stanza. He defends this practice in his preface; but a poet, with the example of the odes of Keats before him, admits weakness when he pleads for unnecessary license. His longer poems are shaky in structure: it is evident that he began to write them before he had them firmly built. He dashes gallantly through the province of a poem, instead of marching firmly to take possession of reconnoitred ground. Because of the weakness of his structural sense, his sonnets are less effective in their form than in their content. The reason for all these defects is that Mr. Viereck has not prepared himself for composition by a thorough study of the greatest versifiers. He has allowed his ear to be allured by the magic of minor masters; and being over-gifted with natural facility, he has not entirely discovered how much he has to learn.

Again, it is only because I appreciate and laud the passion and the poignancy of the things he has to say that I presume to call attention to the fact that these things, as yet, are not of prime importance. He knows mightily the riot of the senses and has felt with anguish the growing-pains of the soul. But his experience seems entirely of the world within himself rather than of the world without him. He knows nothing about nature and very little about men and women; and what he knows about the gods has been taught him, not by looking on at life, but by his own fears and hectic eagernesses. His god is finally the Sphinx,—the master of those who do not know. Much of his eroticism is derived, and therefore prurient; some of his soul-sorrow is literary. Of love, in its higher aspects, he is as yet apparently innocent; and his beautiful sonnet on "Friendship" suggests sadly that he is still a seeker unsatisfied. What he needs chiefly is a broader experience of life, and a knowledge of ideality externalized. It is time for his emotions to cease feeding on themselves; it is time that he should discover elements of beauty in normal, healthy and objective life. It is time that he should learn the things that people really need to know, in order to speak them with his voice.

Mr. Viereck owes it to himself to fulfil his promise; and he owes it even more to those who wait for poets in the world. With

his natural aptitude for utterance, he should not find it difficult to master English verse in ten years of unremitted labor. Whether or not he will find it difficult to grow to be a great man is another matter, and a more important one. Keats and Shelley were great men at Mr. Viereck's age; but with them the gods were hasty and allowed them little time. Mr. Viereck is as yet only a possibility; but his possibility is glorious. I, for one, will wait hopefully to see what he does with his life, himself and his work.

CLAYTON HAMILTON.

WORLD-POLITICS.

PARIS: WASHINGTON.

PARIS, *June, 1907.*

It is always idle and often dangerous to say before the event that a nation is coming to a turning-point in its fortunes, that a new departure in politics is imminent or to commit oneself generally to any similar sweeping assertion. So, whatever may be the consequences in the near or remote future, I will merely say that I have to note in the present communication a not unexpected, but, nevertheless, somewhat sudden, check to the Socialist movement, which means a great deal more than even a change of Government. It is now eight years since the Socialists, numbering at the time little more than fifty, took the lead in the French Chamber. M. Waldeck-Rousseau had just come into office and cast about for the means of parrying the silly practical joke—consisting in a collusion of the Monarchists with the Extreme Left—by which half a dozen Premiers before him had been victimized. He thought that the only way open to him was to annex bodily the whole Socialist group, by adopting such parts of their programme as appeared realizable and securing the concurrence of one of their strongest men. So it was that social reforms like the suppression of the courts-martial, liberty of association, an old-age pension fund, etc., took the place of purely political measures, and the Socialist Millerand became Minister of Commerce.

This combination worked tolerably well throughout the three years of the Waldeck-Rousseau and the two years of the Combes Governments. The Socialists checked their natural violence and consented to be disciplined into supporters of the Cabinet. On the other hand, the old Radical group tinged their professions of faith with as much Socialism as they could absorb and gradually

called themselves Radical-Socialists. The immediate result was that Governments appeared more stable and became of unwonted duration.

Nevertheless, it was evident to the clear-sighted that the alliance between such opposite elements as the Socialists and their *bourgeois* neighbors could only be kept up artificially, and by a tacit agreement between them to steer clear of inevitable crucial questions. Some very useful measures were passed by M. Mille-rand: for instance, the creation of Councils of Labor and the law on the liability of employers, whilst legislation upon strikes was considerably improved. But these reforms had been for twenty years on M. de Mun's programme as well as on that of M. Jaurès. Of distinctly Socialist transformations there was no mention, or they were introduced in a manner so unmistakably academical that the blunt Socialists outside Parliament never refrained from calling them humbug. Practically, the only common platform on which the Socialists combined with the Radicals without any danger was anti-clericalism, and the positive work achieved until the general election of 1906 was little more than the expulsion of the religious orders, the break with Rome and, finally, the separation of Church and State.

The election returned to the Chamber an overwhelming majority of anti-clericals, demonstrating that the power of the Church and the danger accruing from it were mere bugbears. In spite of the tremendous effort made by M. Piou (*vide* the Montagnini papers), the "*Action Libérale*" or Catholic party and the Monarchists did not make up a sixth part of the Chamber.

The situation henceforward was clear. The Socialists had gained a score of seats; the Radical-Socialists had adhered to several of their claims (*viz.*, the nationalization of railways and mines, the income tax and old-age pensions); there was a most able Socialist in the Cabinet, M. Briand; and the real Premier, M. Clémenceau, was a Radical-Socialist. In consequence, the policy to be followed during the four years of the new Parliament ought to be the Radical-Socialist policy. The first week of the session was entirely filled by the memorable conversation between Jaurès and Clémenceau, the upshot of which was that anti-clericalism, being purely negative, had become as indifferent to the country as clericalism; that Socialism in its radical form, *i. e.*, Collectivism, was impossible; but that the Socialism of re-

formers was in keeping with the wishes of the country appeared on the programme of the greater part of the majority, and therefore indicated the work which the Chamber ought to take up at once. In fact, the nationalization of railways—beginning with the Western Railway—the income tax and old-age pension were the chief topics of the Ministerial address read by M. Clémenceau.

The Socialists regarded them as the minimum which they ought to expect from a Radical-Socialist Ministry. As to the Radical-Socialists, there is every reason to believe that they looked upon these measures as mere electoral professions, political castles in the air, which are always talked about and never seen. No less than seven income-tax bills have been framed by successive Ministers, and discussed by as many Committees, without anything ever coming of them. Why, they probably asked themselves, should this comfortable state of affairs be changed under Clémenceau, rather than under Combes? Our Radical-Socialists, therefore, saw with perfect equanimity M. Caillaux tackle the eighth income-tax bill, and M. Clémenceau entrust to the Senate the nationalization of the Western Railway.

However, this tranquillity was soon to be disturbed. After a long and scandalous opposition from all the Conservative parties, Radicals as well as Monarchists, a law enforcing weekly rest was passed by the Chamber and put on its trial. The result might have been prophesied. The employed naturally welcomed their weekly holiday, but insisted that no reduction in their salary ought to follow, while employers resented the idea of more men being employed and smaller profits cleared. The opinions of both parties were soon echoed in Parliament, thanks to several strikes of exceptional duration; the *bourgeois* Radicals spoke of serious changes to be made in the law, and the Socialists assumed a threatening tone which had not been heard for many years on their benches. The "class contest" was beginning to be more than a scarecrow. After a few months, the law was so altered as to be virtually nullified; but the Socialists started an agitation unparalleled in the history of the Third Republic, which soon brought the conflict between them and the Radicals to the verge of exasperation.

There is no unanimity among the French Socialists, and even in the Chamber their union is often little better than a necessity;

but their practical organization has reached a perfection to which only religious associations have heretofore attained. The strength of this organization lies in the fact that it rests on definite and undoubted interests, being not exclusively political, but rather economic. The whole country is covered with a powerful network of trade-unions, in close connection with one another, and bound together by a General Labor Confederation, the seat of which is at the Labor Exchange of Paris. The existence of the trade-unions was made legal as early as 1884, and the federation of kindred unions was natural and spontaneous. But the General Confederation of unions of all kinds only took place three or four years ago, not without secret jealousy and disquietude on the part of the Government, which could not but feel that a central organization with a legal seat in Paris—the Labor Exchange was built by the State—large financial possibilities, and unquestioned authority constituted another government, set up against it.

It is with this tremendous power that the Radicals are now quarrelling.

The reader may wonder that they should have waited so long to enter upon open warfare with such dangerous enemies. But the enmity was not absolutely clear from the first. Some "companions" made no secret of the hopes they entertained of being able gradually to organize the Fourth Estate so strongly that the *bourgeois* would one day find themselves face to face with the whole proletariat; and the yearly threat of a universal strike on May 1st ought to have admonished the Radicals of the real intentions of the Confederation. But, as I have said, the Radicals still lived under the delusion that their political union with M. Jaurès in Parliament meant security everywhere.

They were suddenly aroused by a few rather startling moves of the Confederation.

At the same time that vast protest against the remodelling of the law on weekly rest was the order of the day, a Socialist movement was initiated in quarters where only a few years back it would have been supposed impossible. There have been, of late years, constant strikes of the workmen employed at Cherbourg, Brest, Lorient and Toulon in the naval arsenals, and there may be some connection between the spirit of lawlessness prevalent in those ports and the terrible series of disasters in the French Navy during the past two years. These mechanics do not

strike merely to have their wages raised or their hours shortened,—the fact is they are pretty well paid for little work,—but they insist that they have a right to form themselves into a trade-union in connection with the General Confederation, even though their employer be the State and their occupation that of national defence. This theory all successive Governments have naturally rejected. But their resistance never was sufficiently decided to preclude fresh attempts at securing corporate immunity. The consequence was that the tide rose instead of subsiding. In October last the Paris postmen struck in their turn, formed into syndicates and succeeded in having themselves entered at the Labor Exchange. Several of them were dismissed, but the General Confederation still keeps up an agitation to have them taken back. Finally, the elementary teachers, whose Socialist tendencies are every day growing stronger, transformed their friendly societies into trade-unions and would have affiliated them with the General Confederation if they had not met with an indignant interdict from M. Clémenceau. However, whether affiliated or not, the Confederation can boast, and does boast on every occasion, that, whenever the general strike is possible, the national defence in the ports, the postal services in Paris and education in most places shall be stopped, as well as railway traffic and the making of bread.

This prospect is dark, indeed, and its possibility might have been doubted had it not been for two manifestations of the violence latent in the Socialist circles. On March 9th, the electricians employed in the Paris works, dissatisfied with the trend of negotiations entered into by the Municipal Council with two rival companies, suddenly stopped work, and for two nights Paris was given up to the picturesqueness and dangers of torch-light. On the third night, M. Clémenceau sent in military electricians who worked as best they could, but this interference was violently denounced by M. Jaurès, who insisted that it amounted to setting the right of striking at naught, and a fresh agitation ensued. A few days later, a placard bearing the signatures of the members of the "Central Committee" and addressed to M. Clémenceau was posted up everywhere. This mysterious "Central Committee"—unheard of since the dark days of the Commune—simply told the Premier that, only a short time ago, he championed the syndicates of State Servants,

and reminded the Minister of Education of a certain untoward speech delivered by him—in the not very remote period when he was a Socialistic journalist—to the effect that the general strike ought to be the great object of the Socialists, and if the soldiers were sent by the Government against their suffering brethren, their rifles might not be discharged in the expected direction.

This bold interference of the Central Committee caused a commotion in Paris and roused the Government. M. Briand dismissed—against the decision of the special jury—a schoolmaster who had signed the placard, and M. Clémenceau found a pretext for imprisoning two other members of the Committee.

Even the grim appearance of the Central Committee, however, would have left the Parisians indifferent but for the object-lesson they had previously received from the electricians. This had much more than a transient effect. For the first time a tremendous power had been injured—the press, which nowadays depends almost entirely on electricity—and the outcry for two days' annoyance was much louder than it had been for many a dire injustice. For the first time, the Socialist papers found themselves alone, against all the rest of the press, in trying to explain and defend the strikers' action. For the first time, many an amateur in semi-Socialist literature felt that the game was serious and that he might be making a fool of himself. I have never seen the press so unanimous as it has been during the past three months in denouncing, as a "public danger," the work of the General Confederation, and calling upon the Government to be firm in the defence of Society. There has been a marked dearth of exciting political events, and yet the tone of the papers never was more excited.

Unfortunately for M. Clémenceau and his Cabinet, this unanimity has gone farther against Socialistic ideas than he would have liked, and the consequence is a highly paradoxical situation. The Chamber, like the press, has followed the Premier in his resistance to the General Confederation; so much so that M. Clémenceau would have run no risk in limiting the Syndicates to their natural business and introducing a bill against any political action on their part. The Socialists are now completely isolated, and M. Pelletan, one of the few Radical-Socialists who adhere to them, is deeply disgusted with his own group, whom he calls liars and renegades. But neither the press nor the Parlia-

ment will be content with a shabby policy of resistance to outrages which the courts ought to be competent to repress. What they want is nothing short of a reversal of the programme adopted by both the Socialists and the Radical-Socialists. But, as I have said above, the outstanding points of this programme are the nationalization of the Western Railway and the income tax, and these two bills were the centrepiece of M. Clémenceau's Ministerial address. The Western Railway bill is opposed by the senatorial committee appointed for its examination, by all the great companies whose future it implicitly threatens, and by the seventy-seven French Chambers of Commerce without a single exception. The income-tax bill fares even worse. At a recent election of senatorial delegates, two ex-Ministers were left out on their stating that they were favorable to the bill.

M. Jaurès has already begun a campaign of intimidation which might force the Senate into obedience; but the Senate counts for little as compared with the press, and the average income—distinctly that of the journalist—is confessedly that which will most suffer. The unscrupulous but powerful and popular newspaper, "*Le Matin*," wages daily war against the bill, which at present has not the ghost of a chance.

Now the question is, first of all, What is to become of a Cabinet whose fortunes M. Clémenceau has solemnly bound up with those of the two bills? Clearly it must go to pieces the moment it is thrown against such an obstacle. M. Clémenceau is not likely to give up his own programme, and if he did, he would, in M. Ribot's words, rob the Moderates of their own policy, which would only be another manner of reinstating them in power, and of placing himself in an impossible position. Go, then, he must, and possibly will of his own accord, instead of stultifying himself.

Another question is, How is a majority to be found exclusive of the Radical-Socialist programme and the Radical-Socialist vote? Will it be strong enough to encounter the immense power organized by the Socialists and impersonated by the General Confederation of Labor, which is tainted with anti-religious and anti-patriotic fallacies, and is lawless and reckless?

This the future will answer, but the *bourgeois* unanimity in the press, compared with such a movement as that of the wine-growers refusing in seven departments to pay a farthing of their taxes, shows that the crisis may be very near.

WASHINGTON, *June, 1907.*

THERE is no doubt that the delegates of the United States to the second Hague Conference have been exceedingly well treated as regards assignments to the three important committees which are to deal respectively with the questions of arbitration, land warfare and maritime warfare. There still seems to be, however, some uncertainty concerning the position which the representatives of our Government will take concerning one interesting matter. When, on June 19th, General Horace Porter, one of our delegates, announced that the United States would reserve the right to present the question of a reduction of armaments, it was too hastily assumed that our State Department means to exercise the right. It may be averred upon the highest authority that, in the opinion of Mr. Root, the mooted question properly belongs to some European Power, and that only at the last moment, if at all, will the United States start a discussion of a proposal in which other countries are more deeply concerned. There are two reforms of moment, however, with regard to which it is settled that our delegates will stand forth as advocates of material changes in international law. For at least half a century we have been champions of the principle that the private property even of the subjects or citizens of a belligerent Power should be immune from capture at sea, unless it should be adjudged contraband of war. Our Government would have renounced privateering, and signed the Declaration of Paris, made in 1856, if the other signatories would have accepted that principle. It is expected that our delegates will now bring forward a similar proposal, but it remains to be seen whether Great Britain, which rejected the suggestion fifty-one years ago, is now inclined to take a different view of it. In 1856, she was far from being so dependent on the importation of breadstuffs from this side of the Atlantic as she is now. As regards the second object to which our efforts will be especially directed, Mr. Joseph H. Choate, the head of the American delegation, announced in a letter to M. Nelidoff, the President of the Conference, that, at the proper time, he should raise the question of prohibiting the collection by force of contract debts, a proceeding of which the latest example was the bombardment of Venezuelan seaports by the allied squadrons of Great Britain, Germany and Italy. Opinions differ as to the likelihood of an endorsement of the

proposal by the Conference. Great Britain (with Egypt in mind), and Germany and Italy, that by violence made themselves preferred creditors of Venezuela, and secured the application of a part of the debtor's customs revenue to the liquidation of their claims, can scarcely be expected to assent to the proposed change in the law of nations. It seems, moreover, to have been assumed too hastily that, in recommending the Drago Doctrine, our Government would have the support of all the Latin-American republics. Two of those commonwealths—Brazil and Mexico—do not regard the doctrine with favor, and the representatives of Chile are expected to take a similar attitude. On the whole, the prospect of seeing the Drago Doctrine embedded in international law is not good.

The apprehension which seems to have been felt in some quarters that the destruction of the property of certain Japanese residents by a mob in San Francisco might provoke a demand for an indemnity, and that this demand, if pressed without a preceding recourse to the Courts, might create on the part of our people a resentment that would lead to war, has died away. It is true that some well-informed and thoughtful citizens of California still take a very serious view of the situation. For example, Mr. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President of the University of California, speaking at a dinner given in New York on June 20th, expressed the belief that the conditions on the Pacific Coast, so far as Oriental peoples are concerned, are still very grave, and present to American residents in that section a question that will not be solved easily. He pronounced it a mistake to suppose that all we have to consider is whether or no the Japanese and Chinese shall be permitted to attend the schools frequented by white children, or that we have only to inquire whether or no certain Japanese have been assaulted or despoiled. The question, he says, is of much broader scope. It is whether or no the people of that coast shall become inoculated with Oriental ideas and customs. In a word, shall or shall not the States of the Pacific Coast suffer the same fate that has overtaken Hawaii? That is one view of the matter. A very different opinion was expressed on the same day in Washington by Viscount Aoki, the Ambassador of Japan. He insisted that there is no "situation" and no "question" between Japan and the United States. He averred that, on the contrary, the best of relations exist, and that there is no dispute under

diplomatic consideration. He pronounced it distressing that there should be agitation over trifles which are of purely local import, if of import at all. To the inquiry whether the so-called Progressive party, of which Count Okuma used to be the head, is strong enough, or likely to be strong enough, to secure his recall, Viscount Aoki pointed out that the Progressives do not possess a majority in the popular branch of the Tokio Parliament, and have no present prospect of securing one. He might have added that the so-called "Constitutionalists" and "Unionists," between them, greatly preponderate in that body, and both of those parties have refused to cooperate with the Progressives in the stimulation of anti-American sentiment. Moreover, within the last few days, the Progressive party itself has split upon that point. Viscount Aoki directed attention also to the fact that, while Japan might have, at the utmost, including its newly acquired subjects, a population of about 50,000,000, the United States have not far from ninety millions, and are incomparably richer. He declared, in fine, that no country could dominate the Pacific, and that it was absurd to suppose that Japan could ever hope to control so vast a commerce as China and other Asiatic countries are capable of developing. It was true, he admitted, that labor is cheap in Japan; but he was confident, he said, that the United States, with their constantly improving machinery, would always be able to produce commodities as cheaply. To the final question whether the war talk in Japan might not be stopped by official interposition, he replied that, while undoubtedly the Tokio Government could stifle it, such a proceeding might give the talk more importance than it deserved. There seems, by the way, to be no foundation for the report that our Navy Department is seriously considering the expediency of placing all of our battle-ships in the Pacific, leaving our seaports on the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico to be defended by monitors, armored cruisers, protected cruisers, submarines and gunboats. The newspaper discussion of the subject has had, however, a wholesome effect. It has fastened attention on the fact that we have it in our power to place within a few months no fewer than twenty-one battle-ships—three of which have a displacement of 16,000 tons, and four a displacement of about 15,000 tons—in the Pacific Ocean, a force with which Japan could not dream of competing.

Until the fact was brought out the other day in the Washington

"Star," few Americans were aware that we annually pay a considerable sum in pensions to persons who live in foreign countries. There are, it seems, no fewer than 5,268 such pensions. Of these 2,657 dwell in Canada, 600 in Germany, 495 in Ireland, 391 in England and 27 in Scotland. Even in Switzerland there are 70, and a like number in Sweden. In almost every other European State, and also in Australasia, China and Japan, there are at least a few individuals who receive yearly a pension voucher from our Government. The whole sum, however, thus disbursed is relatively inconsiderable, being only \$750,000, whereas the total amount to be paid out on account of our pension list next year will fall but little short of \$150,000,000.

Since we reviewed the status of the Presidential campaign a month ago, there have been some changes. The unanimous endorsement of the candidacy of Senator Knox by the Pennsylvania State Convention seems to have fallen flat. It has evoked no enthusiastic response even in New England, and scarcely any attention has been paid to it in the Central West, or in the Trans-Mississippi States. Judge Taft still appears to be certain to have the Ohio delegation behind him, but there are indications that his nomination might deprive the Republicans of the negro vote in that State. The indignation which has been worked up among negroes by Senator Foraker's exposure of the scanty evidence on which the colored companies accused of disorder in Brownsville were dismissed is threatening Republican supremacy in a number of States where the negro vote is large enough to turn the scale in closely contested elections. It seems to have been the fear of losing the negro vote that caused the Kentucky State Convention to refrain, the other day, from endorsing Judge Taft by name, though it commended the Roosevelt policies. The Republican State Committee of Kansas approved Judge Taft's candidacy some time ago, but that was before politicians had awakened to the possibility that the Brownsville incident might cause negro voters to support the Democratic nominee. On the whole, it now looks as if there would be a great many "favorite-son" delegations in the next Republican National Convention, and Colonel Henry Watterson, who is as good a prophet as any, might be right in believing that Governor Hughes, if he has the New York delegates behind him, may, in the end, get the nomination.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

MONDAY, *July 1.* Railway Securities and the Money Market.

WE have received the following communication:

"SIR,—In an article in the Editor's Diary of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of recent date, 'President Roosevelt as an Ally of the Money Power,' it is stated that, by insisting upon the railroad and trust magnates obeying the laws regulating commerce as passed by Congress, and by trying to hold them responsible for their transgressions, President Roosevelt helps the money-lenders.

"You say that our capitalists could not have been prevailed upon to furnish money when we began building our transcontinental roads, after the Civil War, unless they were enticed to do so by the expectation of great profits. They were not *our* capitalists who furnished the cash for the building of the Union Pacific, for they were rather small in those times, and would scarcely have been able to furnish it. It was the Government—the people—who loaned funds for the purpose, and a hard and long fight they had to make to get back their own, long after the Union Pacific was abundantly able to pay back Government loans. And, further, it was to foreign capital that the promoters of the enterprise had to look at that time to put the work through.

"The country too thinly peopled in those times to permit the timid home capitalists to take ventures in far-off railroad enterprises? Indeed! *Comparaciones sunt odiosæ*. But our neighbor, Canada, could afford to build her Pacific road through the wilderness, and the road has not had to be reorganized, like nearly every one of our trunk lines; the Canadian Pacific was honestly built, has not been over-capitalized, its accounts have been properly kept and balanced and there has not been any juggling with stocks, so far as we are aware.

"No, sir. Those who have money to lend have always been ready to invest in safe enterprises at a fair or even relatively low rate of interest; if they now refuse to lend the big railroad and other corporations any more money at less than five and six per cent. on short-time notes, they have a very good reason for it. They have at last taken the lesson to heart that the great magnates have not been and are not as honest as they should be, and that they are apt to loot the treasury of the roads they have taken possession of by stock manipulations, in the same way as, but on a larger scale than, their forebears.

"To be sure, they are ever ready to invite the dear public to come into the game, and bring the funds which help to fill the coffers of the great captains, and then? *Caveat emptor!*"

"Further, you opine that the six-per-cent. notes offered by the roads are to run just so long as Mr. Roosevelt's term will last? So it would seem that our worthy President has become an obstacle to the continuance of our vaunted prosperity, and no sooner will he have left the White House than the great captains will find all the money they want again at four per cent.

"I do not agree with this insinuation or indictment. So long as the railroad directors declare excessive dividends and enrich themselves and their friends, the money-lenders also will be entitled to five or six per cent. at least on their investments. Let the railroad directors declare fair dividends and put aside good sums of their surplus for maintenance, improvement and extension of their roads, and they will then not be obliged to go begging for money and put out notes at high interest. There is no reason why, at their present crisis, they should not be ready to part with some of the hoards they have made and help their own roads.

"Carelessness in operating the roads, losses made by maintaining excessive speed on roadbeds which cannot bear it without danger, insane competition among trunk lines, the building of unnecessary parallel lines and, last but not least, stock jugglery of the men in command—these are the main reasons, I think, of the present embarrassment and failure.

"Much the same do we see when we look into the affairs of most of the trusts. They are all over-capitalized; they all force the producer to sell as cheaply as possible—and to them only; they have transgressed the Interstate Commerce Law, and all of them have taken rebates from the railroads whenever they could get them, in order to stifle competition and force out private competitors.

"Everywhere and anywhere we turn our eyes we see the same hoggish greed to gain much, and more, and more, and never to be satisfied. That is the curse of our times, it seems, the curse of the 'ring.' After Roosevelt leaves the White House, the plutocrats will not come in again to rule by dishonesty and extravagant luxury, as they have done; for such prosperity as we now enjoy is no longer wholesome; it is false, offensive and riotous, and the sooner we sober up the better it will be for the future of the country.

"I am, sir, etc.,

"LEONARD WEBER.

"NEW YORK CITY."

In the article to which Mr. Weber refers, we endeavored to call attention to the indications that the war on the railroads had already brought distress, not only upon the roads, but upon those whom they serve. Upon this point we said:

"Billions of dollars are needed immediately for a great expansion of facilities to meet obvious requirements and, for the first time in the history of the country, cannot be obtained. Bonds of the strongest railway corporations in the world are a drug on the market, and new issues for pressing needs are not dreamed of. Instead of being able to fund obligations at low rates of interest, nearly every large railway company has been compelled to pay excessive sums for temporary accommodations, thus inevitably inducing retrenchment in expenditures when extension of facilities is the chief need of both producer and consumer."

Not only is this statement absolutely true, but, since these words were printed, and since Mr. Weber's communication was received, Mr. Roosevelt has given public utterance to his own recognition of the threatened danger to the roads, to the shippers and to the country, which has resulted from his own war upon the railroads, while he has asserted, in his own words, the actual existence of the conditions set forth in the above quotation. All this he did in his recent speech at Indianapolis.

Mr. Weber, recognizing also that the railroads are paying high rates of interest for temporary accommodation, declares himself an unbeliever in our assertion that Mr. Roosevelt is "to-day, unconsciously, of course, the most effective ally of the money-lending power in the world, and bears a responsibility for a retrogressive movement surcharged with possibilities of disaster to the country and the people."

We are told that it is not Mr. Roosevelt or the war that he has stirred up which is the compelling cause of the inability of the railroads to sell new bonds, and of the ability of the money-lenders to exact from them high rates of interest for temporary accommodation. We are told that, on the contrary, these ills have fallen on the railroads on account of the dishonesty of their officers and directors; because they have declared excessive dividends; because they have lost vast sums of money by "maintaining excessive speed on roadbeds which cannot bear it without danger"; because of "insane competition among trunk lines—the building of unnecessary parallel lines, and, last but not least, stock jugglery of the men in command."

The temper of Mr. Weber's letter is significant. It is the temper of war, and is, therefore, unreasoning. A short time ago, indeed, the atmosphere was so surcharged with the electricity of battle, that one who was taking part in the combat against the rail-

roads would not have listened to any reply or to any argument that was advanced for the purpose of opposing reason to the outcries of battling champions. Now this has been, fortunately, changed by the admission of the President himself that there has been much wild talk about over-capitalization, and that the railroads need friendly, and not hostile, treatment if they are to meet the demands of the country for the extension of transportation facilities.

The causes assigned by Mr. Weber for the present inability of the "strongest" roads—and it was to them expressly that we referred—to market securities, are not supported by the history of such securities. Before the present war on the roads, investors were content to buy good railroad bonds at prices which brought them a revenue of less than four per cent. It is only since the war was inaugurated that nearly all four-per-cent. railroad bonds have fallen below par. It is illustrative of the recklessness of the talk against railroads that the four-per-cent. bonds of the Union Pacific bring a little more than par, a significant reminder of the value of Government support instead of Government enmity. If the bad management of the railroads, and not the sudden hostility of politicians, were accountable for the loss of railroad credit with investors, the results would have been felt long ago. As a matter of fact, the investors were frightened and the money-lenders saw their chance of profit, immediately after the efforts of the politicians began to be formulated in legislation as well as in threats—legislation, it is well to repeat, that directly followed Mr. Root's "warning" that, if the States did not act as Mr. Roosevelt desires, the Federal Government would take away their constitutional powers by "judicial constructions." Not only were the State legislatures driven to enact predatory laws—for there is predatory politics, as well as "predatory plutocracy" and "predatory poverty"—but investors declined to buy railroad securities at prices for which the roads could afford to part with them. That this decline in the security market was due to sudden war and to its promised continuance is shown by the fact that up to its breaking out investors had been willing, and glad, to put their money into railroad bonds. Now was the time for the money-lender, and he improved it.

Not only is it not true that the bad management of the roads is accountable for the inability of the roads to sell their securities

at remunerative prices; not only, Mr. Roosevelt confessing it, are the railroads not over-capitalized, but, as a matter of fact, over-capitalization of the ordinary stock corporation injures only those who subscribe and pay in the excessive capital; as to railroads, the belief that they differ from other corporations is fallacious. At the most, it can be said of railroads having no competition in States where there is no regulation, that they may fix rates at will, and in order to pay dividends on water. Most railroads have competition or are regulated, as to charges, by State or national laws; as to such railroads, the great majority, the over-capitalization argument cannot apply.

Nor, if it did, has the question anything to do with the price of bonds. Bonds represent a debt, and the interest on them must come out of earnings before any dividend is paid, whether the shares represent the true value of the profit or water.

Again, how can it be said, in view of what the law has attempted, and accomplished, in the way of preventing competition, that "insane competition among the trunk lines" has aided to imperil the credit of the roads? The purpose of regulation has been to compel competition by keeping parallel lines in mutually independent or even antagonistic hands, while it has also been its endeavor to deprive the public of the supposed fruits of competition by determining rates.

Not only are the roads not over-capitalized; not only is over-capitalization impossible so far as most of the roads of this country are concerned; not only are the other reasons—including the disastrous effect of fast trains and stock jugglery on the credit of the "strongest railway corporations"—not explanatory of the failure of credit among investors, but it is also true that Mr. Weber is wrong in saying that the payment of excessive dividends, and the consequent failure to "put aside good sums of their surplus for maintenance, improvement and extension," account for the "present crisis." As will readily be seen by any intelligent reader, this reason cannot be sound if the other reasons, already considered, are sound. But let that pass; both sets of reasons are unsound. It is not true that excessive dividends have been paid by the railroads of this country.

The figures that will most readily convince a critic of the railroads are naturally those of the Interstate Commerce Commission. In 1900, the statistician of the Commission stated, in its annual

report, that the share capital of the railroad was about \$6,000,000,000. On only 3 per cent. of this stock was the dividend in excess of 8 per cent., while on 72 per cent. of the bonds the interest was less than 6 per cent.; and it was while the management of the roads was notoriously worse than it is now that the roads were enabled to borrow readily on terms more advantageous than they can now obtain. The average return on bonds and stock together was only 3.4 per cent. As Professor Seager says in his admirable "Introduction to Economics," the interest and dividend which the railroads pay to investors "seem, when the risks connected with such enterprises are considered, scarcely a fair, and certainly not an excessive, return."

One fact more may be added from Professor Veditz's American edition of the "Principles of Political Economy" by Professor Charles Guide, lecturer on Economics at the Paris Law School. Professor Guide says: "The average cost per mile for road and equipment in the United States is about \$50,000, in Germany it is about \$120,000, in France \$130,000 and in England considerably more." As a matter of fact, the actual cost of road and equipment in the United States was, in 1900, a good deal more than the par value of the shares of stock placed on the market by the corporations and about equal to the total of the bonds and stock. There is no reason to be found in the physical value of the roads; in the amount of their business; in their prospects for the future; nor in the character of their management, which can account for the difficulty of selling securities in order to raise money to carry on work needed by the country; and, therefore, it is fair to say that the existing state of the public mind, which has been brought about by the war upon the roads and the threats of future war, is responsible for evils which the railroads are now experiencing—evils in which the whole country must share, if there does not come a change over the minds of a large body of men who have been stirred to the depths by such assertions and such reasoning as we have endeavored to answer. Fortunately, the leader of the disaster-breeding movement has shown some signs of withdrawal from his advanced position; but, on the other hand, there are, also, signs that the lesson which he has imparted cannot be eradicated from receptive minds without serious and persistent teaching such as that which saved the country from the silver craze of 1896.

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THE WRONG OF THE GREAT SURPLUS.

BY ELLIS H. ROBERTS, LL.D.

HAS any one a mind to boast that the income of the United States Government for the fiscal year just closed was nearly ninety million dollars more than the outgo? The preliminary figures of the Treasury are \$86,929,425, which experts reckon will be raised to the larger sum by complete returns. This is surely immense, over 13 per cent. of the total revenue. The net receipts of the Government before the Civil War were at the greatest \$74,056,697 in 1856, and were only \$51,987,455 in 1861, or 58 per cent. of the present excess. The war of the Revolution cost the young Republic in specie \$135,000,000, which sum the collections above the expenditures will exceed at present rates before the calendar shall record 1908. The second war with Great Britain involved the outlay of \$102,993,153, or the equal of the current surplus for fourteen months. The cost of the Mexican War was \$125,447,483, which would be covered by the excess of revenue before December next. The expenses of the war with Spain, which were \$130,000,000, would be offset by the surplus of fifteen months.

We magnify the burdens which foreign armies bring on their peoples; yet the charge to Italy for its army in 1905 was \$66,000,000 or 75 per cent. of the American surplus last year. France pays annually for its army \$148,000,000, Great Britain

\$150,000,000, and Germany \$176,000,000. These sums are spent at home for service, commissariat and arms. Our surplus may be compared with them in amount, but in no other respect, for it buys nothing and pays nobody.

Collections in excess of expenditures have become the rule in this country. Aside from 1904 when \$50,000,000 was disbursed on account of the Panama Canal, a deficit has occurred in only one year since this century began, and that was \$23,004,728 in 1905. The net surplus since 1900 mounts up to the enormous sum of \$274,196,949, although within that period large reductions were made in internal revenue.

The end is not yet. The surplus, so large in the fiscal year just closed, continues. The growth of population keeps up and carries with it larger revenues to the Government. In June, the collections and the surplus are on the heaviest scale, showing an excess of \$21,878,462, but that is always an exceptional month. In the fiscal year 1908, the receipts promise to outrun the outlay by \$120,000,000. Secretary Shaw's estimate in his annual report was for a surplus of \$58,000,000 in 1907; it is \$32,000,000 more. In the coming months, the elasticity will not be less and will be adequate to offset any changes likely to occur. A falling off in business would be without parallel which should reduce the revenues by 13 per cent. for a year; so that the present surplus can be cancelled only by law. The excess is more likely to increase in volume and in force.

This magnitude is the phenomenon of American finance, a real monster eating into the earnings and savings of the producing millions. What excuse can be presented for such hoards? There is no public use to which they can be put. Congress has been liberal in its appropriations, to which these large collections have added. The nation neither courts nor dreads a foreign war. No debt looms up to be provided for. The national obligations bearing interest which before the Spanish war were \$847,867,400 are, on the first of the present month, \$894,834,280. The four-per-cents. due this month have been taken out of the way by extension into two-per-cents, and the provision for paying \$36,121,450 in cash on the turn of the year. The Government has the option to pay the fragment remaining of the Spanish war loan next year, but, doubtless, the entire \$63,495,000 outstanding will be required for exchange into two-per-cents. to

serve as a basis for bank-notes. Only by that process can additional securities become available for that purpose. In 1906, Secretary Shaw sold \$30,000,000 of Panama bonds to encourage the increase of bank circulation. Until the three-per-cents. are transferred into twos, that plea will not lead an overflowing Treasury to add to the interest charge by gratuitous borrowing. The long fours are too high for purchase by the department, while the creditors of the nation do not want their bonds not due to be taken up.

The rapid reductions in the public debt from 1870 to 1873 were helpful to the national credit, and gave strength to the financial situation. Such action now is neither practicable nor desirable. The effort to provide gold for specie resumption in 1879 was noble, and its success was due to generous revenue as well as to loans. The vast hoards of the precious metals now in the Government vaults are abundant for every demand, and there is even embarrassment of riches. The Treasury has become a sturdy giant engrossing the money of the citizens.

The excessive receipts congest the Treasury and breed strife on the part of the banks to get them as deposits. Public funds in national banks, which were \$94,481,697 on June 30, 1906, mounted up to \$182,412,808 at the close of last month, held by 1250 institutions. The smaller banks involve much labor in accounts, so a commission is proposed to frame a new plan of distribution, and it is even suggested that the beneficiaries shall be confined to the forty reserve cities or to a central recipient. Meanwhile, the Treasury held a year ago over current liabilities a balance of \$76,289,224, while now its holdings are \$78,585,126, proving that practically the entire surplus has gone into the banks.

Experts reckon \$50,000,000 as a proper balance for current cash, and that surely is quite enough. Then the Treasury carries, itself, \$28,585,000 above all needs. In Government vaults and in national banks, therefore, lies idle of public funds the monstrous sum of \$211,000,000, earning no interest and serving no purpose at all. The claim is urged that public deposits in banks really go back into the channels of business. Treasury officials are high-priced messengers to transfer the people's cash to the banks. Those who pay can better deposit to their own credit, subject to draft at their own pleasure.

At a bankers' State convention, two or three weeks ago, a general panic was predicted unless the revenues, as a whole, should be paid directly to the banks instead of passing through the Treasury as now. The argument is that business cannot afford to have its life-blood drawn away. Far more obvious is it that the people should keep their own money, and the Government extort the least possible amount. In that course is the surest guarantee of safety, the chief bulwark of protection. Probably, disaster, whenever it shall come, will be local and transient, and in single classes, not covering the continent or all consumption and commerce. The ninety or a hundred million dollars a year kept busy by the citizens will bear richer and better fruit than if piled up in banks or Treasury.

No financier, no statesman, would include in a scientific system such a drain from the community without definite object. With prudence and foresight, generous, even lavish, appropriations have been voted; rivers and harbors are improved; public buildings are erected in many cities; far-reaching schemes of irrigation are carried forward; the Isthmian Canal enlists attention; the payment to us of the large indemnity from China is waived; the munificence of the Government has hardly a limit. Is it not high time to heed the concerns of the individual citizen, and let him keep as much as may be of his wages and property?

The defence may be that no such surplus was intended, and that the revenues have gone far beyond calculation. Grant whatever force the plea deserves, and admit that committees and Congress and officials are bound to lean to the side of prudence. The facts are the indictment, and caution may run into folly. The excess of receipts above outgo has been constant, has asserted itself every month, has climbed before the eyes of men as the sun rises from the horizon to the zenith. The question why the surplus has been suffered to attain such huge proportions may pass without answer, as if "it happened so." The pressing inquiry is, Shall it go on into more scores of millions, and what shall be done about it?

In 1836, the revenues outran the expenditures, and Congress, unwilling to enter on broad public improvements, voted to distribute the surplus above \$5,000,000 between the States as a loan. The return was to be in four instalments. Three were

paid, but the fourth, under order of Congress, was never collected, but stands against the twenty-six debtor States on the Treasurer's books as unavailable funds, \$28,101,644. When at later periods collections were in excess of needs, bonds could be bought and the national debt reduced. Now financiers can devise no plan other than to turn the money into the banks, while the proposal to charge interest falls to the ground. The boldest would hardly dare to advocate in words that the Government should collect revenue for the people just to deposit in the banks. The practice seems to daze no one, but all accept it as commonplace finance.

The national Treasury should not be left bare, nor be placed where it should be forced, as in 1893, to borrow at exorbitant rates to maintain the public credit. An ideal system would show always a small balance above current liabilities. Provision may wisely be made against contingent claims and possible perils. It was fortunate that in 1898 funds were at once available to prepare for war, yet bonds were quickly sold for additional resources. In case the Panama Canal is to be built without further loans, that yearly outlay is to be reckoned, as it is in fact included—\$27,196,672—in the expenditures for the twelve months just ended. Other public works and the expenses of the modern navy are not to be omitted. But the limits beyond which it is hardly less than criminal to extort collections from industry and thrift, are plain as our grand mountain ranges.

The country is in distress from lack of capital. Provision must soon be made as usual for moving crops, and stringency is always created at that season. Should the Government, in careless greed, drain the resources on which farmer and trader depend to carry food from the harvest-field to market? The superfluous dollar collected for the Treasury taxes grievously the staff of life. Investors do not now buy bonds of the sort for which they were eager a while ago. A leading banking-house states that, since the first of January last, railroad securities to the amount of \$1,100,000,000 have been authorized. Other corporations are borrowers or seek to increase their capital. Municipalities feel the monetary pressure; even New York City fails to sell more than \$2,500,000 of \$29,000,000 bonds offered to investors who hold off for higher interest. The State

of New York has to remit the tax on its bonds for the barge canal to tempt banks to buy them. The National Government, in its overflowing wealth, saps the resources of the country with jaunty nonchalance, and draws a hundred million dollars a year above its needs, thus crippling the machinery of enterprise and development. In the hands of the people, this money can be set to work, can earn dividends, can multiply itself. The year's surplus is an immense capital even in these days of prodigious operations. Why divert it from the channels where it might irrigate the dry and thirsty land?

No theory of revenue is involved in this matter. The champion of a tariff for revenue only cannot excuse collections beyond current needs. The free-trader must denounce as iniquitous imposts not imperatively required. The protectionist must regard excessive revenues as hostile to his policy. He who deems that the best government is that which governs least must favor the lightest burdens. The man who believes in a liberal paternalism must consider the citizen and oppose waste and extortion. The scientific economist aims at an equilibrium between income and expenses, so far as the fluctuations of business will permit.

In no other nation is such a condition as prevails here conceivable. The current expenditures elsewhere are all that can be borne and public debts roll up. Only the prosperity with which Americans have so long been blessed renders it endurable here. Taxes, however necessary, are a handicap to production and trade. They may make the difference between profit and loss, and reduction in them may serve as a premium to enterprise or as encouragement when clouds arise and as a help over hard places. A useless surplus may become dangerous as well as offensive. The citizen who gladly pays all that the Government really needs, will resent extortionate charges. Sooner or later, he will scrutinize the imposts and draw the line between what is just and what is unjust. He is easily content, but he can be roused to protest and anger.

The idle funds now in vault and bank are nearly or quite twice the cost of any war with a foreign nation in which the United States has ever been engaged. Nerves must be excitable indeed which desire any increase even for a war-chest for emergency. Yet search here and there is made for kinds of taxes not now on the national schedules. If more revenue were needed,

that might be a task worthy of a statesman. Or for academic diversion, the question of substituting an income tax or imposts on inherited estates for customs duties and charges on liquors and tobacco, may deserve discussion. Just now, however, much more gracious is the privilege to devise methods for leaving their capital to fructify in the pockets of the people.

The credit or the blame for the enormous surplus belongs to Congress, not to the Executive Departments, although the Treasury might win honor by exposing the grievance. The House of Representatives originates revenue laws, and adjusts the receipts to the expenditures. Business conditions affect the income, and it is the part of legislators to calculate the proceeds of customs and internal taxes. These, as a rule, always advance unless the statutes are changed. Recessions are temporary and are soon overcome. A proposal to raise the expenditures to the level of the present receipts, just to get rid of the balance, would be little less than treason. Yet the natural tendency is strong to spend what is within reach. More and more it is felt that excessive Government collections enter into the cost of living, lift prices, bear down on every industry, and are a monument of spoil and ravin.

The majority in Congress is accountable for the wrong of the great surplus. The party in control is commended for maintaining the national credit, and it is chargeable for the burdens placed on the great constituency. The weight of those burdens is of more moment than how they shall be carried. The wise legislator will seek to lighten them. Years have been many when the problem was how to raise money enough to support the Government. That time is past. Now the duty is to check the flood which drowns the Treasury. The pessimist will give warning that by general disaster the revenues may be greatly reduced. Surely, the idle funds now hoarded will be adequate to meet any such emergency for a long period. Meanwhile, one aid to prevent mishap will be to let the producer keep his money for use and draw from him for revenue as little as possible.

The Opposition in Congress is more than a body on parade; it is a partner in legislation. Is its duty not to bind the majority to its obligations, to hold down taxes, to compel the enactment of wise laws? Debate over theories is well enough.

Criticism of appropriations outside of one's own district or State is all right. But why let the collectors levy on all the country a hundred million dollars a year as useless to the nation as the extortions of the robbers of the Rhine or of Turkish pashas? The guilt in last analysis falls on Congress, both on majority and opposition.

The surplus is gathered from every shop and house. For the fiscal year just closed, it mulcted each person of the population as it began \$1.04, and each family of four \$4.16. These families could use these dollars on their own account as active capital, to turn a wheel, or pay for food or raiment or education.

Who is there who will stand up before his neighbors and declare that this huge surplus should be allowed to grow for a single month after Congress can act to stop it? The agreement seems to be general that the tariff is not to be revised until after the Presidential election, or a year and a half hence. This crying abuse of wasteful millions can be throttled without waiting for discussion and strife over schedules. The direct way is to cut it off.

Can it be denied that the excess of national revenues is monstrous in amount? No employment is found for it, nor can the piling up of deposits in national banks be defended as a permanent practice, the creation of a stagnant pool never to flow out. The increase of the present hoards is aggravating the evil. No excuse for such a surplus can be discerned in any signs or dangers in the future. The Government does not want the money, while the people do want it badly, for State, corporate, municipal and private purposes. Congress cannot too soon provide for an adjustment between income and outgo.

This can be done by any one of several methods. The simplest and most direct way is by a flat reduction on all present rates of revenue. Controversy that will cause delay must be postponed. Agree on the abolition of the surplus as the first thing to do. Accept the mandate of common sense to collect what is needed and no more. The timid may counsel holding on to a part of the excess. The wiser course will be to wipe it all out, for it will begin to grow again long before the existing hoards can be spent.

The suggestion is natural, to extend the free list by a score of millions or more. If a majority can be rallied for such a

measure, very well; but is that possible? Not a few will insist that tobacco, beer and spirits can easily afford to pay the tax now levied, and that the internal revenue should stand without change. Then objection will be urged that the customs duties should not alone bear the whole reduction, which would take off 37 per cent. from the schedules as they stand. Such diversities force practical legislation back to the plain plan of a uniform discount from all the present charges to an amount equal to the surplus of 1907.

That would be 13 per cent. on the total revenue. Such modification on the tariff and internal revenue combined could not be styled drastic or harmful, while the reduction, if cast on customs schedules alone, would be more radical than has been advocated by revisionists or champions of tariff reform. Under the general discount, the principle of protection would not be challenged.

Is there keen enough sense of the grievance to lead all sides to waive their extreme claims in order to bring relief? It might be desirable to extend the free list or to reduce some schedules more than others. Those who know the methods of Congress cannot expect that either of such schemes can command a majority in House or Senate, or, if at all, only after long contention. Persistence on those lines can only prevent any action. Commission or inquiry can make no clearer the grievous wrong of the surplus. Any theory which serves as buttress for that ought for the time to be set aside. After the yearly balance is brought to a normal, healthful sum, policies and rates, free list and schedules can command the stage.

Two years will elapse before any project of systematic revenue revision can become operative in the natural movement of legislation. Congress must decide whether, for all that period, the monstrous surplus shall draw blood from every vein of production, of consumption and of commerce. Constituents are patient, but, even when thriving and fat, they may kick, like Jeshurun. But higher motives than popular favor are in the scale. What ethical standard justifies the drain on the citizen? No financial defence can be set forth. The pretence is not advanced that the excessive collections are a fine or penalty on the community; for the citizens as a body cannot be subject to indictments. The receipts of the Treasury are pure revenue, and be-

yond the wants of the Government are tainted by exaction and rapacity.

A Tocqueville or a Holst or a Bryce who should inquire into our national finances would wonder at the continuous gathering of such a huge surplus. He might not be surprised at an excess of revenue for one or two years. He would marvel that it should be kept up until the hoards climb above \$210,000,000. He would ask what apology the masters of finance can plead for such a congestion. He would regard the patience of the people who pay as proof of their wealth and patriotism, their faith in the rulers, and, doubtless, as neglect of their personal interests. That, too, will be the verdict of history, for time and distance create the same perspective. Do Americans refer to aliens or the future the decision of a vital matter of current finance? Taxation falls on their backs; collections are extorted from their pockets. They can judge fairly whether they cannot, better than any officials, manage funds which the Government has no use for. Are they so very rich that \$100,000,000 a year is a trifle about which they do not trouble? They cannot be so foolish as not to know that so much capital can be put to more productive employment than to be locked in the cerements of the vaults of the Government or the banks. Possibly, like Gallio, they care for none of these things. The "Almighty Dollar," even counted by scores of millions, may not be worth picking up by them. Yet, in the long run, the American people are ruled by common sense and fair play. Congress will be wise to go forward and not tarry for popular clamor to compel the easing of burdens. Parties cannot hide the exigency. No mystery clouds the demand. The electors pay with alacrity what the Government actually needs; the rest of their resources belongs in their own control. They approve of liberal revenues, while they condemn an exorbitant surplus.

ELLIS H. ROBERTS.

THE NEW IMMIGRATION ACT.

BY ROBERT D^{EC}. WARD.

ON July 1st, 1907, the new Immigration Act of February 20th, 1907, went into effect. As this law is to represent, for the present at least, our policy with regard to the admission of aliens to the United States, it is well to see clearly at this time what changes the new Act has made in previous legislation, and what the probable effects will be. The Immigration Act of February 20th, 1907, was the result of a compromise reached by the Conference Committee of the Senate and the House, to which body the two Immigration Bills passed by the Senate on May 23rd, and by the House on June 25th, 1906, were referred. In a previous number of this REVIEW* the writer discussed the more important provisions of the bills which were sent to the Conferees.

Section I of the new Act raises the head-money from \$2 to \$4. This slight increase will not operate to "restrict" immigration. It should mean a somewhat larger "immigrant fund"; better care and protection of the aliens themselves; larger and more adequate accommodations at existing immigrant stations; the building of new stations, and a larger inspection force, so that the officials shall not be overworked, as they now are. The comfort and health of our immigrant inspectors demand an immediate increase in the force. This head-money, it is to be remembered, is paid by the steamship companies, the alien himself knowing nothing of the payment. The steamship companies do not need to raise their passage-rates because of the higher head-money, seeing that the profit in carrying a single steerage passenger across the ocean is already very large. If the rates are raised, as they have been by some steamship lines, the increase will be a slight advantage to the United States, in that it will help a little to remove this country from the unenviable position

* Dec. 7, 1906, pp. 1120-1133.

which it now occupies of being about the cheapest place for Europeans to emigrate to. A "cheap excursion" does not usually attract the most desirable passengers. The head-tax is not levied on immigrants to Guam, Porto Rico and Hawaii; but if such persons not citizens of the United States come later to the United States the head-money must be paid. Aliens who have resided for one year uninterruptedly in Canada, Newfoundland, Cuba and Mexico do not pay the tax. The Act contains the provision that if the income from the head-money is more than \$2,500,000 in any year, the excess shall not be added to the "immigrant fund."

Section I also provides that, "whenever the President shall be satisfied that passports issued by any foreign government to its citizens to go to any country other than the United States, or to any insular possession of the United States, or to the Canal Zone, are being used for the purpose of enabling the holders to come to the continental territory of the United States to the detriment of labor conditions therein, the President may refuse to permit such citizens of the country issuing such passports to enter the continental territory of the United States from such other country or from such insular possessions or from the Canal Zone." This is the so-called "San Francisco Compromise," which was inserted in the Immigration Bill in order that the Japanese question, then very acute, might be settled promptly, and to the satisfaction of the San Francisco authorities. Under this provision the President has the power to exclude Japanese laborers. The "San Francisco Compromise" will doubtless have to be changed before long, but in the mean time it serves its purpose.

Section II of the new Act is good in that it adds to the excluded classes imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics and tuberculous aliens. Many aliens have in the past been certified as being "mentally deficient" or "feeble-minded," and have not been debarred because they were not actually idiots. No distinction should be made between the idiotic and the feeble-minded. The latter are as undesirable additions to our population as the former; they propagate a great deal of feeble-mindedness in their offspring, and in many cases they subsequently become insane. The National Conference on Immigration, held in New York in December, 1905, unanimously recommended the exclusion of the feeble-minded, and the exclusion of aliens afflicted with tuber-

culosis is in line with the best modern medical opinion regarding the infectiousness of that disease.

The new act is good in that it excludes persons who are "mentally or physically defective, such mental or physical defect being of a nature which may affect the ability . . . to earn a living." The physique of our immigrants is known to be deteriorating. Persons of poor physique are especially susceptible to tuberculosis and other diseases resulting from crowding in unsanitary dwellings. The rigid exclusion of this class would supplement the exclusion of persons "liable to become public charges," many of the latter now being admitted on oral promises of friends or relatives to care for them, which promises are of no value and are largely disregarded. The best preventive of race decadence is the selection of good, strong, healthy stock. The best test for arriving aliens is a physical test.

The new Act is weak in that this excellent "poor physique" clause is largely nullified by giving the Secretary of Commerce and Labor authority to admit physically defective aliens under bonds (except in case of tuberculosis or loathsome and dangerous contagious diseases). All past experience goes to show that such bonds are useless. All common sense goes to show that a physically defective and degenerate alien is undesirable, whether he be a public charge or not. Better to have 100,000 aliens spending all their lives in American almshouses, insane asylums or prisons than to have 500 physically weak, defective and degenerate aliens spending their lives in sweat-shops or factories, and reproducing their kind, to hand down these qualities of degeneracy and of poor physique to succeeding generations. We might establish a physical standard for admission to this country like that of the United States army or navy. That would be too high. We might require every alien to have a physique sufficiently rugged to enable him to work at hard manual labor, whether he be a clerk or a painter or a farm-hand. That, also, might be too severe. The very least we can do is to establish a physical standard such that any one so weak, degenerate or defective as to have his ability to support himself thereby interfered with should be excluded. This does not mean that such "poor physique" cases are to be debarred because they are "liable to become public charges." Such are already debarred by law. But it sets a physical standard at the point of ability to support oneself. This is wise, rea-

sonable, necessary. It is the lowest physical standard of any value whatever which it is possible to establish. Exceptions might be made in favor of the immediate relatives of admissible aliens or of responsible persons already in the United States. But beyond that the medical certificate of poor physique should debar as it does in the case of a loathsome disease. There should be no appeal, and no admittance under bonds.

The section which gives the Secretary of Commerce and Labor authority to admit physically defective aliens on bonds, gives the same authority in "liable to become public charge" cases. This latter is not a new provision, but it would have strengthened the Act very much had the amount of the bond been fixed by law at so large a figure that the instrument would really be effective.

The Act is good in excluding children under sixteen years of age unaccompanied by one or both of their parents. The Secretary of Commerce and Labor is again allowed to use discretion in this matter, and may prescribe any regulations which he sees fit. The object of this provision is to prevent the importation of boys to work under the *padrone* system and of girls brought for immoral purposes.

The new Act strengthens the contract labor provisions in certain important respects.

The old law imposed a fine of \$100 upon steamship lines bringing diseased immigrants, if the disease could have been detected at the port of departure. The new Act is good in that it also imposes fines for bringing idiots, imbeciles, epileptics and tuberculous aliens. While the new law does not increase the payment, the extension of the fine system to these other classes may bring up the total of fines to a point where the companies will be obliged to refuse to take the immigrants objected to. The Immigration Conference at New York in 1905 recommended the imposition of a fine of \$100 on steamship companies for every alien rejected by our inspectors for any cause, and the Commissioner-General of Immigration has recommended a fine of \$500 for bringing diseased aliens. It will be seen that the new law is less radical than either of these suggestions. It is perfectly reasonable that the steamship companies should be fined for not exercising proper care in the selection of the aliens who are allowed to embark for the United States. As President Roosevelt well said in one of his messages to Congress:

"The most serious obstacle we have to encounter in the effort to secure a proper regulation of the immigration to these shores arises from the determined opposition of foreign steamship lines, who have no interest whatever in the matter save to increase the returns on their capital by carrying masses of immigrants hither in the steerage quarters of their ships."

That is the key-note of the whole situation. If we fine the steamship lines for each immigrant whom we reject, for certain causes distinctly defined in our present laws, we shall go far toward forcing these companies, to whom we owe no favors of any sort whatever, to refuse thousands of undesirable or doubtful aliens, who will therefore never leave their homes. One of the most significant statements in Vol. XXX, of Special Consular Reports, "Emigration to the United States," is the following, from an American consul in Europe:

"It is difficult for a consular officer, necessarily cognizant of some emigration anomalies, to express, without some measure of bluntness, his opinion of the lack of practical regulations in the United States to exclude undesirable immigrants. That the present system, or lack of system, is the wonder of every European critic is not too strong a statement. . . . The whole system, at present existing, is arranged for the accommodation of the ship-owners."

This recalls to mind the statement made by General Shattuc, member of Congress from Ohio, when the Immigration Act of March 3rd, 1903, was under discussion in the Senate Committee on Immigration. General Shattuc was chairman of the House Committee on Immigration, and was present at a hearing before the Senate Committee. The question came up regarding certain suggestions which were to be made by Mr. A. S. Anderson, passenger manager of the American Line. The comment made by Representative Shattuc was: "He [Mr. Anderson] wrote most of the bill. He ought to be satisfied with it." This was said by the chairman of the House Committee on Immigration regarding a prominent steamship official. Any one who is interested will find these words on page 29 of the Senate Report No. 2,119, in the first session of the Fifty-seventh Congress.

The new Act is good in providing for more complete manifests, and for statistics of aliens emigrating from the United States. We have hitherto had no accurate statistics of persons who, having come to this country, later return, usually on short visits, to their

old homes across the water. These new data will throw light on this interesting phase of the alien passenger movement.

The new Act is good in providing a uniform period of three years (instead of two, as at present) within which both those who enter the United States in violation of law and those who become public charges from causes existing prior to landing may be deported. It also provides that the transportation, including one-half of the entire cost of removal to the port of deportation, shall be at the expense of the steamship company. If this is not practicable, the expense is charged to the immigration fund. Under the new Act, it will be both easier and more humane than at present to deport insane aliens, sending them back to their nearest relatives at home.

The new Act creates a Commission, composed of three Senators, three Representatives and three persons appointed by the President, to investigate the whole subject of immigration and report and make recommendations to Congress. It is not likely that this proposed investigation will bring to light many new facts. The subject has already been thoroughly studied, carefully considered and exhaustively argued. The demand for an investigating Commission has come almost exclusively from those who are selfishly interested in having conditions continue as they are at present, and from those who are hostile to any restrictive or selective legislation whatever. The new Commission will probably not report until after the next Presidential election. Moreover, its recommendations, when made, are as likely to be unheeded by Congress as to be embodied into legislation. The fate of the Industrial Commission's Report on Immigration does not hold out much hope of a ready concurrence by Congress in the recommendations of this new Commission.

The new Act authorizes the President to call an international conference on immigration, a provision which is not likely to lead to any very definite results of practical value. It provides for the establishment of an examination of aliens abroad before they embark, if foreign governments do not object to such an arrangement, as some of them certainly will. It gives authority to the Commissioner-General of Immigration to establish a division of information to promote the beneficial distribution of aliens among the localities desiring immigration. Distribution of immigration has been urged by many persons as a solution of some of the

present evils of overcrowding. In so far as the proposed provision can effect the scattering of aliens where their labor is desired, it should prove a valuable adjunct to the immigration laws, and it is certainly worth trying. But it is to be remembered that "spreading the slum" does not improve the quality of the incoming aliens; that distribution is a palliative, not a cure, and tends rather to increase than to diminish the number of new arrivals.

The new Act provides for increased air space for each immigrant on board steamships. This is an improvement which has long seemed necessary. The provisions embodied in the new law will not, however, necessitate any changes in the newer ships, and will not even appreciably reduce the number of steerage passengers.

The foregoing are the more important changes which the new Act makes in our immigration laws, no reference being here made to Chinese immigration. It contains nothing revolutionary or radically restrictive. It makes somewhat more effective the principles of selection which were contemplated in the original Acts of 1882 and 1891. One of its strongest points is the addition of aliens of poor physique, when the ability to earn a living is affected, to the excluded classes. One of the weakest points is the provision that such aliens may be admitted under bonds. Taken as a whole, the Act of February 20th, 1907, is not one which can give any cause for enthusiastic satisfaction to those who believe that neither the foreign steamship companies nor even the immigrants themselves are the most competent and unbiased judges as to the qualifications—physical, mental and moral—which make more or less fit for American citizenship, and for bringing into the world future American citizens, the alien peoples who come to our shores. It is true that more effective selection is possible than under the old Act if the law is properly enforced, but a lax enforcement can make even the new law of little avail in debarring any but the most obviously diseased, decrepit, feeble-minded and generally unfit aliens.

ROBERT DEC. WARD.

THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART.

BY LEILA MECILIN.

ONLY a little over a year ago announcement was made that America had a National Gallery of Art; one which for more than half a century had legally existed, but had been overlooked and forgotten. Once brought to light through the agency of the Harriet Lane Johnston bequest, this institution has demonstrated splendid vigor and developed with a rapidity as encouraging as it is surprising.

When the Smithsonian Institution was established, by act of Congress, in 1846, it was made the lawful custodian of all works of art belonging to the nation, and steps were taken, by the regents, to procure and maintain a gallery. Various conferences were held upon the subject; plans for special exhibitions and for a school were considered; and, in 1849, with excellent judgment, the sum of four thousand dollars was expended for the purchase of the Marsh collection of prints. But that is about as far as the matter was carried.

The first equestrian statue erected in this country—that of General Jackson in Lafayette Square in the city of Washington—was not completed until 1853, and the sculptor—Clark Mills—had never seen an equestrian statue when he produced it. There were no notable collections of works of art, either public or private, available to the student; and the early painters of eminence had passed away, leaving but a scattered few to carry on the traditions. The astute collector might, at that time, have procured great art treasures in Europe, which would have incalculably enriched the nation and benefited future generations; but the astute collector was wanting, and the few purchases which were made for the National Gallery by the Smithsonian Institution were expressive chiefly of crude patriotism—pictures

which had subjective interest as records of historical personages or events, but little or no intrinsic art value. Very naturally, the interest waned, and between the years 1866 and 1879 all those things which had come into the possession of the Institution were deposited either in the Library of Congress, or in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, then lately established.

It was not strange, therefore, that when Mrs. Harriet Lane Johnston made her will, disposing of her collection of paintings, historical documents and so forth, she was in ignorance of the existence of a National Gallery, and so bequeathed them to the Corcoran Gallery, with the provision that, if such an institution should at any time be established by the United States, they should revert to it. Owing to certain other conditions with which it was impossible to comply, the Corcoran Gallery was obliged to decline the bequest.

It was this emergency which led President Roosevelt to include in his annual message to Congress, in December, 1904, the recommendation that "the collections of art contemplated in Section 5,586 of the Revised Statutes should be designated and established as a national gallery of art, and the Smithsonian Institution should be authorized to accept any additions to said collections that may be received by gift, bequest or devise"; and it was this, also, which opened the way to the discovery of the mislaid institution.

Mrs. Johnston's heirs were as averse to the dispersal of her collection as was the nation, but they had no legal right to interpret her will. Hence an amicable suit was entered in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, and the quandary was settled on July 11th, 1906, by a decree which not only authorized the Smithsonian Institution to receive the gift, but gave legal standing to a National Gallery. In less than a month, the works of art, etc., composing the Harriet Lane Johnston collection were given into the custody of the Smithsonian Institution and temporarily placed on exhibition in the rooms set aside for the Secretary and regents.

Mrs. Johnston died in July, 1903; and, while the settlement of her estate was pending, Mr. Charles L. Freer, of Detroit, Michigan, made his splendid gift to the nation, placing in the hands of the regents of the Smithsonian Institution, on May 6th, 1906, a deed to his private collection of paintings, prints,

potteries and other art objects, valued at \$600,000, and promising to bequeath to the Institution the sum of \$500,000 for the construction of a fire-proof building in which to house it. This had no reference to a National Gallery, but it is probable, if not certain, that the discussions occasioned by Mr. Freer's original offer operated toward an awakening of interest on the part of those in authority and helped materially to quicken the solicitations of those outside. And in the end, though the Freer collection will be in a separate building, a unit in itself, it will not be isolated to such an extent that it may not be considered a part of the National Gallery. It was, in fact, the beginning; the first stride toward a distant goal. That Mr. Freer recognized the desirability of centralizing, at Washington, the forces which make for national culture is significant.

The American people are inherently generous. The majority of our public institutions are supported by private individuals, and even our Government collections have been built up by numerous small private gifts. No sooner, indeed, was it known that a National Gallery existed than offers were made of loans and gifts. But the first question to be met was that of adequate accommodations—a suitable gallery in which to house and place on exhibition the newly acquired works. Every available foot of space in both the Smithsonian and National Museum buildings was occupied, the cellars were full, the storehouses were overflowing, and the new building, with its nine and a half acres of floor space for the accommodation of exhibits, was far from completed. The Smithsonian Hall might well have answered, could it have been remodelled and made available, but there was no place in which to dispose its exhibits, and hence the lecture-hall of the National Museum was selected. This is a large and dignified room, and, under the expert direction of Mr. William H. Holmes, chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, who has acted as curator of the National Gallery, it was redecorated and adapted to gallery use. To be sure, it is poorly lit and in other respects far from ideal; but it alone was available, and its prompt utilization manifested on the part of the officers of the Smithsonian Institution a fixed determination not to allow the National Gallery project again to lapse.

Almost immediately after the Harriet Lane Johnston collection was arranged in this hall, the heirs of the late Lucius Tuckerman

offered to loan to the gallery, for not less than a year, the collection of paintings which he had assembled; and, shortly after this, Mr. Edward Kemeys, the distinguished animal sculptor, who died only last May, placed indefinitely at the disposal of the National Gallery, for exhibition purposes, a collection of his bronzes and original plaster casts, numbering more than fifty.

The Harriet Lane Johnston collection comprises sixteen paintings and as many other items, some of which have no special bearing upon the subject of art; such, for instance, as an autograph letter of Queen Victoria addressed to Mrs. Johnston's uncle, President Buchanan, during his term of office. The paintings are chiefly portraits. There is a likeness of "Miss Kirkpatrick," by Romney; one of "Mrs. Abington," by Hoppner; and one of "Mrs. Hammond," by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Sir Thomas Lawrence is represented by a painting of Lady Essex as "Juliet," and Sir William Beechy by a moderate-sized portrait of "Miss Murray." There is reason to believe that all are authentic, but none save the Romney is a specially important example. Aside from authorship, however, much interest attaches to a portrait of "Josepha Boegart," attributed to Pourbus, the younger, and to a painting of a "Madonna and Child," ascribed to Bernardine Luini. And, despite some blunt errors, a three-quarter-length portrait of King Edward VII, painted by Sir John Watson Gordon when, as Prince of Wales, His Majesty visited the United States, is one of the notable items in the catalogue. With, I think, but two exceptions—"A Street in India," by Edwin Lord Weeks, and "The Prince of Wales's visit to Mount Vernon," by Thomas R. Rossiter,—all the paintings in this collection are by foreign artists, so that, as a whole, it emphasizes especially the desirability of collecting this class of work; of bringing to America, and congregating in a national collection, the great works of the leading masters of all lands and times as examples and standards.

The Tuckerman loan collection was of the same type, covering merely a later period and indicating the trend of European art when, for a number of years, it usurped the rôle of the writer and devoted itself to narration, carrying at the same time the painter's craftsmanship to remarkable perfection.

It was, therefore, all the more interesting and important that the next addition to the National Gallery should have been the Kemeys collection, which turned the attention abruptly to Ameri-

can production and a diverse form of expression. Howsoever Mr. Kemeys's work may be regarded from the strict art standpoint, its strong, frank merit can never be denied, and for all time it must be reckoned among notable accomplishments. It breathes the spirit of genuine Americanism; it presents the wild life of the plains and reechoes the legend of the wilderness. While others were seeking classical ideals in the Old World, he was learning the secrets of the New, and with the true sculptor's instinct for plastic form was sympathetically interpreting the fauna of our land. When, a few years ago, an exhibition of American water-colors was held in London, an English critic declared, with evident disappointment, that none, save an Indian picture by Irving Couse, manifested "a truly American characteristic." Needless to say, this is not the kind of Americanism to which I make reference. We have pictures of Indians and cowboys galore, paintings of negroes and sky-scrapers in abundance, but we have few sincere interpretations of every-day themes which set forth the ideals, the potentialities and the hopes of our own great nation. For this reason Mr. Kemeys's work is the more significant, and the loan of so comprehensive a collection of it to the National Gallery so soon after its inception must be regarded as a felicitous circumstance.

But a great impetus was given to the new institution through another notable gift. In March, of the present year, Mr. William T. Evans, of New York, than whom none has done more to advance and encourage American art, went to Washington and offered to present to the National Gallery a collection of paintings by American artists of established reputation—an offer which was promptly and gratefully accepted. This collection consisted of fifty pictures, and was given with the understanding that if, later on, it was found that any of the number failed to uphold a properly high standard it should be replaced by a better example, in order that not only the collection itself but the representation should be as good as possible. Nothing, it would seem, could be more fair-minded or generous, and certainly no small collection could better stand for contemporary American painting. It is not faultless or complete, but it is a nucleus, and such an one as, in all probability, could have been acquired by the nation in no other way. There are, for instance, included in this collection, paintings by Inness, Wyant and Homer

Martin, which are now almost unobtainable, to say nothing of works by John LaFarge, Winslow Homer, Robert Blum and John H. Twachtman. Both the landscape and figure painters are represented, but the former with greater strength and comprehensiveness than the latter. Benjamin Constant said that Inness was the greatest landscape painter of his day; and, whether the statement may be taken at its face value or not, it is undoubtedly true that he and his contemporaries led the way to the noblest conception of landscape art that the world has ever known. Where, indeed, can we turn for truer or more sympathetic interpretations of the outdoor world than to the works of our modern American painters? They have not all seen it in the same way, nor interpreted it in the same manner; some are not poets or even good painters, but the majority of them are sincere and have independent conviction.

In the Evans National Gallery collection, which for lack of available space has been temporarily loaned to the Corcoran Gallery, there are landscapes by D. W. Tryon, J. Francis Murphy, Charles B. Davis, Henry Ranger, Charles Melville Dewey, Louis Paul Dessar, Ballard Williams and Albert Blakelock, J. Alden Weir and Robert Minor, as well as by the older men already mentioned. And, of the figure painters included in the catalogue, there are John W. Alexander, T. W. Dewing, John LaFarge, Walter Shirlaw, Louis Loeb, Sargeant Kendall, Charles C. Curran, J. Alden Weir and William T. Smedley—some of the strongest and best. From first to last, the collection has been well assembled and with a view to set forth not merely notable examples, but the work of those who have contributed something individually to the art of our land.

It has been said that we have no American school of art, but if this be so it is because we have many. In America art is passing through a formative period, and is to some extent experimental and immature; but, in spite of this, it is to-day the healthiest, most vigorous and promising art in the world. There are dangers and hindrances attending its development; feebleness in some of its members; occasional dissensions within; but the trend is onward and upward, the major tendencies being hopeful. Not merely patriotism, but common sense, therefore, dictates its encouragement, and applauds its inclusion in the permanent collection of the National Gallery. It was this belief which prompted Mr.

Evans's gift and has since induced others to make similar single contributions.

Thus it will be seen that, within a year, much has been done toward placing a National Gallery on a sure footing, but done, it will be noted, by private individuals. At no time, and in no definite way, has the Federal Government given official recognition to American art. Perhaps, in fact, I should say, to art, without qualification, for while appropriations have been made by Congress, from time to time, for the purchase of some single specific work, nothing is done toward the support of institutions, and rarely is encouragement lent by the employment of expert skill. The nearest approach to a token of any patronage of art given by the Government are the mural decorations in the Library of Congress, which were paid for out of a surplus appropriation at the minimum rate, but have, it must be confessed, exerted a potent and wide-spread influence.

America has a tremendous problem on her hands—that of social adjustment—and in no way can she solve it save through the medium of education. Until men and women learn to find pleasure in better things than mere money-getting, there will be no solution of labor troubles. Art which delights the eye and gratifies the senses is, therefore, not a luxury, but a necessity—a staff of every-day life. The public schools, through their art courses, are now doing much toward broadening visions, opening the children's eyes to that which is beautiful, cultivating their taste and giving them true standards. The museums also are reaching out in the same direction; and for the extension of art knowledge many organizations have been formed in all parts of the country. Not only, then, are the artists worthy of support, but the people are prepared to profit by the instruction which may be offered.

Governmental wheels turn slowly, but sometimes it is well that this is the case. Certainly, much care and thought must be given to the development of a National Art collection if it be made in every respect worthy. Together with the generous giver come those who have wares to sell, and discrimination must accompany the exercise of the purchase power. That this power may be unpolitical is demonstrated by the Library of Congress, which is now an independent institution and truly national in scope. Eighty years were required to evolve it, but

it is now one of the strongest factors in the nation's educational scheme, and its organization and administration illustrate the manner in which a National Gallery might be controlled and made effectual.

When the establishment of a National Gallery was first noised abroad, suggestions were made in many quarters concerning its probable character. Some persons thought that it should be restricted to American work, others that it should be exclusively a portrait gallery. The hope is, of course, that it may in time be all-inclusive, and embrace not only one, but every phase of the art of this and other lands. The suggestion that it should be a portrait gallery forming a pictorial directory of the great men of America strikes terror, however, to those interested in the success of the project who are acquainted with the official portrait galleries which are now included in every Government Department. Every Cabinet officer is represented in his Department by a portrait, painted by any artist whom his successor may select, and paid for by the nation. Some of these portraits, by chance, are good, and could fittingly be included in a National Art collection, but many are far from commendable or suitable for the purpose.

It has been said that the National Gallery would have to contend with the jealousies of other art institutions; but I believe that this supposition is incorrect and that, almost without exception, it will be found that the people in all sections are working for the common good. Certainly, when Mr. Evans's gift was announced, congratulations poured in not from individuals alone, but from sister institutions. The conviction that Washington should be the centre of national culture and learning is gaining ascendancy. Much enthusiasm has been manifested in regard to the Park Commissioner's plans for the artistic development of the city, and more and more, as time passes, is evidence given of interest in their fulfilment. The Carnegie Institution, the American Institution of Architects and the American Academy at Rome, all have their headquarters there; and, with the Library of Congress, and the scientific bureaus of the Government, they are attracting to the National Capital students and scholars from all parts of the world. And, what is more, Washington is a residential rather than a commercial city; its environment is already artistic and its future character assured.

In the Corcoran Gallery, last winter, a notable exhibition of contemporary American paintings was held—the best probably which has yet been set forth—and during the four weeks it was open it was visited by over sixty-two thousand persons. The average attendance at the Corcoran Gallery has been about four hundred thousand a year; but, upon special occasions, as many as five thousand have been admitted in an afternoon. This at least suggests the fallowness of the field.

“Why,” it has been asked, “with the Corcoran Gallery, is there need for a National Gallery?” Because, the answer is, the Corcoran Gallery is a privately endowed institution, with an independent organization and comparatively limited means. Established and endowed by the late William Wilson Corcoran, it is governed by a board of trustees whose term of office is for life and who are obliged to perpetuate, by elections, their own number. The Corcoran Gallery has, however, stood in the place of a National Gallery for many years, and if eventually, by some arrangement, it can be made a part of the larger organization, keeping its own independence, it will indeed be well.

That is, of course, looking far ahead. For the present, no radical or definite plans have been made. That other broad-minded art patrons and collectors will follow, in time, the example of both Mr. Freer and Mr. Evans seems more than probable, and that artists themselves will aid in the upbuilding of the collections there is reason to believe. The National Museum has already certain collections of ceramics and exhibits in the industrial arts, which may be reckoned as a part of the National Gallery, and it is earnestly hoped that in the near future further development may be made along these lines.

The great and first need is a building—one which will adequately and appropriately afford a home for the institution, and allow in its plan for continued growth. Undoubtedly, an appropriation for this purpose will be asked of Congress at its next session; and, though it is possible that, in pursuance of what has been characterized as its “extravagant policy of economy,” the request may be refused, it would seem more logical to believe that, with evidence of so much outside interest and enthusiasm, the national support will be forthcoming.

LEILA MECHLIN.

THE VAGRANT AND THE RAILROAD.

BY ORLANDO F. LEWIS.

SEVERAL months ago, the presidents of many representative American railroads were asked if vagrancy on their roads is a serious question. The responses, often in significant detail, from a half-hundred railroads, representing more than half the total mileage of the United States, show that almost without exception they look upon vagrancy as presenting an important social and economic problem.

Specific Instances.

“SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA, June 3, 1907.

“An attempt to wreck the early-morning Southern Pacific train between this city and San Francisco was thwarted to-day by the discovery of a large pile of ties on the track near Santa Clara. Two tramps have been arrested on suspicion. This is the third attempt to wreck a Southern Pacific train within a few weeks.”—“*The Sun*,” *New York*, June 4, 1907.

How does the Southern Pacific try to guard against such crimes? The General Manager of the Pacific System reports that “there are in the employ of the Southern Pacific Company, on the Northern District, about 100 policemen, about seventy-five per cent. of whom are located at or adjacent to San Francisco and Oakland, and upon the Southern Pacific ferry-boats in San Francisco Bay, the remainder being distributed along the line in the interior. Constables arrest a large number of these tramps, who are sent to the county jail for from five days to six months, according to the crime.”

On April 22, 1907, the following record of an application for charitable assistance was made at the Joint Application Bureau, in the Charities Building, New York City:

"— had his left ankle broken last August, while stealing a ride on the railroad; was taken to the Memorial Hospital, Oneonta, and later transferred to the county house, where he remained five months; sent then by county authorities as far as Albany, and stole a ride from there to New York on a freight-train. He claims that his left ankle was improperly set; limps, and walks with a cane; asks aid."

How does the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad try to diminish vagrancy? The Assistant General Superintendent replies: "About thirty per cent. of all our police-department work is in connection with vagrants; they ride freight and passenger trains; annoy train crews and other employees; break and enter cars and stations and steal therefrom; they interfere with signals, place obstructions on tracks and stone trains." New York Central lines farther west report that it seems impossible to keep vagrants off freight-trains.

The Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac is but a short Southern line, eighty-eight miles long. The President's Office reports:

"On May 23, 1904, two colored men, about twenty-one years old, threw several sticks of wood under a passing freight-train, one of which lodged in point of switch; but, fortunately, no damage was done to the train. Guilty parties sentenced to jail for six months.

"On May 21, 1905, a switch to a loading track was tampered with, in that spikes were drawn, the lock removed and the switch-point left open about one-half inch. Investigation failed to discover the guilty parties.

"On November 22, 1906, two boys, ten and thirteen years old, fastened iron upon the rail with the intention of wrecking a train. One of the boys was sent to a reformatory indefinitely, subject to prison regulations."

What do railroads think about such train-wrecking attempts? President Underwood of the Erie writes that "any one found upon the tracks of a railroad company, without due license, should be a marked individual, or the perpetration of the recent Pennsylvania outrages may become too common for the interests of the American public, in whose behalf this recommendation is made."

Vagrancy a National Problem.—The West, East and South suffer; in our northeastern States tramps are reported scarce, because, as President Cram of the Bangor and Aroostook Rail-

road writes, "from November until April, inclusive, our climatic conditions do not invite their wanderings." In Massachusetts, recent drastic tramp laws have resulted in a material reduction of vagrants. In Texas, emergency laws passed when Coxey's Industrial Army "took the road" have given railroads comparative freedom from vagrancy. In general, however, it is unfortunately safe to say that vagrancy exists throughout the United States.

Tramps and Vagrants.—"The Sun's" telegram of June 4, 1907, says that "two tramps have been arrested on suspicion." By the laws of some States, if the arrested destitute person has a settlement in a community he is a vagrant; if he comes from "somewhere else," he is a tramp. In these days of rapid transit, this is largely a distinction without a difference.

The word "tramp" does not always connote "pedestrian." It is probable that American tramps, in our land of glorious distances, are not lusty walkers. The Supervisor of the Wayfarers' Lodge in Philadelphia, a temporary shelter with work-test for homeless men, estimates that:

"Many vagrants spend approximately one-third of their time in almshouses, one-third in houses of correction on sentences of three months or less and one-third in cheap lodging-houses; they live nearly all the time, wherever they are, more or less on charity or at the expense of the community. Many travel more than millionaires, usually on freight-trains, seldom walking."

On the Big Four Lines, some town authorities warn vagrants not to get off the trains, but to keep moving. On the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, some town officers even put tramps upon passing freight-trains to facilitate their departure. On the Denver and Rio Grande, vagrants, when caught on freight-trains, frequently claim that they were allowed to board the train by train employees for a "consideration." On one road the tramp-tariff for riding over a whole division seems to be fifty cents.

Arrests.—"Two tramps have been arrested on suspicion." A simple arrest does not ordinarily strike terror. Sometimes arrested vagrants must be discharged for want of proof; generally, however, for lack of cooperation between town authorities and railroad officers. The treatment of trespassing vagrants is a constant matter of contention between towns and railroads. Towns,

which frequently have no love for a railroad, insist that a vagrant, coming from nowhere and travelling on, has no claim upon the charity of a community. The town "moves them on," or at the most commits them for a short period to jail on a sentence that includes little if any labor. President James J. Hill of the Great Northern writes: "It is the almost universal custom for justices to order vagrants to leave town within twenty-four hours. When all neighborhoods are doing the same thing, the community receives exactly as much refuse as it gets rid of." This regrettable lack of cooperation will naturally continue, in small communities at least, until the expense of prosecution and maintenance of vagrants is made a State charge.

Sentences and Imprisonments.—Vagrancy, being a misdemeanor, with a kind of "blanket" definition that groups many human "odds and ends," results in short sentences, which have little or no deterrent or reformatory effect. The Syracuse Charity Organization Society reports that the county penitentiary is a kind of winter vacation resort for tramps; the constable to whom the vagrants deliver themselves up in the fall fees them when they go out in the spring. In Easton, Pennsylvania, only ten per cent. of the prisoners are allowed to do any work at all. The Minneapolis Associated Charities reports that "the county jail has absolutely no provision for employing prisoners, some of whom remain six months or even longer." Probably much of the work required of short-term prisoners in jails and workhouses is largely "on paper."

Even short sentences are apt to be curtailed. Sixty-five per cent. of all the prisoners discharged in 1904 from the Philadelphia House of Correction served only half their time; fifty-seven per cent. had been previously committed to that institution; nearly nine per cent. had been there already *twenty or more times*; five persons *eighty or more times*. Aside from the striking social injustice of such "correctional" treatment, how inevitably do these facts suggest indeterminate sentences of cumulative length, hard labor during imprisonment, and compulsory farm colonies for vagrants!

Railroad Policing.—Few American railroads maintain systematic railroad policing, principally perhaps because the railroads that are trunk lines for tramps despair of diminishing the num-

bers during the present lack of good cooperation with towns; railroads which have comparatively little trouble believe they do not need railroad police. Despite the semi-military police force of the Pennsylvania Railroad, the 900 vagrants arrested on that road in 1906 for trespassing were but a small part of the vagrants constantly passing over the road. Mr. James J. Hill writes:

"Hundreds of idle men infest empty cars on the Great Northern during the summer months. Tramps attempt to secrete themselves on every freight-train at any risk. A considerable number of these are killed or injured each year. They get on or off trains while in motion, and some suffer in life and limb. Others fall off when asleep. It would be difficult to gather reliable statistics on this point, because a large percentage of the tramps reported as killed on the railroads are really murdered. Men returning from the harvest fields with their wages are killed for their money by their more vicious and criminal fellows, the body is flung from the train while in motion and the reported death by railroad casualty is actually a case of homicide."

Injuries and Deaths.—To the expense of maintaining a railroad police force must be added the costs to railroads attendant upon the injuries or deaths of trespassing vagrants. Vice-President Van Etten of the Boston and Albany Railroad says there is danger of serious accident whenever an air-brake is suddenly applied in emergencies, which is what an engineer will do when he sees a man on the track who is likely to be run over. A vagrant injured by a railroad seems to be decidedly "*persona non grata*" to towns. According to President Murray of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad,

"Cooperation in the case of injured vagrants is on the basis of the road doing all, if it can be brought about; if not, there is burial in the Potter's Field, or a bed in the charity ward of a hospital. Through its regular corps of physicians and surgeons, the necessary immediate attention is given to injured vagrants; hospital treatment is not withheld because of expense to the corporation. A similar practice is followed with the dead."

Both the Chicago and Northwestern and the Erie estimate that injuries and deaths of vagrants cost the road several thousand dollars annually. The following table gives the number of *killed and injured*, from 1901 to 1905, under the three classes of trespassers, passengers and employees:

	Killed.	Injured.	Total.
Trespassers.....	23,964	25,236	49,200
Passengers.....	1,960	39,470	41,430
Employees.....	16,243	286,047	302,290

The annual statistics of deaths and injuries sustained by vagrants on American railroads furnish gruesome reading. The number of trespassers killed annually on American railroads exceeds the combined totals of passengers and trainmen killed annually. Several railroads estimate that from one-half to three-fourths of such trespassers are vagrants. Nor do these annual totals show signs of decreasing.

It is impossible to estimate how many vagrants use the railroads. If vagrants, beating their way on railroads, are killed as frequently as are trainmen in proportion to the number traveling, over a half-million vagrants ride yearly on American railroads, or use the right-of-way. In the above table, fewer injuries to vagrants are recorded than those sustained by passengers and employees, but undoubtedly many vagrants are hurt whose injuries are not so severe as to prevent them from eluding town and railroad police.

The Cost to Society.—In the second instance cited at the beginning of this article, it was stated that “—— had his left ankle broken last August while stealing a ride on the railroad; was taken to the Memorial Hospital, Oneonta, and later transferred to the county house, where he remained five months.” The cumulative cost to society from injured vagrants is enormous. Because many of the charitable contributions are indirect, frequently in the form of individual almsgiving at kitchen door or on the street, the outlay does not attract conspicuous attention. The temptation felt to help by small donations the “victims of circumstances” renders crippled vagrancy often more profitable than able-bodied vagrancy.

Almshouses.—Throughout our land, almshouses tend to shelter vagrants, unless the town lockup or the city police-station gives them inadequate lodgings overnight, generally without requiring compensatory work. Common humanity requires that human beings, however disreputable, be housed and fed somewhere. In consequence, almshouses, destined primarily for the industrially unfit and the aged, and those made poor by misfortune, become far too frequently “catch-alls” for harboring tramps, who mingle with those for whom the almshouses are specially maintained.

The naïve confidence felt by some wayfarers that society will take care of them, “whether or no,” would be refreshing if it

were not significant of the price society pays for its own tolerance of the manufacture and perpetuation of vagrants. On November 20, 1906, a wanderer, fifty-eight years of age, of whom the following record was made, applied for aid at the Joint Application Bureau.

"He stated that he had been in the city about a week this time, having walked from Washington, D. C., since last April. He peddles shoe-laces and collar-buttons, and was arrested and sent to Harts Island Workhouse for ten days because he was thought to be begging. The man spent last winter in Washington, where he says he was locked up for six months in the workhouse for being intoxicated. Before going to Washington the man spent about five years in Philadelphia, where he was well known at the almshouse, having been there four or five times. He lost his arm through jumping from a moving freight-train ten years ago. The man's desire to go to Maine is based on his belief that he will be admitted to the almshouse there, having been refused admission to the almshouse here, which he would just as willingly enter as any other poorhouse, but he knows some people in Maine. He says, if he were fitted out with clothes, he would walk to Maine. He has no stock left."

Dangerous Vagrants.—Irresponsible tramps not only commit depredations upon property, but expose human lives to danger and death. As cited above, vagrants interfere with signals on the New York Central Railroad, place obstructions on tracks and stone trains. On the Chicago and Northwestern, the tracks are lined with vagrants who refuse to leave the cars. Frequently, train crews are assaulted by these vagrants. A number of suits have been successfully brought against the Illinois Central by trespassers, who claim that they were pushed or kicked from the train while in motion, thus sustaining injuries through the illegal acts of trainmen. The conviction of an ejected vagrant depends upon the testimony of the trainmen; their presence at court for this purpose would involve a change of crews, loss of time and no little expense. Therefore, many prosecutions are dropped.

On the Norfolk and Western Railroad, train employees have been killed or injured by assaults from trespassing vagrants. On the Cumberland Valley Railroad, vagrants occasionally give out-lying telegraphers some annoyance, which at train-time might lead to serious accident.

Laws.—Present railway trespass laws are often inadequate.

The Michigan Central reports a railway trespass law in Michigan with no penalty attached. The Lehigh Valley reports that there is legislation in the States through which its lines run, punishing tramps; but there is nothing specially applicable to the prohibition of illegal train-riding in the laws of New York, New Jersey or Pennsylvania.

Mr. E. A. Handy, General Manager of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern, endeavored unsuccessfully, in 1904, to secure in several States the enactment of laws prohibiting trespassing on the right-of-way and tracks of railroad companies. Assistant General-Superintendent Crowley of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad says that a more severe law against trespassing might have some effect; but he would doubt very much the possibility of obtaining any law that would inflict a severe penalty for what in the minds of most people is no offence at all. The Boston and Albany Railroad recommends that laws follow the English practice. All trespassing on railroad property should be absolutely forbidden; it should be the duty of law officers to police the tracks, and arrest everybody found trespassing thereon.

A Proposed Trespass Law.—The following draft of a proposed railway trespass law is intended to combine the essential features of the present Massachusetts law with those of drafts suggested by the New York Central Lines and the Wabash Railroad:

“Be it enacted, etc.:

“Section I. Whoever, without legal right, walks on or stands on or crosses a railway track or right-of-way, except where the same crosses station-grounds or a highway (is guilty of a misdemeanor), shall forfeit not less than \$5 nor more than \$50, and may be further punished by imprisonment for not more than sixty days at hard labor.

“Section II. Whoever, without legal right, attempts to enter or enters or is on or upon any railway rolling-stock in motion or stationary, except for the affirmatively proved *bona fide* purpose of transacting lawful business with the company having custody of such rolling-stock (is guilty of a misdemeanor), shall forfeit not less than \$10 nor more than \$100, and may be further punished by imprisonment for not more than 120 days at hard labor.

“Section III. Upon view of the offence, any person lawfully authorized to make arrests may, without warrant, [and shall] arrest all persons offending against the provisions of either of the foregoing sections.”

Remedies.—The principal recommendations made by the rail-

roads are: (1) greater cooperation between towns and railroads in prosecuting and convicting vagrants; (2) imprisonment of convicted vagrants at hard labor for considerable periods; (3) enforcement of trespass laws when adequate; (4) the strengthening of inadequate trespass laws; (5) the adoption of trespass laws, where none exist; (6) national vagrancy laws, if necessary and possible; (7) costs of prosecution and maintenance of vagrants to be made a State charge; (8) refusal by individuals of "kitchen-door aid" to vagrants; (9) a study of the success of Canada and European countries in prohibiting railroad vagrancy.

Massachusetts has a State police official known as a "tramp officer." Police work in each State should be carried on vigorously against vagrants by four cooperating agencies: (1) railroad police; (2) special State police officers; (3) town police; (4) special mendicancy police officers in large cities.

The treatment of vagrancy for the present should be deterrent. We do not know at all how many unnecessary vagrants we have. England, with an army of the unemployed, has in the vagrant class only three per cent. of honest unemployed workmen seeking work, according to recent authoritative opinions.

At present there seems in general no such dearth of employment as would force out upon the road the man who is willing to work. The love of change, the roving spirit, temporary accident or injury, are causes that tend to make the workman an accidental vagrant, who is liable to acquire an intention *not* to work, and become thus an habitual vagrant. The comparative ease with which the penniless man can beat his way on railroad, at farmhouse door or on the city streets explains in large measure "why vagrants are."

Our chief effort at present should be to diminish vagrancy by better laws, stricter enforcement of laws and deterrent examples of long-term, indeterminate sentences. This procedure is not uncharitable, but rather, in a real sense, humane. We should withdraw from the vagrant the easy chance to maim himself on freight-cars. He should not be allowed to become unsocial by voluntarily shirking work, that besides earning for him his daily bread brings him in honest touch with his fellow man. He should no longer be allowed to crawl away into foul-smelling, vermin-infested ten-cent lodging-houses in our large cities, where the three "D's" of Dirt, Disease and Demoralization forecast

a fourth "D," Death. We should not permit ourselves, by petty gifts upon the street, to purchase gratification at the price of fostering idleness and mendicancy in the vagrant. We should not permit the tramp to use our parks as dormitories, after being pauperized by indiscriminate and inadequate "midnight bread-lines" or other curbstone charities.

In short, the able-bodied vagrant should be turned by law, and by the practice of individuals, toward work. In cities, municipal lodging-houses should provide clean, respectable, temporary shelters for the homeless, requiring registration, compulsory bathing and fumigation of clothing, giving food and lodgings, and requiring in return a reasonable amount of work. In towns lodging vagrants, there should be provided for them a separate house; or, if they are lodged at the almshouse, separate and distinct quarters.

In cities troubled with vagrants, there should be at least one special mendicancy officer, in plain clothes, whose entire work it should be to reform or prosecute beggars. Departments of Health should prescribe adequate rules governing the maintenance and supervision of common lodging-houses. Charitable bodies maintaining lodging-houses should make them models of their class, and missions that give food and lodging to destitute men should require, except in special cases, a reasonable amount of work.

We need two new State institutions. The first is a compulsory labor colony in each State, to which habitual vagrants may be committed to rigorous labor, preferably agricultural, for an indeterminate sentence. We need in each State at least one hospital for curable inebriates. Every charitable society knows to what extent the curable cases of inebriety demand an extended free treatment, that at present is impossible except in two States, or except to persons with means sufficient to purchase private care at a private "cure."

But, principally, we need a better public appreciation of the seriousness and the prevalence of vagrancy. Better public knowledge should be followed by better cooperation between towns, railroads, charitable societies, the press and private individuals, all working to diminish the unnecessary wandering of homeless men. The State should be the unit of activity against vagrancy. Local organizations or communities can at their best be rigorous

only within their limits of activity, and the vagrant wayfarer passes on to the next "easy" town. In such cooperation, the State Board of Charities or Control seems the natural body to take a guiding position. Misinformed sympathy for the vagrant must be overcome by well-grounded facts, which should clearly show that rigorous efforts to diminish vagrancy by consistent enforcement of law are beneficial not only to society, in reducing its toll to the injured and idle, but to the railroads, in diminishing thefts, injuries and accidents, and also to the vagrant, in impressing upon him the age-long lesson that "man shall earn his bread by the sweat of his brow."

ORLANDO F. LEWIS.

THE DRAGO DOCTRINE.*

BY CRAMMOND KENNEDY.

Is the forcible collection of contract debts in the interest of international justice and peace?

It has often happened that negotiations which have been commenced between two Governments for the settlement of the

* Mr. Crammond Kennedy's paper on this subject, which was read at the first annual meeting of The American Society of International Law, last April, in Washington, is divided into two parts. In the first part, he examines the diplomatic correspondence between the Venezuelan government and the governments of Great Britain, Germany and Italy, respectively, the communications which passed between those governments and the United States, and the protocols upon the execution of which the blockade of Venezuela's ports was raised and the question of priority of payment to the creditor nations was referred for determination to the Hague tribunal.

From this examination Mr. Kennedy comes to the following conclusions: (1) that the triple blockade was not instituted originally on account of any default in payment of Venezuela's public debt, principal or interest, but for the purpose of obtaining redress for wrongs and outrages inflicted by Venezuelans on the persons and property of the subjects of the blockading Powers, resident in Venezuelan territory, during internecine strife in that country; (2) that an opportunity for a settlement of these claims by impartial arbitration had been offered to Venezuela and had been rejected by her before the Powers resorted to force; (3) that Mr. Drago misconceived the character and purpose of the tripartite intervention, and that the so-called "Drago doctrine," which has been evolved from his note, embodies this misapprehension and obscures the real significance of the proceeding; and (4) that the Powers never intended to acquire or permanently occupy Venezuelan territory, and expressly disavowed any such purpose. These conclusions are supported by references to the official documents, including the finding of the Hague tribunal, "that since 1901 the government of Venezuela categorically refused to submit its disputes with Germany and Great Britain to arbitration, which was proposed several times, and especially by the note of the German government of July 16, 1901."

In the second part of his paper, which is printed below, Mr. Kennedy takes the ground that the opinions of publicists and the practice of governments favor the rule of non-intervention for the collection of contract debts, but that the international *right* to intervene is and must always be held in reserve, although, as a rule, it should not be exercised without affording a previous opportunity of settlement to the debtor government by impartial arbitration.—EDITOR N. A. R.

claims of the citizens or subjects of the one against the other for injuries to person or property have been extended so as to include claims arising on contract. But so averse have Governments been in practice, to make default in payment of the national debt a matter of diplomatic intervention that, even where the words "all claims" have been used in these arbitral conventions, it has been held that, unless expressly mentioned, claims arising upon public bonds were not within the jurisdiction of the arbitral tribunal and could not be considered. It was so held by Sir Frederick Bruce, as umpire of the United States and New Granadian Commission organized under the claims convention of September 10th, 1857; and also by the United States Commissioner (Wadsworth) and the Mexican Commissioner (Zamacona) under the claims convention of July 4th, 1868, between the United States and Mexico—although, in both cases, claims founded on the public debt had been referred to the Commission by the Secretary of State.

On that occasion, Mr. Commissioner Wadsworth said:

"Although the United States Government has assumed the responsibility of presenting here a claim for non-payment of overdue coupons on a portion of the recognized bonds of the Republic of the Government of Mexico, and demands an award, nevertheless it appears to me that neither Government has with sufficient clearness agreed to refer such claims to this commission, and it is my decision that this case be dismissed without prejudice to the rights of the holders of the bonds and coupons."

In his concurring opinion, Mr. Zamacona brought out one of the objections commonly urged against diplomatic intervention on behalf of such claims—as follows:

"The defence here maintains that claimants received bonds to the amount of \$33,000. . . . Now, instead of \$33,000, the claimants present \$47,000 of bonds. It may very well be that they have obtained the difference, as they say they did, but it may also very well be that they may have received this additional sum of bonds from some holder who perhaps is not an American citizen. Accepting this as a diplomatic claim, when in the future claims have to be settled between Mexico and the United States, the whole of the debt of the former would be covered by the flag of the latter, whose citizens would appear as monopolizing Mexican bonds."*

* Moore's Arbs., Vol. IV, p. 3616. It was held, however, by the umpire of this Commission that it had no jurisdiction of *any* claims arising *ex contractu*.

The same view was taken by the mixed commission that sat at Caracas, under the claims convention of April 25th, 1866; and, accordingly, a claim for \$558,150, of which about two-thirds was for interest, founded on bonds of the consolidable debt of Venezuela, was dismissed without prejudice; but, curiously enough, when, nearly a quarter of a century later, the awards of that Commission were reopened on account of alleged fraud on the part of the arbitrators, the new Commission, sitting at Washington in 1889-90, rejected the authority of the preceding decisions and gave an award to the claimants for the face of the bonds, counting the *peso* at 75 cents gold coin of the United States, with five per cent. interest *per annum*, from April 26th, 1853, to September 2nd, 1890. Elaborate opinions were given by all three Commissioners (Andrade dissenting), which are printed *in extenso* in the fourth volume of Moore's International Arbitrations.

It is to be especially observed, however, that in none of these opinions is the *right* of diplomatic intervention by the Government of the individual holders of foreign national bonds, on which default has been made, brought into question. Said Sir Frederick Bruce:

"The Government reserves to itself on special grounds the right to determine when and under what conditions such support shall be given, and this commission cannot assume, upon the strength of a general term, and in the absence of express language to that effect, that the government of the United States intended to delegate to it powers which it has not exercised itself in a matter of so much delicacy."

Commissioners Little and Findlay, of the United States and Venezuelan Commission of 1889-90, refer to Lord Palmerston's famous circular, and to Hall's remarks upon it in his International Law, Mr. Findlay saying:

"A claim is none the less a claim because it originates in contract instead of tort. The refusal to pay an honest claim is no less wrong because it happens to arise from an obligation to pay money instead of originating in violence offered to persons or property. Torts, as a rule, present more aggravated cases of injustice and affect the citizens at points which more loudly call for redress than ordinary breaches of contract, but, after all, the difference lies in degree only."*

Referring to Sir Frederick Bruce's observation that the policy

* United States and Venezuela Claims Commission, Opinions, 335.

of non-intervention had been pursued in such cases by the United States, Mr. Little said:

"Very true, bonds are not of the character of claims ordinarily pressed by one Government against another; but, since the celebrated circular of Lord Palmerston in 1848 to British representatives at foreign courts, it would appear to be the established English doctrine, at least that a State has the *right* authoritatively to interpose in behalf of its subjects or citizens in support and enforcement of claims founded on bonds against other states, if it chooses to do so. (Phillimore, *Int. Law*, Vol. 2, 8; Hall, *Int. Law*, 236, 237.) And both the United States and Great Britain, as also other Powers, have repeatedly, through treaties and other agencies, secured money due their citizens on contractual obligations from other states. And why not?

"Hall, with much reason, says:

"'Fundamentally, however, there is no difference in principle between wrongs inflicted by breach of a monetary agreement and other wrongs for which the state, *as itself the wrongdoer*, is immediately responsible.'

"The difference which is made in practice is in no sense obligatory, and it is open to the Governments to consider each case by itself, and to act as seems well to them on the merits."*

This is the received opinion, against which I do not believe that the so-called Drago doctrine will prevail. Nevertheless, it is not improbable that a thorough discussion of the subject at The Hague would be of wide-spread benefit in making the advocates of the two opinions better acquainted with their respective views.

Mr. Drago does not seem to me to deal with actual conditions. He speaks as if these defaults were altogether the misfortune, and not at all the fault, of the defaulting Governments and peoples. But the defaulters are sometimes grievously to blame.†

* United States and Venezuela Claims Commission, Opinions, 314.

† After stating in his Instructions to the Delegates of the United States to the Third International Conference of American States, held at Rio de Janeiro last summer, that it has long been the established policy of the United States not to use its armed forces for the collection of ordinary contract debts due to its citizens by other Governments, Mr. Root observed (under date of June 18th, 1906):

"It is doubtless true that the non-payment of public debts *may* be accompanied by such circumstances of fraud and wrongdoing or violation of treaties as to justify the use of force."—Report of the Delegates, Doc. No. 365, Sen., 59th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 41.

In his reply to Mr. Drago's note, without expressing concurrence or dissent, Mr. Hay observed:

"The President declared in his Message to Congress, December 3rd, 1901, that by the Monroe Doctrine 'we do not guarantee any State against punishment if it misconducts itself provided that punishment does not take the form of the acquisition of territory by any non-American Power.'"

The international right of intervention for the collection of contractual debts of Governments, although it may rarely be exercised, cannot be surrendered and must be held in reserve as a final sanction in the interest of civilization. Creditor Governments cannot stand idly by, indefinitely, and see members of the family of nations live what has been styled a life of public shame—appealing to arms instead of reason, to force instead of law, and making their territories scenes of ever-recurring violence and bloodshed and destruction and misery. So-called “revolutions” are financed to a very considerable extent at the expense of the foreign creditors of the state. Sources of income that have been appropriated by treaty as security for the payment of public debts are seized and misappropriated, and the prevailing lawlessness leads not only to outrages, sometimes of the most ferocious character on innocent individuals, natives and foreigners, but also to the plunder or reckless expenditure of the public revenues, and to that general insecurity of life and property in which progress and prosperity (no matter how bountiful nature may have been to the country) are impossible.*

Mr. Drago makes the following citation from Alexander Hamilton:

“Contracts between a nation and private individuals are obligatory according to the conscience of the sovereign, and may not be the object of compelling force. They confer no right of action contrary to the sovereign will.”

But this does not seem to me to support Mr. Drago's contention that under no circumstances should the public debt of a state be forcibly collected by other states. Hamilton was simply stating the old rule that the sovereign could not be sued at law

* Referring to an episode in the financial history of San Domingo, Professor J. B. Moore, as agent for the United States, under the protocol of January 31st, 1903, for the settlement of the claims of the San Domingo Improvement Company against the Dominican Republic by arbitration, observed:

“Evidently no one contemplated such a thing as *expulsion by force* from the security. Possibilities of earthquakes, tempests, floods, revolutions were doubtless contemplated, as reflected in the rate per cent.; but no one dreamed of possible national seizure of the security; no one thought that after San Domingo had received the money, a Government would come into existence that would seize and destroy the security on the faith of which it was given. Otherwise there would either have been no loan at all or else careful provision would have been made to restrain the Government from the misuse of its physical force.”—Argument of the United States before the Commission of Arbitration, p. 94.

by the subject; or, in its more modern form, that the state is not suable except to the extent and in the manner which it itself prescribes. He was not speaking of international rights and duties, but of the "right of action" as between subject and sovereign.

Vattel, who wrote before Hamilton, ranks a contract between a Government and a foreign individual with treaties between nations, and there is no question that treaties may be "the object of compelling force." In Hamilton's time, the United States could not be sued at law by the private citizen; but, since 1855, it has been suable in the Court of Claims, and, since 1863, subject to final judgments, on contracts with its citizens, express or implied, or on any law of Congress or any regulation of an executive department, either party having the right of appeal to the Supreme Court in cases involving more than \$3,000;* and, under the Tucker Act of 1887, as recently construed by that court, the United States may also be sued in certain cases of a tortious character.†

It is no longer true in the United States (or, as a rule, in other civilized countries) that the nation's contracts are "obligatory according to the conscience of the sovereign." The obligation is now decided by the conscience of the court, applying the law to the facts, and it would be revolutionary for Congress to refuse to pay such judgments. In his famous note, Mr. Drago says:

"The Argentine Government has made its provinces indictable, and has even adopted the principle that the nation itself may be brought to trial before the Supreme Court on contracts which it enters into with individuals."‡

The petition of right by which, in England, a claim is prosecuted by a subject against the Crown, has endorsed on it, when entertained by the court: "*Soit droit fait al partie.*"

Its distinguished author is not alone in claiming Hamilton and Hamilton's country as supporting (in principle) "the Drago doctrine"; for it is stated in the Report of the Delegates to the Third International Conference at Rio de Janeiro that:

* 10 Stats. at Large, 612; 12 Stats. at Large, 765; *United States vs. Klein*, 13 Wall., 128, 144, 145.

† *Dooley vs. United States*, 182 U. S., 224, 228; *United States vs. Lynch*, 188 U. S., 465, 475, 476; *Basso vs. United States*, 40 Ct. Clms., 202, 215, 216.

‡ *Forn. Rels.*, 1903, p. 2.

"It is well known that the principle advanced and so ably discussed by Doctor Drago has been for a great many years maintained by the United States, one of whose statesmen, Alexander Hamilton, early gave definite form to the principle, as did Lord Palmerston also when Prime Minister of England."*

We have already cited Mr. Hay's memorandum on Mr. Drago's note and Mr. Root's instructions to the delegates; and, as for Lord Palmerston, he has always been regarded as the champion of the principle that there is a reserved international right of forcible intervention for the collection of the public debt of a defaulting state. In his famous circular, addressed in 1848 to British representatives at foreign courts, his lordship said:

"If the question is to be considered in its bearing on international right, there can be no doubt whatever of the *perfect right* which the Government of every country possesses to take up, as a matter of diplomatic negotiation, any well-founded complaint which any of its subjects may prefer against the Government of another country, or any wrong which from such foreign Government those subjects may have sustained; and if the Government of one country is entitled to demand redress for any one individual who may have a just but unsatisfied pecuniary claim upon the Government of another country, the right so to require redress cannot be diminished merely because the extent of the wrong is increased, and because, instead of there being one individual claiming a comparatively small sum, there are a great number of individuals to whom a very large amount is due."

After explaining that the British Government had pursued a policy of non-intervention in such cases, in the hope that the losses of imprudent men would prove a salutary warning to others and prevent foreign loans from being raised in Great Britain except by Governments of known good faith and ascertained solvency, his lordship concluded as follows:

"But, nevertheless, it might happen that the loss occasioned to British subjects might become so great that it would be too high a price for the nation to pay for such a warning as to the future, and in such a state of things it might become the duty of the British Government to make these matters the subject of diplomatic negotiation."

To this, Mr. Hall adds, in a note containing the foregoing citation:

"A short time previously, Lord Palmerston, in answer to a question in the House of Commons, indicated that under certain circumstances

* Report of the Delegates to the Third International Conference, held at Rio de Janeiro in 1906, p. 12.

he might be prepared to go to the length of using force. The doctrine and the principles of policy laid down in Lord Palmerston's circular have been lately reaffirmed by Lord Salisbury. See the 'Times' of January 7th, 1880."*

Assuming that there is an analogy between the relations of states in the family of nations and the relations of individuals in the state, it is very significant that as between individuals in every civilized country the simplest legal obligation has the whole force of government behind it. If I borrow money, and do not repay it when due, my creditor can sue me wherever he can find me; he can seize and sell my property in execution of his judgment; if I have made conveyances in fraud of my creditors, he can have these fraudulent transactions exposed and set aside, and compel me to pay to the uttermost extent of my ability. If as mortgagor I am sold out of house and home in foreclosure, and refuse to quit the premises, a writ of ejectment will issue against me, and if I commit a breach of the peace by resisting I may be put in jail.

There can be no permanent peace without justice, and, with the world as it is, the *right* to enforce pecuniary obligations between nations—as between individuals—must be reserved in the interest of civilization. This sanction should not be invoked between nations (or men) inconsiderately, or ever, perhaps, except as a last resort; and, when the amount or the equity of the obligation is in doubt, and impartial arbitration is proposed by the debtor Government, it should be accepted by the creditor. But, between nations as between individuals, the sanction of force will only become unnecessary when what Vattel calls the "innate and necessary law" has entire possession and control of the souls of men and the state can, *therefore*, do no wrong.

But this belongs to the time of which poets have dreamed and seers foretold—when "mercy and truth are met together and righteousness and peace have kissed each other"; when men "shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks: when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, nor learn war any more."

Meanwhile, this international right of which we have been speaking must be reserved, to be exercised by and by, let us hope, in better ways than war; in such a concert of nations for the

* Hall's Inter. Law, 1st ed., part II, chap. VII, § 87, pp. 237, 238.

ascertainment and administration of international justice as would make resistance futile, as, indeed, it would have been in the tripartite blockade; or, better yet, as in the cases of Great Britain in Egypt and the United States in San Domingo, by helping the debtor states so to use their resources and preserve the peace as to enable them to regain their credit and to pay off their debts and thus to give them a fair start on the road that leads to national development and individual well-being.

CRAMMOND KENNEDY.

RETROSPECTS OF THE DRAMA.

BY HENRY A. BEERS, PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN
YALE UNIVERSITY.

THE English drama has been dead for nearly two hundred years. Mr. Gosse says that in 1700 the English had the most vivacious school of comedy in Europe. And, if their serious drama was greatly inferior, still the best tragedies of Dryden and Otway—and perhaps of Lee, Southerne and Rowe—made not only a sounding success on the boards, but a fair bid for literary honors. Ten years later the drama was moribund, and in 1747 its epitaph was spoken by Garrick in the sonorous prologue written by Dr. Johnson for the opening of Drury Lane:

“Then, crushed by rules and weakened as refined,
For years the power of Tragedy declined:
From bard to bard the frigid caution crept,
Till declamation roared whilst passion slept.
Yet still did Virtue deign the stage to tread;
Philosophy remained though nature fled.
But, forced at length her ancient reign to quit,
She saw great Faustus lay the ghost of wit:
Exulting Folly hailed the joyful day,
And pantomime and song confirmed her sway—”

That is, as has been complained a hundred times before and since, the opera and the spectacular show drove the legitimate drama from the stage.

The theatre, indeed, is not dead: it has continued to live and to flourish, and is furnishing entertainment to the public to-day, as it did two hundred—nay, two thousand—years ago. The theatre, as an institution, has a life of its own, whose history is recorded in innumerable volumes. Playhouses have multiplied in London, in the provinces, in all English-speaking lands. The callings of the actor and the playwright have given occupation

to many, and rich rewards to not a few. Scholars, critics and literary men are apt to look at the drama as if it were simply a department of literature. In reading a play, we should remember that we are taking the author at a disadvantage. It is not meant to be read, but to be acted. It is not mere literature: it is both more and less than literature. The art of the theatre is a composite art, requiring the help of the scene-painter, the costumer, the manager, the stage-carpenter, sometimes of the musician and dancer, nowadays of the electrician; and always and above all demanding the interpretation of the actor. It is not addressed to the understanding exclusively, but likewise to the eye and the ear. It is a show, as well as a piece of writing. The drama can subsist without any dialogue at all, as in the pantomime; or with the dialogue reduced to its lowest terms, as in the Italian *commedie a soggetto*, where the actors improvised the lines. "The skeleton of every play is a pantomime," says Professor Brander Matthews, who reminds us that not only buffoonery and acrobatic performances may be carried on silently by stock characters like Harlequin, Columbine, Pantaloon and Punchinello; but a story of a more pretentious kind may be enacted entirely by gesture and dumb show, as in the French pantomime play "*L'Enfant Prodigue*." A good dramatist includes a good playwright, one who can invent striking situations, telling climaxes, tableaux, *ensemble* scenes, spectacular and histrionic effects, *coups de théâtre*. These things may seem to the literary student the merely mechanical or technical parts of the art. Yet, without them, a play will be amateurish, and no really successful dramatist has ever been lacking in this kind of skill.

Still, although stage presentation, the *mise en scène*, is the touchstone of a play as play, it is of course quite possible to read a play with pleasure. It is even better to read it than to see it badly acted, just as one would rather have no pictures in a novel than such pictures as disturb one's ideas of the characters. A musical adept can take pleasure in reading the score of an opera, though he would rather hear it performed. This is not to say that a play depends for its effect upon actual performance in anywhere near the same degree as a musical composition; for written speech is a far more definite language than musical notation. I use the latter only as an imperfect illustration.

This professional quality has been much insisted on by prac-

tical playwrights, who are properly contemptuous of closet drama. But just what is a closet drama? Let it be defined provisionally as a piece meant to be read and not acted. Yet a play's chances for representation depend partly on the condition of the theatre and the demands of the public. Mr. Yeats, for example, thinks that a play of any poetic or spiritual depth has no chance to-day in a big London theatre, with an audience living on the surface of life; and he advises that such plays be tried in small suburban or country playhouses before audiences of scholars and simple, unspoiled folk. To the English public, with its desire for strong action and variety, Racine's tragedies are nothing but closet dramas; and yet they are played constantly and with applause on the French theatre. In the eighteenth century, when the English stage still maintained a literary tradition—though it had lost all literary vitality—the rankest sort of closet dramas were frequently put on and listened to respectfully. No manager now would venture to mount such a thing as "Cato" or "Sophonisba" or "The Castle Spectre." The modern public will scarcely endure sheer poetry, or long descriptive and reflective tirades even in Shakespeare. Such passages have to be cut in the acting versions. The Elizabethan craving for drama was such that everything was tried, though some things, when brought to the test of action, proved failures. Ben Jonson's heavy tragedies, "Catiline" and "Sejanus," failed on the stage; and Daniel's "Cleopatra" never got so far as the stage, a rare example of an Elizabethan closet drama. Very likely, modern literary plays like "Philip Van Artevelde" and Tennyson's "Queen Mary" might have succeeded in the seventeenth century. For the audiences of those days were omnivorous. They hungered for sensation, but they enjoyed as well fine poetry, noble declamation, philosophy, sweet singing, and the clown with his funny business, all in close neighborhood. They cared more for quantity of life than for delicate art. Their art, indeed, was in some ways quite artless, and the drama had not yet purged itself of lyric, epic and didactic elements, nor attained a purely dramatic type. Since then, the French, whose ideal is not so much fulness of life as perfection of form, have taught English playwrights many lessons. Brunetière, speaking of the gradual evolution and differentiation of literary kinds (*genres*), says that Shakespeare's theatre, as theatre, exhibits the art of drama in its infancy.

Perhaps, then, no hard and fast line can be drawn between an acting drama and a closet play. It is largely a matter of contemporary taste. "Cato," we know, made a prodigious hit. Coleridge's "Remorse," a closet drama if there ever was one, and a very rubbishy affair at that, was put on by Sheridan, though with many misgivings, and lasted twenty nights, a good run for those days. No audience now would stand it an hour. And yet we have seen Sir Henry Irving forcing Tennyson's dramatic poems into a temporary *succès d'estime*. "Samson Agonistes" is a closet play, without question; but is "The Cenci"? Shelley wanted it played, and had selected Miss O'Niel for the rôle of Beatrice. But it never got itself played till 1889, when it was given before the Shelley Society at South Kensington. The picked audience applauded it, just as an academic audience will applaud a rehearsal of the "Antigone" in the original Greek; but the dramatic critics sent down by the London newspapers to report the performance were unconvinced.

Let it be granted, then, that the question in the case of any given play is a question of more or less. Still, the difference between our modern literary drama, as a whole, and the Elizabethan drama—which was also literary—as a whole, I take to be this: that in our time literature has lost touch with the stage. In the seventeenth century, the poets *wrote for* the theatre. They knew that their plays would be played. In the nineteenth century, English poets who adopted the dramatic framework did not write for the theatre. They did not expect their pieces to be played, and they addressed themselves consciously to the reader. When one of them had the luck to get upon the boards, it was an exception, and the manager generally lost money by it. Thus, in the late thirties and early forties, in one of those efforts to "elevate the stage," which recur with comic persistence in our dramatic annals, Macready rallied the literati to his aid and presented, among other things, Taylor's "Philip Van Artevelde," Talfourd's "Ion," Bulwer's "Richelieu" and "The Lady of Lyons," and Browning's "Stafford" and "A Blot in the 'Scutcheon." The only titles on this list that secured a permanent foothold on the repertoire of the playhouses were Bulwer's two pieces, which were precisely the most flimsy of the whole lot, from the literary point of view. "A Blot in the 'Scutcheon" has been tried again. As I saw it a number of years

ago, with Lawrence Barrett cast for Lord Tresham and Marie Wainwright as Mildred, it seemed to me—in spite of its somewhat absurd *motivirung*—decidedly impressive as an acting play. On the other hand, “In a Balcony,” though very intelligently and sympathetically presented by Mrs. Lemoyne and Otis Skinner, was too subtle for a popular audience, and was manifestly unfitted for the stage.

The closet drama is a quite legitimate product of literary art. The playhouse has no monopoly of the dramatic form. Indeed, as the closet dramatist is not bound to consider the practical exigencies of the theatre, to consult the prejudices of the manager or the spectators, fill the pockets of the company, or provide a rôle for a star performer, he has, in many ways, a freer hand than the professional playwright. He need not sacrifice truth of character and probability of plot to the need of highly accentuated situations. He does not have to consider whether a speech is too long, too ornate in diction, too deeply thoughtful for recitation by an actor. If the action lags at certain points, let it lag. In short, as the aim of the closet dramatist is other than the playwright’s, so his methods may be independent.

In the rather bitter preface to the printed version of “Saints and Sinners” (1891), Mr. Henry Arthur Jones complains of “the English practice of writing plays to order for a star performer,” together with other “binding and perplexing . . . conventions and limitations of playwriting,” as “quite sufficient to account for the literary degradation of the modern drama.” The English closet drama of the nineteenth century is an important body of literature, of higher intellectual value than all the stage plays produced in England during the same period. It is not necessary to enumerate its triumphs: I will merely remind the reader, in passing, that work like Byron’s “Manfred,” Landor’s “Gebir,” George Eliot’s “The Spanish Gypsy,” Horne’s “Orion,” Beddow’s “Death’s Jest-Book,” Arnold’s “Empedocles on Etna,” Tennyson’s “Becket,” Browning’s “Pippa Passes” and Swinburne’s “Atalanta in Calydon,” is justified in its assumption of the dramatic form, though its appeal is only to the closet reader. I do not forget that one or two of these have been tried upon the stage, but they do not belong there, and, as theatre pieces, were flat failures.

It is hard to say exactly what qualities ensure stage success.

As reading plays, Lillo's "George Barnwell" is intolerably stilted, Knowles's "Virginius" insipid, "The Lady of Lyons" tawdry; yet all of them took notoriously, and the last two—as any one can testify who has seen them performed—retain a certain effectiveness even now. Perhaps the secret lies in simplicity and directness of construction, unrelaxing tension, quick movement, and an instinctive seizure of the essentially dramatic crises in the action. In a word, the thing has "go"; lacking which, no cleverness of dialogue, no epigrammatic sharpness of wit or delicate play of humor can save a comedy; and no beauty of style, no depth or reach of thought, a tragedy. Hence it is pertinent to remark how many popular playwrights have been actors or in close practical relations with the theatre. In the seventeenth century this was a matter of course. Shakespeare was an actor, and Molière and Jonson and Marlowe and Greene and Otway, and countless others. Cibber was an actor and stage-manager. Sheridan and both Colmans were managers. Garrick and Foote wrote plays as well as acted them. Knowles, Boucicault, Robertson, Pinero and Stephen Phillips have all been actors. Conceded that this professional point of view has been rightly emphasized, yet before the acted drama can rank as literature, or even hope to hold possession of the stage itself for more than a season, it must stand a further test. It must read well, too. If it is no more than an after-dinner amusement, without intellectual meaning or vital relation to life: if it has neither strength nor truth nor beauty as a criticism of life, or an imaginative representation of life, what interest can it have for serious people? Let us stay at home and read our Thackeray. Eugène Scribe was perhaps the cunningest master of stagecraft who ever wrote. Schlegel ranked him above Molière. He left the largest fortune ever accumulated by a French man of letters. His plays were more popular in all the theatres of Europe than anything since Kotzebue's melodramas; and all European purveyors for the stage strove to imitate the adroitness and ingenuity with which his plots were put together. But if one to-day tries to *read* any one of his three hundred and fifty pieces—say, "Adrienne Lecouvreur" or "La Bataille des Dames"—one will find little in them beyond the mechanical perfection of the construction, and will feel how powerless mere technical cleverness is to keep alive false and superficial conceptions.

When it is asserted, then, that the British drama has been dead for nearly two hundred years, what is really meant is that its *literary* vitality went out of it some two centuries ago, and has not yet come back. It is hard to say what causes the breath of life suddenly to enter some particular literary form, inspire it fully for a few years, and then desert it for another; leaving it all flaccid and inanimate. Literary forms have their periods. No one now sits down to compose an epic poem or a minstrel ballad or a five-act blank-verse tragedy without an uneasy sense of anachronism. The dramatic form had run along in England for generations, from the mediæval miracles down to the rude chronicle histories, Senecan tragedies, and clownish interludes of the sixteenth century. Suddenly, in the last years of that century, the spark of genius touched and kindled it into the great drama of Elizabeth. About the middle of the eighteenth century life abandoned it again, and took possession of the novel. Fielding is the point of contact between the dying drama and new-born fiction. The whole process of the change may be followed in him. "Tom Jones" and "Amelia" still rank as masterpieces, but who reads "The Modern Husband," or "Miss Lucy in Town," or "Love in Several Masques," or any other of Fielding's plays? How many even know that he wrote any plays? Mr. Shaw attributes Fielding's change of base to the government censorship. He writes:

"In 1737 Henry Fielding, the greatest practising dramatist, with the single exception of Shakspeare, produced by England between the Middle Ages and the nineteenth century, devoted his genius to the task of exposing and destroying parliamentary corruption. . . . Walpole . . . promptly gagged the stage by a censorship which is in full force at the present moment [1898]. Fielding, driven out of the trade of Molière and Aristophanes, took to that of Cervantes; and since then, the English novel has been one of the glories of literature, whilst the English drama has been its disgrace."

But Mr. Shaw's explanation fails to explain, and his estimate of Fielding's talent for drama is too high. With the exception of "Tom Thumb," his plays are very dull, and it is doubtful whether, given the freest hand, he would ever have become a great dramatist. It was not Walpole but the *Zeitgeist* that was responsible for his failure in one literary form and his triumph in another. The clock had run down, and though Goldsmith

and Sheridan wound it up once more towards the end of the century, it only went for an hour or so. It is usual to refer to their comedy group as the last flare of the literary drama in England before its final extinction.

In the appendix to Clement Scott's "The Drama of Yesterday and To-day" there is given, by way of supplement to Genest, a list of the new plays put on at London theatres between 1830 and 1900. They number about twenty-four hundred; and—until we reach the last decade of the century—it would be hard to pick out a dozen of them which have become a part of English literature: which any one would think of reading for pleasure or profit, as one reads, say, the plays of Marlowe or Fletcher or Congreve. Of course, many of the pieces on the list are of non-literary kinds—burlesques, vaudevilles, operas and the like. Then there is a large body of translations and adaptations from the foreign drama, more especially from the French of Scribe, Sardou, Dumas, *père et fils*, d'Hennery, Labiche, Goudinet, Meilhac and Halévy, Ohnet and many others. Next to the French theatre, the most abundant feeder of our modern stage has been contemporary fiction. Nowadays, every successful novel is immediately dramatized. This has been the case, more or less, for three-quarters of a century. The Waverley Novels were dramatized in their time, and Dickens's stories in theirs, and there are a plenty of dramatized novels on Scott's catalogue. But the practice has greatly increased of recent years. Now, for some reason, a dramatized novel seldom means a good play; that is to say, permanently good, though it may act fairly well for a season. One does not care to *read* the stage version of "Vanity Fair," known as "Becky Sharp," any more than one would care to read "The School for Scandal" diluted into a novel. The dramatist conceives and moulds his theme otherwise than the novelist. "Playwriting," says Walter Scott, "is the art of forming situations." To be sure, Shakespeare took plots from Italian "novels," so called; that is, short romantic tales like Boccaccio's or Bandello's. But he took only the bare outline, and altered freely. The modern novel is a far more elaborate thing. In it, not only incident and character, but a great part of the dialogue is already done to hand.

Glancing over Clement Scott's list, old playgoers will find their memories somewhat pathetically stirred by forgotten fash-

ions and schools. There are Planché's extravaganzas, and later Dion Boucicault's versatilities—"classical" comedies like "London Assurance," sentimental Irish melodramas—"The Shaughraun," "The Colleen Bawn"—and popular favorites, such as "Rip Van Winkle"; the equally versatile Tom Taylor, with his "Our American Cousin," "The Ticket-of-Leave Man," etc.; Burnand's multifarious *facetiae*; the Cockney vulgarities of that very prolific Mr. H. J. Byron; and, in the late sixties, Robertson's "cup-and-saucer" comedies—"Ours," "Caste," "Society," "School." Three thousand representations of these fashionable comedies were given inside of twenty years. How gay, how brilliant, even, the dialogue seemed to us in those good old days! But take up the text of one of Tom Robertson's plays now and try to read it. What has become of the sparkle? Does any one recall the famous "Ours" gallop that we used to dance to *console Planco? Eheu fugaces!*

The playwrights whom I have named, and others whom I might have named, their contemporaries, were the Clyde Fitches, Augustus Thomases and George Ades of their generation. They provided a fair article of entertainment for the public of their time, but they added nothing to literature. The poverty of the English stage, during these late centuries, in work of real substance and value, is the more striking because there has been no dearth of genius in other departments. There have been great English poets, novelists, humorists, essayists, critics, historians. Moreover, the literary drama has flourished in other countries. France has never lacked accomplished artists in this kind: from Voltaire to Victor Hugo, from Hugo to Rostand, talent always, and genius not unfrequently, have been at the service of the French theatres. In Germany—with some breaks—the case has been the same. From Lessing and Goethe and Schiller down to our own contemporaries, to Hauptmann, Sudermann and Halbe, Germany has seldom been without worthy dramatists. Both the Germans and the French have taken the theatre seriously. Their actors have been carefully trained, their audiences intelligently critical, their playhouses in part maintained by government subventions, as institutions importantly related to the national life.

It is not that English men of letters have been unwilling to contribute to the stage. On the contrary, they have shown an eager, although mostly ineffectual, ambition for dramatic honors.

In the eighteenth century it was well-nigh the rule that a successful writer should try his hand at a play. Addison did so, and Steele, Pope, Gay, Fielding, Johnson, Goldsmith, Smollett, Thomson, Mason, Mallet, Chatterton and many others who had no natural turn for it, and would not think of such a thing now. In the nineteenth century the tradition had lost much of its force: still, we find Scott, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Tennyson, Thackeray, Browning, Matthew Arnold, Swinburne, all using the dramatic form, and some of them attempting the stage. Charles Lamb, one of the most ardent of playgoers and best of dramatic critics, was greatly chagrined by the failure of his farce, "Mr. H——." Dickens was a good actor in private theatricals, and was intensely concerned with the theatre and the theatrical fortunes of his own dramatized novels. So was Charles Reade, who collaborated with Tom Taylor in a number of plays, and whose theatre-piece, "Masks and Faces," was the original of his novelette, "Peg Woffington"—*vice versa* the usual case. More recently we have seen Stevenson and Henley collaborating in three plays, "Deacon Brodie" and "Beau Austin," performed at London and Montreal in 1884-87, and "Admiral Guinea," shown at the Haymarket in 1890; the first and third, low-life melodrama and broad comedy, of some vigor but no great importance; the second, an unusually good eighteenth-century society play. Most certainly these experiments do not rank with Stevenson's romances or Henley's poems. Another curious illustration of the attraction of the dramatic form for the literary mind is Thomas Hardy's "The Dynasts" (1904), a drama of the Napoleonic wars, projected in nineteen acts, with choruses of spirits and personified abstractions; a sort of reversion to the class of morality and chronicle play exemplified in Bale's "King John." Mr. Hardy is perhaps the foremost living English novelist, but "The Dynasts" is a dramatic monster, and, happily, a torso. The preface confesses that the abortion is a "panoramic show" intended for "mental performance" only, and suggests an apology for closet drama by inquiring whether "mental performance alone may not eventually be the fate of all drama other than that of contemporary or frivolous life."

Mr. Henry James, too, has tempted the stage, teased, yet fascinated, by the "insufferable little art"; and the result is a dramatized version of "Daisy Miller," and two volumes of "The

atricals": "Tenants" and "Disengaged" (1894); "The Album" and "The Reprobate" (1895). These last were written with a view to their being played at country theatres (an opportunity having seemingly presented itself), but they never got so far. In reading them, one feels that a single rehearsal would have decided their chances. Mr. James, in the preface to the printed plays, treats his failure with humorous resignation. He complains of "the hard meagreness inherent in the theatrical form," and of his own conscientious effort to avoid supersubtlety and to cultivate an "anxious simplicity" and a "deadly directness"—to write "something elaborately plain." It was to be expected that Mr. James's habit of refined analysis would prove but a poor preparation for acted drama; and that his singular coldness or shyness or reticence would handicap him fatally in emotional crises. Whenever he is led squarely up to such, he bolts. Innuendo is not the language of passion. In vain he cries: "See me being popular: observe this play to the gallery." The failure is so complete as to have the finality of a demonstration.

What was less to be expected is the odd way in which this artist drops realism for melodrama and farce when he exchanges fiction for playwriting. Sir Ralph Damant, in "The Album," is a farce or "humor" character in the Jonsonian sense, his particular obsession being a fixed idea that all the women in the play want to marry him. In "Disengaged," Mrs. Wigmore, a campaigner with a trained daughter, is another farce character; and there are iterations of phrase and catchwords here and elsewhere, as in Dickens's or Jonson's humorists. In "The Reprobate," Paul Doubleday and Pitt Brunt, M.P., have the accentuated contrast of the Surface brothers. In "The Album," that innocent old stage trick is played again, whereby some article—a lace handkerchief, a scrap of paper, a necklace, or what not—is made the plot centre. In "Daisy Miller"—dramatized version—the famous little masterpiece is spoiled by the substitution of a conventional happy ending and the introduction of a blackmailing villain. All this insinuates a doubt as to the reality of a realism which turns into improbability and artificiality merely by a change in the method of presentation. But the doubt is unfair. No *reductio ad absurdum* has occurred, but simply another instance of the law that every art has its own method, and that the method of the novel is not that of the play. Of course, there are

clever things in the dialogue of these three-act comedies, for Mr. James is always Mr. James. But the only one of them that comes near to being a practicable theatre piece is "Tenants," which has a good plot founded on a French story.

The paralysis of the literary drama, then, has not been due to the indifference of the literary class. Perhaps it is time thrown away to seek for its cause. The fact is that, for one reason or another, England has lost the dramatic habit.

HENRY A. BEERS.

THE POST-ROADS POWER OF CONGRESS: AN HISTORICAL VIEW.

BY J. WALTER LORD.

DURING the eight years in which this nation pursued its precarious existence under the Articles of Confederation, prepared, as these articles had been, without previous experience as to the necessities of a national government and without any considerable deliberation, the one thing which deeply impressed itself upon the statesmen of the period, was the vital necessity to the integrity of a national government of vesting in that government a power over commerce between the States, as well as with foreign nations. The Articles of Confederation made no provision for such power, and the indications pointing to a disposition on the part of the States to pursue independent systems of commercial policies, thus creating distinctions and preferences which would lead inevitably to discontent and disunion, made the nationalization of the commerce power one of the principal reasons—in the opinion of many, indeed, the prime cause—for the establishment of the Constitution. For more than a century, the power of Congress “to regulate commerce among the several States” has been the subject of judicial interpretation by the Supreme Court more frequently than any other clause in the Constitution; it has been the justification and support for many forms of legislation by Congress; and, principally because of its manifest purpose to provide for the exigencies which were not met by the Articles of Confederation, has been construed to be a power of remarkable latitude, acknowledging no limitations over the subject-matter to which it relates.

In marked contrast to this is the power vested in Congress “to establish post-offices and post-roads”; a power which has received hardly any judicial interpretation; a power which has rarely been

exercised, and then only in such a mild and innocuous manner that it has given rise to no State opposition. This power, thus lying virtually dormant for over a century, is now invoked, though by suggestion merely, to accord to Congress a control over the railways of this country not only with respect to subjects which are national in their character, but also with respect to subjects which lie within the scope of the internal administration of State affairs—a jurisdiction over intrastate commerce as well as over interstate commerce. The mere statement of this object is sufficient to suggest a careful examination of the post-roads clause, in the light of its origin and of its development during more than a century of our political history.

As in the case of the *commerce* clause, the nature and purpose of the *post-roads* clause can be discovered in some degree by recurring to the proceedings which led up to the adoption of the Constitution, and by considering the conditions which prevailed at the time. The Articles of Confederation provided that Congress “shall have the power of establishing and regulating post-offices from one State to another throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of said office.” The first draft of a new Constitution submitted to the Federal Convention was the one submitted on May 29th, 1787, by Charles Pinkney. The only record of this draft, supposed by many to be imperfect, makes provision, in the 8th section, for the power “to establish post-offices” and the power “to establish post and military roads.” In his speech presenting the draft, Pinkney says that the 8th section differs from the Articles of Confederation in this respect only, in that it gives “the Federal Government a power not only to exact as much postage as will bear the expense of the office, but also for the purpose of raising revenue.” The inference to be drawn seems to be that the power respecting “post and military roads” was not in his draft, or, if included, was not of sufficient importance to call for comment or explanation. When the Committee on Detail, who were charged with the duty of preparing a draft for discussion, reported on August 6th, the postal power was expressed in the simple clause “to establish post-offices.” On August 16th, when the discussion reached this part of the new draft, a motion was made by Gerry to add the words “and post-roads” after the word “post-offices,” which

was passed by a vote of six to five. There is no record of any discussion of the reasons why five States opposed this motion, nor is there anything in the geographical location of these States which would indicate a substantial ground for such opposition. The fact that a considerable amount of other business was transacted on the day in question, leads one to believe that the opposition pertained to form, rather than to any vital question as to the extent of power. On August 18th, twenty propositions involving additional powers were submitted by Madison and Pinkney, and referred to the Committee on Detail. One of these was the power "to regulate stages on the post-roads." On the same day, Gerry moved the additional power "to provide for stages on the post-roads" which was also referred to the Committee. These two propositions would seem to indicate an idea in the minds of their sponsors, and an assent to it on the part of the whole Convention (there apparently having been no discussion), that the power as already adopted "to establish post-offices and post-roads" was not to be one of a very comprehensive character. This seems to have been the last word upon the subject in the Convention; and the Committee on Detail, in its report on September 4th, recommended the adoption of certain of the twenty additional powers, making no reference to the propositions in question. During the many lengthy debates in the Conventions of the various States upon the question of the ratification of the Constitution, although nearly every other power received extensive consideration, the *post-roads* clause seems to have been ignored, except for the single instance of a motion by a Mr. Jones in the New York Convention to the effect that "the power of Congress to establish post-offices and post-roads is not to be construed to extend to the laying out, making, altering or repairing highways in any State *without the consent* of the legislature of such State." Two other constructions were made *dum fervet opus*, so to speak, and of a considerable weight was the one by Mr. Gerry, who stated in Congress on December 6th, 1791, that the power to establish post-roads "cannot possibly mean anything else but to point out what roads the post shall follow"; the other was by Mr. Madison, who in No. 42 of the "Federalist" says: "The power of establishing post-roads must, in every view, be a *harmless* power, and may, perhaps, by judicious management, become productive of great public conveniency. Nothing which tends to *facilitate* the intercourse

between the States can be deemed unworthy of the public care."

In so far, therefore, as we are able to form any opinion from the records of the times, the conclusion is well-nigh irresistible that the founders of our Government never attached grave importance to the post-roads power; never intended it to be one of considerable extent; and certainly never intended it to be an instrument of national encroachment upon the internal affairs of the States. In comparison with the commerce power, it pales into insignificance. The most that can be said of it at the present stage of our examination is, that it was designed to preserve the integrity of the postal service, and as ancillary, perhaps, to the *commerce* clause, to *facilitate* the transmission of intelligence between the States.

But the discussion thus far has taken no account of the conditions antedating the adoption of the Constitution. Do these in any way alter the interpretation thus imputed to it? In the early stages of our Government, the only roads for the passage of mails were highways owned by the various States. The function of carrying the mails was, however, confided to the National Government by virtue of the post-office clause in the Articles of Confederation. Naturally, no opposition or complaint was put forward by any of the States on account of the use made of its highways for this purpose, as the Government used the highways in common with other persons and on similar terms. But, whilst no positive obstruction was liable to occur, the possibility of the States' highways becoming unsuitable for proper despatch in the postal service, through failure of the States to keep them up to a proper standard of efficiency, must have been apprehended, and some specific provision that would enable the National Government to act in such an emergency must have been thought to be advisable. Considering the circumstances in which it was adopted, it seems reasonable to suppose that it was this notion, and this alone, which accounts for the clause giving Congress the power "to establish post-roads." And this hypothesis seems to agree with the view of the Kentucky Supreme Court* to the effect that it is a "power to make roads, whenever the unfitness or unreasonableness of State policy may render such a course expedient." This is a very illuminating opinion, and, with the exception of

* In *Dickey vs. Turnpike Co.* (7 Dana 113).

Cleveland R. Co. *vs* Franklin Canal Co. (1 Pitts Law, J. 142), where the Court holds that post-roads may not be constructed through a State without its consent, is believed by the writer to contain the only discussion of the extent of the power in question.*

Until 1806, Congress exercised this power only to the extent of designating what State roads should be post-roads. In that year, the Cumberland Road Act was passed, the Act making provision for obtaining the consent of the States whose territories the road was to traverse. Minor road Acts were also passed at this time. These, however, did not provide for obtaining the consent of the States to be affected. Discussion on the subject was not provoked until some ten years afterwards, when the question of internal improvements became a burning issue. Madison and Monroe then doubted the power of Congress to "construct" roads with or without the consent of the States to be affected, as had Jefferson previously; but they recognized the efficacy of this policy and suggested a constitutional amendment that would legalize it. In Congress opinion on the question was closely divided, but the views of Clay and Calhoun that the power was not merely "adoptive," but "original" and "creative"—that the word "establish" meant to "construct" as well as to "designate"—finally prevailed, and a policy of construction of post-roads was inaugurated. The question of obtaining consent of the States was, at that time, of no serious moment, as the States affected by the scheme were, for the most part, clamoring for these roads, and as to some of them there were provisions in the Acts admitting them into the Union from which such consent could be fairly implied. It seems, however, to have been the settled opinion, even of the latitudinarians, that Congress could not construct roads through the territory of a State without having first obtained its consent.

The next and last class of legislation partaking in part of the exercise of this power is the Pacific Railways Acts and the Telegraph Act. In the early sixties, the Federal Government entered upon a policy of aiding in the construction of railroads connecting the Mississippi Valley with the Pacific Coast, the intervening territory consisting at that time almost entirely of the public domain. The Central Pacific R. R. Co. had been incorporated

* The reader is also referred to the case of *U. S. vs. Koehersperger* (1 Cad. Cas.), where the history of the postal service is gone into very thoroughly.

in 1861 by the State of California to build as far as the Eastern boundary of that State. In 1862, Congress incorporated the Union Pacific R. R. Co. and authorized it to construct a railway from a point in the territory of Nebraska to the western boundary of the territory of Nevada, to connect at the latter point with the Central Pacific and, if necessary to effect such a junction, to continue its construction through California "with the consent of said State"; the Act providing also for obtaining the consent of any other States through which the line might pass. The Act also authorized certain existing Companies to construct lines and connect with the Union Pacific; but as to one of these, the Kansas Pacific R. R. Co., no provision was made for obtaining State consent. In 1865, however, the legislature of Missouri gave its consent, the Company in the mean time having constructed part of its road in the territory of that State, apparently upon the assumption that the authority bestowed upon it by the Act of Congress was derived from the power to "regulate commerce," and that State consent was therefore unnecessary. The other Congressional railway incorporations following within the next four years do not consistently embody the principle of the necessity of State consent, possibly because of the opinion that these Acts were referable to the *commerce* power rather than to the *post-roads* power. The Telegraph Act, passed in 1866, authorized any telegraph company to construct and operate lines of telegraph over any portion of the public domain and along any post-roads, but it contained no provision for obtaining State consent. This, it is believed, is the latest exercise of the *post-roads* power in its creative sense.

Having thus shown the genesis of the power in question, and having traced its development in the legislative branch of the National Government, we observe two things: first, that it was the conviction of such members of the Federal Convention and other statesmen of that time, of whose opinions on the point there are any records, that it was a *designatory* power; and, secondly, that it subsequently came by practical construction to be regarded as a *creative* power, the exercise of which in that respect was at first believed to be dependent upon the consent of the States, and, later, not to be dependent upon such consent. Concerning this question of consent, it must appear upon a most superficial examination that, if a *creative* character is to be ascribed to it, the

efficiency of this power would be vitally impaired if its exercise could be wholly prevented by the caprice of a State. But, on the other hand, having full regard to its origin and the conditions under which it has received its practical construction, can it be fairly said that the National Government may exercise it within a State's territory in any manner it sees fit? Is not the correct view the one that the doctrine of State consent is to be qualified rather than eliminated?

In approaching this question let us, in order to give the greatest necessary effect to the *post-roads* power, assume that the *commerce* power never existed. Let us, then, suppose the case of a State with several railways in its territory connected with railways running through other States and operating under agreements for interchange of traffic with the latter, but, nevertheless, doing also a domestic business and operating under charters from the State in question, either original or in the nature of enabling Acts. Could the Federal Government, through a corporation of its own creation, in virtue of the *post-roads* power, take over these railroads by the exercise of eminent domain, against the wishes of the State? In giving consideration to this proposition, regard must be had to the essential nature of a railroad. A railroad chartered by a State is the instrument and agent of that sovereignty in discharging the public duty of transportation within its limits. In respect of transportation a State's power is supreme, and it is its duty to perform this function by highways, railroads or other approved methods. Instead, however, of undertaking the performance itself, it acts through public service corporations. But, though acting thus by delegation, it retains its sovereign interest in the highway, railway or waterway, as the case may be, to the same extent as in other public works directly owned and operated by it. To concede to Congress a power to condemn and take over the railways chartered by a State is not, as upon first impression it might seem, to concede to it the power to take *private* property upon making compensation, but it is to concede to it the power to assume ownership and control of the instruments of State sovereignty. And if, under the post-roads clause, this power be once asserted and sustained, it is not perceived where any limit could be logically placed upon its exercise. If Congress might thus take over a State's railways, by virtue of the power "to establish post-roads," it may seem at first blush

a fantastic, but it is none the less a logical conclusion that Congress could condemn a City-hall or even a State-house under its power "to establish post-offices."

A different proposition, however, might present itself were the National Government to authorize *de novo* the construction of a railway through the territory of a State. There might be some reason for denominating this a legitimate exercise of the *post-roads* power, even in spite of State opposition. It might be true that practical necessities attending such an enterprise would require condemnation of part of a State's railroad for the purpose of crossings; but this, in practice and in principle as well, is an entirely different thing from taking over the whole or any substantial portion of a State's instrument of internal administration.

It is believed that the only Supreme Court decision which gives even a slender support—and that, too, in a most indirect way—to the proposition that the Federal Government could acquire a proprietary interest in a State railroad, as in the first hypothetical instance, is the Pensacola Telegraph case, in which the Telegraph Act of 1866 is construed. In this case the State of Florida, having granted to the Pensacola Telegraph Co. a monopoly in certain of its territory, that Company sought to enjoin the Western Union Telegraph Co. from constructing and operating, in pursuance of the Act of 1866, a telegraph line along the line of a railroad traversing the territory to which the monopoly extended, which railroad, though chartered by the State of Florida, had been declared by Congress to be a post-road. The decision of the Court declining an injunction, might be regarded as implying a recognition of the right of Congress to exercise a proprietorship in the bed of the railroad against the consent of the State; that consent being deemed to have been constructively withheld by the original grant of monopoly to the plaintiff Company. But in the recent case of Western Union Telegraph Company *vs.* Pennsylvania R. R. Co. the Court, without discussing the question of Congressional power to grant such authority, held that the right to construct telegraph lines over post-roads, bestowed upon telegraph companies by the Act of 1866, did not imply the right of eminent domain.

A careful examination, however, of the Pensacola case, as well as of the other decisions ostensibly involving the *post-roads* power in its creative sense, will show that the actions of Con-

gress are attributed rather to the *commerce* power. In the Pensacola case, importance is given to the considerations that the transmission of intelligence by means of the telegraph is commerce, and that the State of Florida could not, without thwarting the legitimate exercise of the Federal commerce power, exclude from its limits a corporation engaged in this business when properly authorized by Congress; and the language of the opinion strongly indicates that these form the basis of the decision. Moreover, in the Pennsylvania Railroad case we find language strongly suggestive of the proposition that the Pensacola decision would extend only to *interstate* telegraphic communications; that is to say, that with respect to telegraphic messages entirely within the State limits, such a monopoly as was intended by the Florida statute would be upheld. In the decisions involving questions relating to the Pacific Railway corporations, the action of Congress has been principally attributed to its *commerce* power, and in the Wheeling Bridge case the legality of the bridge across the Ohio River, declared by Congress to be a post-road, was sustained not on that ground, but on the ground that it was a regulation of interstate commerce.

Beginning with the opinion of Chief-Justice Marshall in the case of *Gibbons vs. Ogden*, practically in the infancy of our national existence under the Constitution, the *commerce* power has been accorded the widest scope; and such a construction not only comports with the purpose of the States in surrendering this power, but with the importance attached to it by the founders of our Government. The exigencies of national affairs, as plainly foreseen in the abstract and since demonstrated in the concrete, require this construction, and a restricted interpretation would have resulted, no doubt, in national derangement, if not in disunion. The subject-matter to which it relates—interstate commerce—though broadened by the development of our civilization, nevertheless imposes limitations upon the exercise of that power that preserve to the States such of those sovereign powers as are requisite to a proper administration of their internal affairs; powers which, both by constitutional right and by practical necessity, ought to be preserved in their integrity. On the other hand, what limitations inherent in the *post-roads* power, if it be construed to vest in the Nation a control over railroads transporting the mails, irrespective of whether their business is, or is not,

interstate, exist to prevent Congress from imposing strictures upon the exercise of these sovereign State powers? It is conceded that within its legitimate confines the clause will apply to every avenue upon which the mails are carried by merely declaring such avenue to be a post-road. If, therefore, Congress might exercise a control over railroads, might it not exercise a like control over trolley systems, the streets of the cities, the highways of the States, all of which in their primary nature are essentially instruments of State sovereignty? Where would this control stop? It is difficult to perceive. For, under the guise of facilitating the postal service or keeping it up to the highest point of efficiency, there would seem to be no legal barrier to the scope of Congressional action, once the principle is asserted and sustained that Congress might exercise the control which is contemplated. The necessity of any Act which Congress might deem expedient to facilitate the postal service would not be subject to consideration by the Courts, because questions of expediency in legislation belong to the legislative and not to the judicial department of Government.

Is, then, the *post-roads* power to supersede the *commerce* power, as it certainly will if the construction proposed becomes effective? Is a power regarded by the founders of our Government as "in every view a harmless power" and surrendered by the States without question or deliberation, to be substituted for a power regarded by these founders as one vital to the Union and surrendered by some States only after considerable protest? Is a power heretofore rarely exercised, and then, too, always in a guarded manner and with due recognition of the rights of the States, over a century of national existence, to be given a broader scope than one which, during that period, has served to preserve the integrity of the Union, and which, for this purpose, is comprehensive enough to meet all the necessities of the future? The time may be close at hand when these questions will have to be answered.

J. WALTER LORD.

THE WEST-INDIAN AND AMERICAN NEGRO: A CONTRAST.

BY W. P. LIVINGSTONE.

AMERICANS who visit the West Indies for the first time invariably express surprise at the character of the relations they observe to exist between the whites and the negroes in the British islands. There does not appear to be much antipathy or friction between the two communities, their daily association is marked by friendliness and good humor, while race reprisal and mob law seem to be absolutely unknown. Is it possible, they ask, that a satisfactory solution of the problem which has become so acute and menacing in their own country has been arrived at in these colonies? Why, they say, should the conditions vary to such an extent in regions so closely contiguous and among races of precisely similar character?

Before attempting to answer these questions, it is necessary to emphasize the fact that the negro race is at present in the elementary stage of human evolution, and as impressionable as a child to external influences. The black man always becomes what he is made by his environment and the higher forces that press upon him. To realize the truth of this one has only to notice the variations in type which prevail throughout the West Indies. In the British islands the colored inhabitant has gradually become British in thought and habit; in Haiti he is a black Frenchman; in Cuba he has been moulded into a Spaniard. On the cosmopolitan Isthmus of Panama, one can often tell at a glance whence a negro worker has come, and on this being determined his mental and social qualities can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy. In what way, then, do the conditions which govern him in the United States vary from those which have brought about the results we see in the West Indies?

One of the chief, though not the most potent, of the factors in the situation is the racial nomenclature adopted. In the British West Indies, the dark-skinned population is graded into two distinct classes, the "colored" section of mixed parentage and the negroes of pure blood, the former being considered as on a higher racial plane than the latter. The same rule applies in Haiti and Spanish-American countries possessing similar race elements. Such a system naturally tends towards the separation of the two types, the creation of color-caste and the development of mutual jealousy and distrust. Whatever one may think of these results, they have the effect of weakening the power of combination among the members of the darker race, and of strengthening the solidarity and supremacy of the whites.

In America, on the other hand, there is no such differentiation. All who are connected by blood with the African race are designated "negroes," the term being applied even to persons who are, to all appearance, white in skin, and who are practically white in thought and temperament. Between these and the whites lies an impassable gulf: they are absolutely debarred from all friendly association with the people to whom they feel they have the greatest affinity. They and their children, though whiter still, are forced to take their place everywhere in black America as individuals belonging to an inferior and degraded race. Although resenting a classification which they consider illogical and unnatural, they have never been given any choice in the matter, and they have, at last, come to acquiesce in the arrangement. What is the result? It is leading to the unification of all Afro-Americans as no personal inclination or mutual persuasion could have done. The "colored" class, which contains the most intelligent and ambitious men of the race, has deliberately thrown in its lot with the black, and set itself to the task of educating and training them for the great struggle which, they believe, is to come. The system in the West Indies, more tolerant, is less dangerous to social and racial integrity.

It is not to be supposed, however, that racial feeling is absent in the West Indies. One does not mean race hatred, but that natural antipathy which regulates the relations of all widely separated people, the sentinel which keeps watch and ward over the purity of highly developed races. This principle governs the attitude of all classes. It is recognized that the white and the

black are essentially different in nature: that each has his own life to live and his own destiny to work out, independently, though not apart from one another, in the same way as master and servant, cultured and illiterate, mingle in an ordinary white community. The whites regard the negro as a primitive being, incapable as yet of standing alone, and adopt the attitude of trainers and teachers: the negroes are conscious of their inferiority and willingly fall into the position of learners.

Hence the lack of visible antagonism in their daily contact. They use the same railroad and street-cars and the same churches and schools, and "colored" men occupy most of the subordinate, and some of the higher, positions in the public service. The constables who maintain order throughout the community are all black or colored. Despite this close and constant contact at all points in the civil life, it is seldom that one hears of any conflict due entirely to the clash of racial prejudices. Yet keen observers are always able to detect a certain reserve behind the easy attitude assumed—a certain line of demarcation drawn instinctively by the self-consciousness of each race. Intimate relations do not, as a rule, exist. Intermarriage is of comparatively infrequent occurrence: it is chiefly confined to the fairer members of the "colored" class and rarely takes place between pure black and pure white.

Holding unassailed the position of racial superiors and masters in their own house, the British carry out the policy of training up the negroes for whatever position in the future they may be able to take by granting them a certain measure of political independence. Here, also, tolerance has proved the truest wisdom. The qualifications for the franchise are low enough to embrace all self-respecting and industrious citizens; but, as a matter of fact, very few take advantage of the benefit of going to the polls, though voting is absolutely unfettered and there is no intimidation. White men or lightly colored men are, as a rule, returned to the elective assemblies. In a very few cases negroes have been elected, but this has been due either to the fact that the white candidate has not commended himself to the general electorate or to the absence of such a candidate. So little interest is manifested in the elections that, in a recent case, a constituency remained unrepresented for some years because no one, negro or white, could be induced to come forward. Where-

ever a popular white man can be found, the negroes prefer him to one of their own race. So far, therefore, no harm has come from the concession of the vote. Having obtained it, they do not use it and are satisfied with the altruistic spirit and work of the governing race. The truth is that the negroes distrust their own power of collective action and prefer autocratic rule, so long as it is just and leaves them their freedom. The governments of negro republics, or republics with a large African element in the population, are usually dictatorships.

Very much the same feeling prevails among the negroes in the United States, their experiences having taught them the value of a centralized government, a beneficent despotism. When they plumped for President Roosevelt, it was the man, not the Republican party, for whom they voted. How, then, are the actual conditions so different from those in the West Indies? We have seen that the negro is there regarded as a ward, an inferior type, but capable of development, who has to be trained up for responsible citizenship. But in the United States he is legally equal, in all respects, to the white man. The Constitution has obliterated the color line, has placed the negro on a level with the higher race and has guaranteed him the enjoyment of the same privileges. It is an extraordinary policy, in line neither with natural law nor with the dictates of experience and common sense; and it is not surprising that the whites who live alongside of the negroes resolutely decline to accept the situation. On the other hand, one cannot blame the negroes, who are, it must be remembered, supported by a considerable body of white opinion in the North. They are simply claiming their constitutional rights; and, so long as these remain to them, they will continue to press for recognition and equal treatment. All who have the slenderest acquaintance with the philosophy of the negro question know, however, the inevitable result of such a situation. It means just what one sees in black America, the steady growth of passionate prejudice and hostility, culminating at frequent intervals in explosions of lawlessness that startle and shock the world. In the North, side by side with a general altruistic sentiment, there is a quiet but growing movement adverse to the social and economic advancement of the negro; in the Middle States, there is a stricter social ostracism and an active and open opposition to his political ascendancy, and in the South, along

with an uncompromising hostility to his social and political progress, there is a strong disposition to restrict his industrial development and to relegate him permanently to the position of a servile worker. This is a penalty he is paying for a privilege he possesses only in name. It would be perfectly just to say that the colored people of America are being sacrificed on the altar of the Constitution.

The next point of difference arises out of the conditions just mentioned. In the West Indies, with the status of the two peoples clearly defined, with political and economic freedom, with absolute justice administered in the courts, there is a complete absence of racial crime. The law is sure and inflexible, and punishment automatically follows the offence, be the delinquent white or black. It is not fear of consequences, however, which restrains the whites from resorting to violence, so much as the loss of self-respect it would involve. One does not wreak vengeance on a child. The sense of race superiority, of wardship, has the effect of making the whites rise above petty ebullitions of jealousy and hostility where the blacks are concerned. And, on the other hand, the innate respect for the whites, which nothing has so far tended to diminish, makes the negroes peculiarly pacific. Throughout the West Indies, there is no haunting dread of the negro, no necessity to go about armed or to safeguard the sanctity of one's home. The idea of protection against possible outrage never enters the mind of the white residents. One has to think of the circumstances in which they live to appreciate what this means. There are hundreds of white homes scattered throughout the interior districts where the women of the household are constantly being left to themselves for days, and even for weeks, surrounded only by a black community. But no one imagines that these women are in danger from the negroes. A white woman, in fact, can go anywhere alone and will receive nothing but humble deference and courtesy from every black man she meets. It is the occasional low-class white, stranded in the country, whom she has reason to fear.

What the conditions are in the United States are only too well known. The entire South is darkened by the shadow of mutual suspicion and outrage. No white woman cares to walk abroad without escort: every house has its stock of weapons and most persons carry a revolver for self-protection. Mob law, with its

accompaniments of strange barbarity, is of common occurrence. Social freedom is paralyzed, and in some districts the situation amounts to a reign of terror. All this is due to the false position in which the negroes have been placed, and which has compelled the whites to adopt, often against their will, an attitude of antagonism tempered by neglect. The blacks do not always get justice,—and there is nothing which they resent so keenly as the deprivation of this right. Their mistreatment, in one form or another, has succeeded in alienating them from the white race; they have lost all their reverence for it; and there is no check upon the development of the baser elements in their nature.

The object here is not to suggest remedies, but to make a comparison from which the reader may draw his own conclusions. It is necessary, however, to point out that the position of the white in America is more difficult in some respects than that of the white in the West Indies. That there is less hostility to the blacks in the latter sphere is not to be attributed altogether to the higher ethical principles dominating the actions of the British. Much is due to geographical conditions. The West-Indian negroes are far distant from the main body of British whites, and neither comes into direct contact and competition with the other. Compared with the great masses of colored inhabitants, the white residents in the islands are a mere handful. The former do not claim equality, and they accept whatever social honor the whites voluntarily grant them. Fundamental race antipathy exists there as elsewhere, but it is not accompanied by friction, because the political and social contact is not sufficiently close and the climate prevents anything like economic competition. But, if the proportions of the population were equalized and the climate more adapted for white men, as in the United States, we should find a different state of things. Despite altruistic considerations, the whites would probably be much less tolerant of the negro and more averse to his social advancement. The development of the British Empire has already furnished minor illustrations of what happens in such circumstances; and the situation now being produced in South Africa is likely to demonstrate, on a larger scale and in a more startling way, the tragic character of race contact and conflict even under more favorable conditions than those which prevail in the United States.

W. P. LIVINGSTONE,

SHIFTING THE BURDEN—COMPENSATION FOR INJURIES.

BY A. MAURICE LOW.

IN his latest speech at Jamestown, President Roosevelt advocated legislation by which a working-man injured in the course of his employment shall be compensated by his employer. This, in a few words, is the substance of the President's deliverance. Like all of Mr. Roosevelt's utterances, it has been severely condemned and with equal vigor commended. He has been accused of having enunciated "an entirely new and radical doctrine," of having advocated "a new kind of paternalism calculated to have a deadening effect upon the sense of individuality," of having advanced an argument "that smacks of socialism," of having given expression to views that are "demoralizing and degenerating to the very theory of our Constitution." Censure and praise are equally extreme. Mr. Roosevelt has made no discovery, he has not even elaborated an old theory; whether his doctrine is radical will depend upon the point of view. *En passant*, it is interesting to note that in political terminology the word "radical" means one thing in England and quite another thing in the United States; and what is "radical" in America is simply "progressive conservatism" in England. Every foreigner who has studied the United States sociologically is always amazed at the paradox of its conservatism. He is led to expect that this country will be the world's laboratory for experimenting in social legislation, that every theory will be tested to demonstrate its truth, and that the United States will lead in social legislation. On the contrary, he finds that Americans are much more cautious in undertaking social experiments than Europeans. A law placed on the statute-books by the Conservative party in England, as a logical development in the progress of society, is considered by many Americans

intensely radical, dangerously socialistic, in that it strikes at the very foundation of society and threatens not only the social order, but the destruction of national independence. It is presumed that Mr. Roosevelt is at least reasonably familiar with the official publications of his own Government, and Bulletins No. 32 and 70 of the Department of Labor will show that the scheme he advanced at Jamestown has been in operation in England for the past ten years. Whether it is advisable to borrow legislation of this character from England I shall not now discuss; but, in view of the attention given to the subject by serious-minded men, I propose briefly to explain the reasons which led to the adoption of the Act, the objects sought to be accomplished and its results.

To meet the issue frankly, let it be said at the outset that this is "class legislation" in its most extreme form, but in that it differs not in the least from the whole mass of "Protective Legislation" that for the last half-century has constituted the chief work of lawmakers the world over. By protective legislation the sociologist means those laws designed to protect the laborer, the wage-earning class, the men and women engaged in gainful operations, from the consequences of their own folly or ignorance and the cupidity or indifference of their employers. Laws restricting hours of labor or output, requiring proper sanitation in factories, providing for safety appliances in mines and railways, fencing machinery to safeguard employees, prohibiting the employment of children of tender age—these and all similar laws which we now regard as a matter of course first found their expression in England with the beginning of the factory system, and were acknowledged to be in the interest of a class—a class which the State was morally bound to protect because it was incapable of protecting itself. Space will not permit me to go into this branch of the subject at any length, and a recent bulletin of the Bureau of Labor (No. 70: "A Short History of Labor Legislation in England") traces in concise form the genesis and growth of this legislation; but two things must be emphasized. One is that, having had their inception purely in humanitarianism, it was not until long afterwards that the economic value of these laws was understood, and it took men many years to grasp what is now a truism, that there is a certain limit of physical endurance, and that, when that limit is reached, labor ceases to be profitable. In other words, it is cheaper to work a man

eight hours a day than it is to work him ten or twelve, because after he has worked eight hours he is mentally and physically fagged out and his work falls below the profitable standard. The other fact, of equal interest, is that at the beginning both employers and employees opposed the laws, the one believing that it would ruin them, and the other, that it was an interference with freedom of contract, and hampered them in the sale of their only commodity, their labor. Both theories have been proved to be fallacious.

The British Workmen's Compensation Act, which came into operation on July 1st, 1898, both destroyed and created—it struck down, in effect, although not in expressed terms—the pernicious common-law doctrine of “common employment,” and it laid an obligation upon the employer to succor his employees when in distress. The doctrine of “common employment,” which the courts of this country recognize, relieves an employer of liability for an injury caused to a person in his employment if the injury was the result of the negligence of another person also in his employment. Thus, if a man employed by a railway company in New York to couple cars does his work so negligently that, when those cars are uncoupled in Chicago, the employee there must inevitably have his hand crushed, under the common-law doctrine of “common employment” he has no remedy against the railway company, as the man in New York and the man in Chicago are “fellow servants,” and each assumes the risk of negligence on the part of the other—a doctrine manifestly unjust. The common law has further protected the employer by the application of the principle of “*volenti non fit injuria*.” If the employer can prove that the employee was injured in the course of his occupation by a risk which it is inferred the workman must have known, the employer is relieved of liability. To succeed in an action at common law for an injury caused by defective plant, it would be necessary to prove that the employer knew, but the workman was ignorant of the defect which caused the injury. A further obstacle to the recovery of damages by a workman in an action at common law is the defense of “contributory negligence”; the law holding that, if the injury was caused through the combined negligence of both parties, the injured person cannot recover. Thus, it might be the duty of a workman to clean a machine in motion, and the owner of the

machine might not have equipped it with a safety device to prevent accident; yet, although the workman might be maimed for life because of the parsimony or indifference of the employer, it might be easy for him to show negligence on the part of the workman, and under the common law doctrine of contributory negligence the workman could obtain no redress.

It will be seen, therefore, that while, theoretically, the law of England gave a workman protection and compensation when he met with an accident in the course of his occupation, in point of fact he seldom if ever was able to obtain redress. The doctrines of common employment, *volenti non fit injuria* and contributory negligence were ramparts about the employer that the working-man was unable to overthrow. The injustice of this was so apparent that an agitation began for an amendment to the law that would place employer and employee more nearly on an equality. It was not until 1880 that this agitation bore fruit in the passage of the Employer's Liability Act, which makes an employer liable for injury to a person in his employ when the injury is caused by defective plant or machinery or the negligence of persons entrusted with superintendence. But that law really did little to correct the evils it was designed to meet. It was, in the first place, difficult to prove negligence; many accidents are not due to negligence, but are an unavoidable incident arising out of the occupation; and as most employers refused voluntarily to make compensation, the result was costly and uncertain litigation. Speaking generally, it may be said that the working-man was little better off after the passage of the Employer's Liability Act than he was before.

When the Act was found to be unsatisfactory, numerous attempts were made to secure its amendment, which principally took the form of the abolition of the principle of "common employment." In 1893, Mr. Asquith, the Home Secretary, representing the Government of the day, brought in a bill for that purpose, which after passage by the Commons was rejected by the Lords. That bill finally grew into the Workmen's Compensation Act in the form of an amendment moved by Mr. Chamberlain, in 1897, "that no amendment of the law relating to employer's liability will be final or satisfactory which does not provide compensation to workmen for all injuries sustained in the ordinary course of their employment, not caused by their own

act or default." This is the principle of the law as it now stands. "It is difficult to overrate the boldness or importance of the step then taken by the legislature," is the statement made by a departmental committee appointed by the Secretary of State for Home Affairs in 1903 to inquire into the workings of the law.

It has already been observed that, in the long struggle between humanitarianism and cupidity and criminal indifference, when a finer ethical conception and a wider knowledge of the duties of society induced a small number of men to bring about the passage of protective legislation, that legislation was always opposed both by masters and workmen, because both believed the burden would fall on them. It was so in this case. Prior to the passage of the law, Mr. John Wilson, a member of Parliament and secretary of the Durham Coal Miners' Association, in a circular issued to his Association said, supposing a scheme of compensation adopted, the money will no more come from the employer than "the water we drink comes from the tap or the pipe it flows out of. It may run out of the tap, but it must come from the spring or other source. So the money paid will come from the spring of the employer's wealth—the labor of the workman."

Manufacturers and the employers of labor generally saw in this law, if not their ruin, at least a very heavy reduction of their profits. They did not agree with Mr. Wilson that the money paid in compensation would "come from the spring of the employer's wealth—the labor of the workman"; on the contrary, they held it would come out of their own pockets. The colliery proprietors, for example, asserted that the proposed law would impose a charge equivalent to three pence per ton on every ton of coal mined, or an annual charge of £2,375,000. When the bill was pending in the House of Commons, Mr. Asquith agreed with Mr. Wilson, and suggested that, inasmuch as a large share of the burden would fall upon wages, the workmen would gain little benefit. Mr. Chamberlain replying to Mr. Asquith said that, admitting the correctness of the argument, "every addition to the cost of manufacture must come out of wages, which, I think, will reduce the argument to an absurdity." In the course of the same debate he said: "We have provided for those who are injured by no fault of their own, but we have gone beyond that, because we have provided for those who have contributed to the accident from which they suffer."

The law provides that a workman injured in the course of his occupation, when that injury is not due to any violation of the rules and regulations established and approved by the proper authorities for the conduct of the business, whether or not that accident was due to the default or negligence of the employer, shall be compensated by him as follows: In case death results from the injury and the workman leaves dependents wholly dependent upon his earnings, a sum equal to three years' wages, or £150, whichever sum is larger, but in no case to exceed £300; in case of partial dependence, a sum not exceeding the amount payable for total dependency as may be agreed upon or determined; in case of total incapacity, a weekly payment during the entire time of incapacity equivalent to one-half the weekly earnings, but not to exceed one pound. Practically, a working-man totally disabled and unable to earn his living in his regular trade is given a pension for life on half wages, except in those cases where his wages exceeded two pounds a week, as the maximum pension is limited to one pound, but the employer has the option to commute the pension by the payment of a lump sum. In the case of partial incapacity, a sum not exceeding one-half the wages shall be paid during the period of incapacity, but the amount the workman is able to earn may be regarded as a set-off and the employer's contribution reduced accordingly. The law works automatically.

Having thus explained the motives that induced the legislature to enact the law, and the objects sought to be attained, we must now consider three aspects of the subject, namely: Is it the duty of the State to provide for those unable to provide for themselves; and what are the economic and sociologic effects of State interference and assistance?

The first question—the duty of the State to furnish assistance—cannot be answered dogmatically, because the answer to it will be determined by the conception every person has of the proper relation existing between the State, representing society as a whole, and the individual—which is a conception biased by political and other considerations. To those who believe that the State is something more than a “big policeman,” and that the State is remiss in its duties when it is content merely to provide prisons and hospitals, the principle exemplified by the Workmen's Compensation Act is logically the proper development of the highest

form of social duty; to those who hold to the contrary and believe that the best-governed state is the least-governed state, the liability thrown on the employer for compensation to his workmen may well be regarded "a pernicious doctrine." As the question, in this connection, is academic no profitable end can be gained by its discussion at this time. But when we approach the other phase of the question—the effect of the law sociologically and economically—we are on surer ground.

The test of every law is time—the experience which proves whether philosophically the law meets a demand or is merely the unconsidered expression of momentary excitement; and the supreme test of all economic laws is the response to the demands made upon it in a time of a falling market. In other words, an economic law is like a ship whose buoyancy and stability and general seaworthiness can only be proved, not when it lies at anchor, but when it has been buffeted by wind and wave. In a rising market, when the times are good and labor is scarce, every pseudo-economic law justifies itself, as the most unseaworthy craft does in fair weather; but it is only in time of stress that we are able really to discover whether a law is economically sound or an assumption predicated on false principles. The Workmen's Compensation Act has not received such a thorough test as would enable us to speak with conviction as to its economic workings, because since its passage the United Kingdom has enjoyed great prosperity, and in England, as in this country, the demand both for products and labor has fully kept pace with the supply.

Two years after the passage of the law, in 1900, the writer made in England and Scotland a study of its operations for the United States Bureau of Labor; and last year, as an incident to another sociological investigation, he paid some attention to its workings, to ascertain to what extent his conclusions of 1900 should be modified. In the report of that year it was stated:

"During the brief period the law has been in force there has been a demand greater than the output for nearly all forms of manufactured articles, and labor has found steady and remunerative employment at constantly increasing wages. In some trades there has been a scarcity of labor, especially since the outbreak of hostilities in South Africa, which seriously affected the labor market by the withdrawal of men from gainful occupations to join the colors. This fact cannot be too strongly emphasized. Both employers and employees agree that the real

merits and defects of the law, its advantages and disadvantages, can only be determined when there is a time of stress, when capital cannot find a productive return, and when labor cannot find employment and the wage scale declines."

With the insufficient data then in possession of the writer, it was only possible to reach one conclusion, that the cost of compensation had not been a tax laid upon the working-men in so far as it imposed a charge upon his wages, as wages instead of having decreased since the law came into effect were higher than before its passage; but it must be repeated that not one but many things affect the level of wages. The natural assumption, then, would be that, as compensation had cost the working-man nothing, the full burden had fallen upon the employer, which is an assumption justified only in part. In estimating the cost of production, a manufacturer calculates the cost of raw material, labor, interest on his capital, expense of distribution and factory and office charges, rent, insurance, advertising, etc. Assuming that compensation to workmen is equivalent to five per cent. (this estimate, of course, is purely arbitrary) of the annual wage roll, here is a fixed sum which must come either out of profits or be added to the selling-price. It may often happen, however, that the consumer will not bear the whole cost, as part of it will be taken up in the slack of the chain of industry. From the producer of the raw material to the consumer every article of commerce passes through many hands, every transaction increasing the cost, but also permitting a specific charge incident to production to be widely distributed. But, even if the whole charge fell upon the consumer, which is only another term for the public at large, it would be merely shifting the burden from the shoulders of the individual to the shoulders of many individuals, and the many are better able to bear the burden than the one. Facing facts frankly as they exist, we are forced to recognize that the working-man as a class is financially unable (whether because of improvidence or misfortune, we need not now consider) to bear without outside assistance the strain of illness long continued. Whether the workman goes to a hospital which is maintained by the general taxes of the community, whether he is supported by the contribution of his fellow workmen, whether he is the recipient of charity, it is immaterial in what form the assistance is rendered, the cost falls not on himself, but is assumed by a

limited number of persons. By the statutory enactment the number of persons is unlimited; their limit is only the number of consumers, and each bears his part in sustaining the burden of his fellow. In the report of the departmental committee to which reference has already been made, the conclusion is reached that, "on the whole, we think, the verdict must be favorable to the Act. In other words, we think that great advantages to the workmen have been obtained without imposing any undue pecuniary burden upon the employers."

We have now to consider the sociological effect of the law, and in that connection an important economic-sociologic phase. Is it for the general advantage of society that a workman shall be pensioned when incapacitated in the line of duty, or is it better for himself individually and for society in the aggregate that, when injured, he shall be cast adrift to shift for himself? Here again the answer will be dictated by the teachings of political philosophy. To the disciples of the Manchester School, who preach the doctrine of *laissez-faire* and whose ideal of the State is a stony-hearted stepmother deaf to the cries and blind to the tears of her unfortunate children, State interference is maudlin sentiment destructive to manhood and independence, but the modern view of the duty of the State is more humane, and is actuated by an intelligent selfishness represented by the formula that what is good for one is best for all. We begin by the recognition of a moral obligation, the acknowledgment that those who, by the accident of nature or even by their own laches, are less fortunate must, in a sense, be taken care of by the more fortunate; but in so doing no prop is withdrawn from them, nothing is done to break down their resistance or initiative. If suffering comes to them, suffering is to be relieved; but no premium is to be placed upon suffering, malingering is not to be rewarded. "It may be that the employer finds some compensation," the report of the departmental committee says, "in the improved relations with his workmen, or in the advantages that result from a clear and definite obligation imposed on all employers engaged in the industry, instead of the more indefinite moral obligations which, previous to the legislation in question, were felt to be binding by good employers, but were neglected by bad."

The working of the law has had one effect which probably

no one was wise enough to foresee at the time of its passage. It has, without question, made it more difficult for the old and infirm to obtain employment, and these difficulties will increase whenever the labor market is redundant—that is, whenever trade is slack and there are more men seeking employment than there is work for them to perform. The reason for this is obvious. A man whose faculties are dimmed and whose muscles are relaxed, a man past the prime of life, is more liable to meet with an accident in a trade requiring great alertness of eye, hand or step than a younger man; and, with the fear of compensation always before him, the employer will naturally select the man with the greatest percentage of chances in his favor. In the old days, it made no difference. If a man fell from a scaffold and broke his back or his leg, the employer was under no legal obligation to compensate his dependents or care for him during sickness, but now he cannot escape from this obligation, so that, when the labor supply is plentiful, the selective process will be employed and only those most fit will industrially survive. In the 1900 Report to which I have previously referred, I said:

“This [the discrimination against men beyond a certain age] has been referred to without bitterness, but as a fact, an unfortunate but perhaps unavoidable corollary to the effort made to improve general conditions, which, as a general thing, bring about ‘the greatest good for the greatest number,’ but incidentally, in the process of adjustment, before its accomplishment entails some suffering on the minority.”

The departmental committee was sensibly impressed by this effect of the law. “The evidence has led us to the conclusion,” the committee said, “that the Workmen’s Compensation Acts have largely increased the difficulties of old men finding and retaining employment. We fear the tendency is for these difficulties to grow.”

Admittedly, the law is still an experiment; but it is an experiment that so far has worked well, and employers as well as employed agree that it has served a useful purpose. Experience may prove that, to prevent oppression and to convey the fullest benefits, the law will need to be amended; but one may assert, with due regard for the danger of vaticination before the event, that the Workmen’s Compensation Act has been written into the statute-book of England not to be effaced.

A. MAURICE LOW.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX AND EDWARD PORRITT.

MAXIM GORKI'S "MOTHER."*

WHAT a strange, new world we enter when we open a book of Maxim Gorki's! A new planet and a strange, unheard-of language could hardly be a greater adventure than to turn from our current novel to these stern, sad, disconnected pictures of life, these crowds of people, just emerging from barbarism, half awake, questioning life for its significance with such gravity, such solemn earnestness. One looks over a heap of current novels and one finds a story of impersonation and the threadbare device of an exchange of babies in infancy; another offers a convict escaping from penal servitude and succeeding to a baronetcy; another is a tale of an idle rich young man, who learns to speculate boldly on the stock exchange, makes a lot of money and marries the girl he wants; still another is a tale of a woman who marries the wrong man and finds herself in love with another; the husband disappears and she marries the right man only to be upset by the reappearance of the first husband, who then dies in the nick of time and leaves the happy couple reunited and rejoicing. How little, how personal and how absurd it all seems when one has just closed a great book of living ideals. If one turn to the two most serious novels of the last two years, one finds that one deals with a young girl whose highest striving is to keep up with smart society, and in this attempt she loses money and reputation and kills herself; another shows a young woman fascinated by the pomps and glories of the flesh, in love with a well-nourished, well-dressed body and the security and bravado of worldliness, and from these she turns to a man who has at least won to peace

* "Mother." By Maxim Gorki. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

with his own soul. As we set Gorki's "Mother" against such themes as these, we do, indeed, seem to enter a new and different circle of existence. Can it be true, that the new and higher form of consciousness, that consciousness which is social and not personal, is to come to us from the least civilized of lands?

Gorki presents us with a manifold scene, with a great number of characters, almost impossible, with their unpronounceable names, to commit to memory, but all living for an ideal, all ready to court danger and death for the ideal, the liberation of the lower classes. "It's the masters who take pleasure in Christ as he groans on the cross. . . . They destroy lives with work. What for? They rob men of their lives. What for, I ask? My master—I lost my life in the textile mill of Nefidov—my master presented one prima donna with a golden wash-basin. Every one of her toilet articles was gold. That basin holds my life-blood, my very life. That's for what my life went! A man killed me with work in order to comfort his mistress with my blood. He bought her a gold wash-basin with my blood." "Man is created in the image of God," said Yefim, smiling. "And that's the use to which they put the image."

Picture after picture of the degradation, the misery, the suffering, of the poor passes before us, and amongst them, gentle, silent almost to dumbness, slowly growing in courage and comprehension, moves the heroine, the mother, young, and beautiful, and winning, and gay? No, she is old even when the story opens. "She was silent and had always lived in anxious expectation of blows. She was tall and somewhat stooping. Her heavy body, broken down with long years of toil and the beatings of her husband, moved about noiselessly and inclined to one side as if she were in constant fear of knocking up against something. Her broad, oval face, wrinkled and puffy, was lighted up by a pair of dark eyes, troubled and melancholy as those of most of the women of the village. On her right eyebrow was a deep scar, which turned the eyebrow up a little; her right ear seemed to be higher than the left, which gave her face the appearance of alarmed listening. Gray locks glistened in her thick, dark hair like the imprints of heavy blows. Altogether she was soft, melancholy and submissive." How strange a heroine for a novel. The description alone is enough to tell us that we are dealing not with a weaver of fine tales and romantic adventures, but with

a stern psychologist who watches every motion intently, to see the throes that bring a conscious soul to the birth.

"When a man grows scabby," Rybin roughly says, "take him to the bath, give him a thorough cleaning, put clean clothes on him—and he will get well. Isn't it so? And if the heart grows scabby, take its skin off, even if it bleeds, wash it and dress it up all afresh. Isn't it so? How else can you clean the inner man? There now!"

The mother who had lived a dumb, half-awakened existence, her chief concern to ward off beatings, comes slowly to consciousness as she watches her son and grows to know his comrades, all of whom are giving their lives to organizing and instructing the people. "Life altogether is not as it used to be," she says, pathetically. "And the terror is different from the old terror. You feel a pity for everybody and you are alarmed for everybody! And the heart is different. The soul has opened its eyes; it looks on and is sad and glad at the same time. . . . Sometimes at night my thoughts wander off to my past. I think of my youthful strength trampled under foot, of my heart torn and beaten, and I feel sorry for myself and embittered. But for all that I live better now, I see myself more and more, I feel myself more."

It is this that Gorki traces, the soul feeling itself more and more until it lives its life in the lives of others until we begin to foresee a time when people will take delight in one another, when each will be like a star to the other and when each will listen to his fellow as to music. When free men will walk upon earth, and the heart of each shall be purged of envy and greed and life will be one long, glad service to man.

It is in the service to the cause that the mother is killed, shortly after her son has been condemned to exile, she is choked to death by the gend'arme as she stammers, "You poor, sorry creatures."

The writing of this novel is a great gain upon "Foma Gordyeff"; it is more curt and stern, and yet more keenly alive and has an even greater wealth of detail. In its mastery of detail, in the miraculous way in which the author eliminates himself and looks at life through the eyes of another, it reminds one of that masterpiece "Madame Bovary"; but how different, how many worlds and worlds away does the theme lie.

This is a great and a serious book; it has exquisite description and idealization of nature, and yet it has the flaw which Maxim

Gorki has himself pointed out in all his work: it does not give us joy. Those who have seen the stern, sad face of this master, still less than forty years old, those who know how deliberately he has laid down his young brave life for this cause and its propaganda, know, too, that all the playtime of art has been denied him, and only great solemnity and exaltation can fit themselves into his sad outcries to humanity.

LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX.

A BOOK WITH A HISTORY.

WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR'S "COMMENTARY ON THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF FOX."*

EXCEPT for anecdote concerning the humble origin of the Fox family, which is so gross that it will not admit of reprinting, it cannot be said that Walter Savage Landor's "Commentary on the Life and Character of Charles James Fox," written as far back as 1811, but now for the first time published, adds anything to what is already known of the famous Whig statesman. Yet the disinterment of the solitary surviving copy of the impression that was printed in 1812, but not then published, was abundantly well worth the painstaking labor that Mr. Stephen Wheeler has bestowed upon it; for in its present form the Commentary has both a literary and a political value. On its purely literary side it will make an appeal to admirers of Landor who appreciate his vigorous and unconventional prose; while as regards its political aspects the value of the Commentary lies first in the abundant proof it affords of Landor's sympathy with the United States; and in the second place in its characterization of men and conditions in what was possibly the worst period of modern English political history—in his view of men and political parties in the sombre period in English politics which lies between the American Revolution and the end of the reign of George III.

It is not difficult to understand why John Murray was willing to resort to extreme expedients to get the Commentary off his hands—to prevent it from going out into the world with the Murray imprint. The wonder is that the book ever passed from

* "Charles James Fox, A Commentary on His Life and Character." By Walter Savage Landor. Edited by Stephen Wheeler. London: John Murray. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Murray's desk into the printer's hands; for Murray was closely associated with many of the foremost statesmen and politicians of the Tory party, and in 1811 and 1812 Canning, Croker and others of the Tory politicians, who were handy with their pens, were associated with him in the management of the *Quarterly Review*, then, much more than now, the organ of the Tory party and the literary mainstay of British Toryism. It was through the influence of Southey that John Murray, in 1811, published Landor's "Count Julian: A Tragedy"; and in the same year Landor sent his Commentary on Trotter's fulsome Memoirs of Charles James Fox to Murray, without mentioning it to Southey. Murray sent the manuscript to the printers without reading it; and the volume was ready for the booksellers in February, 1812, before its character and the trouble which would surely have attended its wide publication had dawned on Murray. At this stage Murray sent a copy of the book—the copy that has survived in the Earl of Crève's library and which Mr. Wheeler has used for the present reissue—to Southey, who was soon in correspondence with Landor as to the urgent need of making some changes. "I could not lie down this night with an easy conscience," Southey wrote to Landor, on February 12th, 1812, "if I did not beseech you to suspend the publication till you have cancelled some of the passages." There was, indeed, much in the volume that might cause Murray alarm; but the publisher seems to have objected most strongly to Landor's dedication of the work to Madison, the President of the United States. Landor was unable to appreciate Murray's dread on this score. He regarded his dedication as a very temperate effusion; he reminded Southey that war had not at this time been declared—as a matter of fact, hostilities did not begin until the summer of 1812—and Landor pleaded with Southey that he wished to point out what harm a war between Great Britain and the United States would do to America. "How deplorable," Landor urged, "that free men should contend with the free."

Gifford, who was the editor of the *Quarterly Review*, and as such closely associated with Murray, had read the dedication, and had promptly unburdened himself to Murray with regard to it. "I never," he told Murray, "read so rascally a thing as the Dedication. It is almost too bad for the Eatons and other publishers of mad democratic books. In the pamphlet itself there

are many clever hits; but there is no taste and little judgment. His attacks on private men are very bad. Those on Mr. C. (Canning) are too stupid to do much harm, or indeed any. The Dedication is the most abject piece of business that I ever read. It shows Landor to have had a most rancorous and malicious heart. Nothing but a rooted hatred of his country could have made him dedicate his Jacobinical book to the most contemptible wretch that ever crept into authority, and whose only recommendation to him is his implacable enmity to his country. I think you might write to Southey; but I would not on any account have you publish such a scoundrel address."

As late as February 21st, Mr. Murray had not acted on Gifford's advice to work through Southey for the suppression of the book; but in a second letter—dated February 21st—Southey advanced a new and remarkable reason against the Dedication to Madison. It was that the President was in the pay of Bonaparte. "The American Government," wrote Southey, "dream of conquering Canada on the one hand and Mexico on the other; and happy would Bonaparte be if he could see them doing his work." Beside the Dedication, in Southey's opinion, the book was full of perilous stuff; for there were passages which were distinctly actionable, or likely, if published, to give Landor cause for regret. By March 12th, 1812, Landor had learned that Murray was disposed to suppress the book, "whether for pay or prejudice," he wrote Southey, "I cannot tell." As for Southey's suspicions about Madison, Landor assured him that he could never believe that the President was in Bonaparte's pay, or that Americans need be paid to resent the indignities and hardships they had suffered under Great Britain's maritime laws. Landor urged further, in this correspondence with Southey, that the orders in council ought to have been revoked; and maintained that war between England and America would be a civil war—"a detestable thing, only to be pardoned when there was some serious and perfidious tyrant to be brought to justice."

Towards the end of February, Murray acted on Gifford's advice and was in communication with Southey as to how he could best relieve himself of the burden and responsibility of the Commentary. He was anxious to hand over the book to some other publisher—into whose hands he was ready to deliver the volumes ready for publication, and with whom he would settle for Landor.

"This," said Southey, in urging Murray's predicament on Landor, "is purely a matter of feeling and not of fear. He is, on the score of the *Quarterly Review*, under obligations to Canning, and would on that account have refused to publish any personal attack on him. The manuscript he never read; looking forward to the perusal of the book as a pleasure. What he wishes will be no inconvenience to you; and no doubt you will readily assent to it." Even at this late stage, Landor did not see matters in the same light as Southey. So far from regarding the proposed transference to another publisher as no inconvenience to him, Landor threatened to borrow five thousand pounds and start a private printing-press whence could be issued, without the aid or obstruction of publishers, pamphlets which would set the public mind more erect, and throw ministerial factions into the dust.

In the end, however, the book was suppressed by Landor; and the only copy that has survived of the impression of 1812 is the one that Murray sent to Southey. This went into the possession of Monckton Milnes, afterwards Lord Houghton, father of the Earl of Crewe, to whom Mr. Wheeler is indebted for the use which has been made of it in bringing out the present volume. By the suppression of the book in 1812 Landor's contemporaries lost some exceedingly piquant expressions of his views on statesmen and politicians of both parties—for the volume deals by no means exclusively with Fox and the memoirs which were compiled by the sycophant Trotter. Had the Commentary been published in 1812 it would assuredly have been largely drawn upon for the popular literature of the movement for Parliamentary Reform. It could not have failed to be of service to that great and long-retarded movement; for of all writers between the French Revolution and 1832 there was not one who was more dead in earnest for reform than Landor; nor one who had a greater contempt for the Whigs and their attitude towards Reform and all other political movements of a democratic tendency.

The reformers of the period between 1812 and 1832 lost the advantage which would have accrued to their movement from the publication of the Commentary; and both Murray and Landor, by the suppression of the book, saved themselves from numerous suits for libel. Much of what Landor wrote of Fox, Dundas, Grey, Rose and the Grenvilles was not far from the truth. Few English politicians of that era, when the rule of the aristocratic

families was at about its worst, when, as Landor asserts, members of the House of Commons, who were brothers and sons of noblemen, "sat and rose only for places and pensions," and when "their very seats were commercial," could have stood the tests that are applied to English politicians to-day—tests that make self-seeking and graft exceedingly dangerous if not almost impossible. But public opinion in England in 1812 was not what it is to-day; and it would have fared ill with Landor and his publisher had the Commentary brought them—as it most surely would have done—into the law courts.

The substance of much of what Landor wrote in 1811 has found its way by this time into the histories or the political diaries which have long ago been published. There is, as was said at the outset, little that is new in this disinterred volume. It will be read not for any new light that it throws on English political history, but in order to ascertain Landor's point of view, and for the enjoyment of Landor's prose. Southey could not possibly have had any sympathy with Landor's politics; but for the sake of Landor's prose, his regret was sincere that there seemed to be no middle course, and that the book was to be suppressed. "Your prose," he wrote to Landor, when he was counselling him not to dedicate the book to Madison, and was urging other changes to avoid libel actions, "is as much your own as your poetry. There is a life and vigor in it to which I know no parallel. It has the poignancy of champagne, and the body of English October." Landor's admirers of to-day have lost but little by the long suppression of the book; for no editor who had disinterred the volume of 1811-12 could have given it a better setting—introduction and notes—than Mr. Wheeler.

EDWARD PORRITT.

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: ST. PETERSBURG.

LONDON, *June, 1907.*

ONE of the pleasantest events of the month in England has been Mark Twain's visit. The veteran author has received, and as I write is still receiving, the most affectionate welcome from all classes of Englishmen that any writer of my times has met with. The King has singled him out for special attentions; his name is a standing head-line in the London journals, which daily entertain their readers with a half column or so of the good things that Mark Twain said or should have said or might be conceived as saying; he has been the guest of honor at a dinner given by the American Ambassador and attended by many of the choicest spirits in English letters, art and journalism; an abundance of private hospitality, far more, indeed, than he could accept, has been offered to him; that most agreeable of Anglo-American institutions, the Pilgrims' Club, has entertained him at luncheon; and Oxford in conferring a degree upon him was never, in the words of an English writer, "more truly representative of the nation than in thus honoring the most distinctive figure in the world of English letters." Mark Twain must by now be as well used to public admiration as any man living, but in the greetings showered upon him in England, there has been a quality of intimate tenderness, a sort of proprietary pride, that cannot but have moved him profoundly. There is that in his writings which draws readers as much to the man as to the author, and it is not merely for his books, but for the spirit and character revealed in them and for all they have heard of his life and its trials and triumphs, that Englishmen love Mark Twain with an ardor very little below that of his own countrymen. For a generation at least he has been to England the supreme

example of humor in its most piquant, most American form, and the unrivalled guardian, since Charles Dickens died, of the sources of deep, human, elemental laughter. It is possible, indeed, that Englishmen have profited by just the shade of mental difference that separates the two peoples to extract from Mark Twain's humor a more exquisite relish than even the Americans themselves, for whom its flavor can scarcely have the charm of an exotic. It is, at any rate, mainly as a humorist that Mark Twain has taken his place as a popular classic. But you will also find in England a ready and intelligent appreciation of all the other qualities of mind and heart that raise him so far above the level of the mere professional humorist—his masculinity, the idealism that underlies so oddly and acceptably his merry, clear-eyed, half-misanthropical cynicism, his unquenchable faith in women and democracy, the constancy and the vigor of his fight against whatever is pretentious and ignoble, and the abiding sympathy that enables him to read with equal clarity the heart of a harum-scarum American boy and of such a character as Joan of Arc. And if they need, which they do not, any further excuse for acclaiming Mark Twain, Englishmen find it and avow it in two things. One is their knowledge of the financial catastrophe that overtook him when nearly in his sixtieth year, and of the heroic spirit in which that catastrophe was faced. The other is their consciousness that, in honoring Mark Twain, they are honoring the national author *par excellence* of the United States—the man who, both in his writings and in himself, typifies all that is best in the many-sided American spirit, and whom the American people would unanimously pick out as their most characteristic and representative author. Englishmen, in short, have felt urged by a unique combination of impulses to make of Mark Twain's visit an occasion for the display of their national regard for his genius and of their affection for his character; and their homage must, I should imagine, have been peculiarly gratifying both to its recipient and to the American people.

Things are not going very well with the Government. That is, not so much because the Government is a bad one as because it is a Liberal one. The essence of Liberalism is impatience, and no one with any experience of politics will expect three or four hundred men to be impatient with the same things at the same

time and in the same way. They are far more likely to end in developing an excessive impatience with one another. That has always been the failing and the pitfall of the English Liberals. They are still, as they have been for nearly half a century, a congeries of enthusiastic and ill-regulated groups rather than a united and harmonious confederation. Each section has its own pet measure which it regards as of preeminent importance and the claims of which it is apt to press with all too slight a deference to the general interest of the party. And just now all sections are filled with the utmost reforming vigor. They have come back to power after nearly twenty years in opposition, with a negative mandate to preserve free trade, with a positive mandate to effect certain far-reaching changes in the social structure of the country. They are eager to get to work and "do things." Thus, the Nonconformists want an Education Bill; the Temperance group clamors for an amendment of the Licensing Acts; the Irish Nationalists demand a new Land Act, the establishment of a Catholic University, a measure restoring to their holdings the "wounded heroes of the land war" who are less grandiloquently known as the "evicted tenants," and as much of Home Rule as they can extort from the Government; the Welsh members are set upon the disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales; the Labor party has a whole host of measures, such as a Miners' Eight-Hours Bill, old-age pensions, a new housing act and a revolution in the English system of land tenure. At the same time a Liberal Government has to think of the Whigs, who invariably grow fidgety when the "rights of property" are attacked, and has also to think of the reception its measures are likely to meet with at the hands of the Lords.

A Government so harassed is bound to fall a peculiarly easy victim to the temptation which besets all Governments, of overloading its programme and of attempting more than it can possibly perform. Every session sees a vast "slaughter of the innocents"—the dropping, in other words, of most of the measures announced in the King's Speech. This session the slaughter has been somewhat heavier than usual. The Prime Minister early in June announced that, after the rejection of the Irish Council Bill by the Dublin Convention, the measure would not be proceeded with; that the Irish University Bill would have to be postponed to next year; that the Licensing Bill would also

have to be dropped, but would hold the first place on the Government's programme next session; and, most important of all, that the Passive Resister's Bill would likewise be withdrawn and that its place would be taken in 1908 by a second comprehensive attempt to solve the Education question. There is to be no autumn session this year; but, on the other hand, the Prime Minister has given notice that the House will not rise for the holidays until the measures that have not been jettisoned and that still remain on the Government's programme have been carried. These include the two Bills for encouraging small holdings both in England and Scotland, the Army Bill, which has passed its third reading in the House of Commons and is now recognized as the most thoughtful and thorough scheme of army reorganization that has ever been presented to Parliament, two Land Valuation bills for England and Scotland, an Irish Evicted Tenants Bill, an English Working-class Housing Bill, a Court of Criminal Appeal Bill, a Patent Law Reform Bill and a Mines Eight-Hours Bill.

What, however, is particularly worth noticing about it is that it maps out the work not only of this session, but of the next, and that it includes a new Education Bill. The first Education Bill, I need hardly remind my readers, was thrown out by the Lords. The second Education Bill in its provisions and the principles that guide it will be like unto the first. If it meets with a similar fate, if the Lords again reject it, the Government will either have to make an immediate appeal to the country or suffer a tremendous loss of prestige. That is a possibility which makes it not unlikely that the autumn of next year may find us plunged into another General Election, with the House of Lords question and the school question joining hands to form the predominant issue. For the present, however, I merely wish to register the fact that no section of the Liberal party considers itself to have been treated quite fairly in the distribution of the Government's programme. Indeed, were it not for one supreme issue, on which all Liberals are substantially united, these jealous and discordant factions might easily between them make wreckage even of "the strongest Government of modern times."

That issue, of course, is the House of Lords. As I write, it is being vehemently debated in the House of Commons, and,

having been raised, it must go forward to a finish. I think one may fairly take it for granted that the question of the House of Lords must now dominate not only the tactics and the strategy of the Liberal party, but the whole course of English politics for the next few years. It is a question with two distinct sides to it. One is the composition of the Upper Chamber itself. The other is its relations with the House of Commons. The latter part of the problem is the only one with which the Government is anxious to deal. It does not intend to put forward any proposals for making the Upper Chamber more democratic or more representative, or for interfering in any way with its internal composition. The object the Government has set before itself is to find a plan whereby the national wishes shall not be factiously thwarted. The fundamental trouble with the House of Lords, from this particular standpoint, is that it cannot be trusted to act fairly between the two parties. When a Conservative Government is in power the House of Lords passes automatically all the Bills that are sent up to it; it forgets altogether that it is supposed to be a revisory and suspensory branch of the legislature. But when a Liberal Government comes in the Lords scrutinize its measures with hostile minuteness; their prerogatives take on a sudden and expanding activity.

This is a condition of affairs which the Government has made up its mind to try to remedy. It had no option but to do so. The rejection of last year's Education Bill and of the Plural Voting Bill reduced not merely Liberalism as an effective governing agency to impotence, but the democratic principle to a farce. It is perfectly true that the House of Lords has been frequently in the past, and may be as frequently in the future, a truer exponent of the national will than the House of Commons. But more frequently it is the other way about, and the problem is therefore to devise a plan which, in the event of a disagreement between the two Houses, may allow public opinion time and opportunity to declare itself and may insure the predominance of the House of Commons without making it omnipotent. The Government believes it has found such a plan. The resolution which the Prime Minister moved on June 24th was in the following terms:

"That, in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the

other House to alter or reject Bills passed by this House should be so restricted by law as to secure that, within the limits of a single Parliament, the final decision of the Commons shall prevail."

That resolution was interpreted as a determination to abolish the House of Lords, but the speech in which the Prime Minister brought it forward, and in which he unfolded the plan which is afterwards to be submitted to the electorate, made it clear that the ultimate authority of the House of Commons is to be rendered effective only after full provision for argument, consultation and the informal but potent play of public opinion. To guard against any abuse of power by an exhausted and possibly discredited House of Commons, the Government proposes that the duration of Parliament should be reduced from seven years to five. This is a reform long desired by the Radicals, and must be considered an essential part of the whole scheme for checking the veto of the Lords. That scheme, of course, will only become operative in the case of a dispute between the two Houses. When such a dispute has broken out, the Government proposes that a private conference should take place between an equal number of members from both Houses. If the conference fails to effect an agreement, the Bill, or a similar Bill, is to be reintroduced after an interval of at least six months and passed through the House of Commons, with the discussion of it mapped out beforehand by time-table. The interval of six months would allow both time and opportunity for public opinion to declare itself decisively. After its second passage through the Commons, there would be another conference between the two Houses. If this again failed, the Bill would be passed as quickly as possible through all its stages in the Commons—probably within the limit of a single day—and sent up to the Lords with an intimation that this was their final chance. A third conference between the two Houses would take place on that basis. If it again proved futile the Bill would be submitted for the royal assent in the form of its final passage through the Commons and would become law. Such is the outline of the Government's plan. It is moderate and practical. It secures to the Lords a full participation in the discussion of a contested measure and ample opportunity for affecting its scope and provisions. At the same time, it makes the final predominance of the Commons a reality.

ST. PETERSBURG, June, 1907.

THE second Russian Parliament, like the first, has abruptly disappeared, leaving nothing to its credit and much to its debit account. Everybody who had no axe to grind in the Tavrida Palace, and many honest men who had, admitted that the Duma was a dismal failure and its dissolution a pressing necessity.

With the reasons which militated against the continued existence of the Duma, the readers of the REVIEW are familiar. Summoned by the Tsar for the twofold purpose of giving a legislative form to the liberties which he had granted his people and of allaying the revolutionary fever that was coursing through the veins of the nation, the second Russian Parliament did neither. It was shy of work and averse to pacification.

In the Committee rooms, where most of the important business of a legislature is usually transacted, the bulk of the members sat about smoking and chatting. Many absented themselves altogether. The members of the Centre generally were the workers, the members of the Left were the drones, and the specimens of positive legislation which occasionally emerged into the light of day were not encouraging. A bill guaranteeing the right of public meeting was drafted by the Socialists and laid before the Duma. Scorning all legal niceties and scholastic distinctions, this project enacted that all Russians, without distinction of sex or age, should have the right to assemble and hold public meetings without let or hindrance. Persons in authority and private individuals guilty of limiting these rights, or of throwing obstacles in the way of their exercise, should be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, if the acts of which they were convicted did not legally entail a more severe punishment. Consequently, a class of school-children abandoning their hoops and dolls and marbles and assembling in the Nevsky Prospect, in order to discuss an armed rising, could not be legally dispersed by the police. Among the persons whose names are affixed to this original bill is the ex-Vice-Governor of a province, M. Nalivkin, who is now a zealous convert to Socialism.

As those men were among the *élite* of the Duma, the *fruits secs* were the despair of self-respecting Russians. To squander their five dollars a day or to spend it on watches, the ticking of which soothed their ears, or on patent-leather boots, which fascinated their gaze, was a harmless pleasure. Less harmless was

the abuse of parliamentary inviolability, to which all members of the Left were inclined. Inviolability positively turned their heads. The idea that they, who had been theretofore as slaves kneeling and striking the ground with their foreheads before every Jack-in-office, could not now be arrested even for a punishable offence, almost unhinged their reason.

A very curious case of the way in which inviolability was interpreted occurred on May 19th when the police visited the dwelling of Deputy Ozol, a Socialist leader, and found some seventy persons there and piles of compromising documents. Those are the documents which served later on as the basis of the indictment against the Socialist group, and led to the dissolution of the Duma. The object of the secret meeting at Ozol's rooms was, according to the State Attorney, to bring about a military revolt, and the deputies present were alleged to be in communication with the revolutionary "military league" which was seducing soldiers from allegiance. The deputies were not arrested; only the non-parliamentary members of the secret meeting. The authorities respected the inviolability of the former. But the next day Deputy Ozol and his friends protested vehemently against the criminal breach of inviolability involved in the raid on Ozol's rooms, for the dwelling of a deputy is sacred. It amounted, they affirmed, to a breach of stipulation, to an illegal act. Conservative speakers retorted that the conspiracy amounted to something more. But the incident is amusing as an example of how inviolability was construed, and not by one party, but by the majority of the Duma. If the second Duma was not characterized by a capacity for legislative work, neither can it be said to have contributed to the pacification of the country. On the contrary, it helped to fan the embers of disaffection into flame. For afterwards it abolished the exceptional laws against murder, it applauded political crime, it refused to condemn terrorism and a majority of its members shrank from expressing their satisfaction at the Emperor's escape from the hand of assassins. On June 3d the Government asked the Duma to prolong the operation of two temporary laws enacted by the Tsar when there was no Duma. One of these had for its object to punish the eulogy of crime. All who should praise murder, pillage, arson, were to be punished with especial rigor, because they are generally more guilty than the simple-minded individuals who carry out

their teachings. The object of the second law was to enable the Government to rid the army of those recruits who are under police supervision and are usually the apostles of revolution among the troops. But the Duma negated the demand of the Cabinet by a large majority. Yet M. Stolypin stuck to his guns. He would not hear of dissolution.

Symptoms of indignation were displayed in various parts of the Empire by various groups and classes of the population. They at first appealed to the Premier and then addressed their requests directly to the Tsar. The Emperor was consequently overwhelmed with telegrams, thousands of which came in the form of congratulations on his escape from the hands of assassins, and in the form of petitions that he would dismiss the Duma of which a majority had refused to express joy at his safety or its disapproval of political murder generally. At last these evidences of loyalty took effect and the monarch spoke to his people, at first in a minor key and then in the tones of a real ruler which he was supposed to have forgotten. In his reply to the Council of the Empire, which had displayed an unexpected degree of enthusiasm in its congratulations, the Tsar wrote: "My life is not dear to me, if only Russia live on in glory, peace and well-being." A man in danger, the leader of a little band of soldiers in a hostile country, might utter such words as these. But the head of a nation, at home? They are characteristic of the times.

But the Emperor confined himself to words, while his Premier continued to act, and between the two there was a lack of harmony. In M. Stolypin's plans, allowance had been made for a longer life of the Duma. His ambition, which he cherishes for his country's sake, would seem to consist in having his name linked with the constitutional movement, which has time among its allies. Time is undoubtedly on the side of constitutionalism, federalism, parliamentarism, democracy. Time; but not the present time. And to M. Stolypin the needs of the moment are frequently unknown, unknowable. Shut out from contact with the nation as it lives and works, he is dependent upon the crumbs of information that fall from the green tables of his bureaucrats. A hard-working, conscientious man who lives for his country and his monarch, he cannot achieve the impossible, however noble his aims. How can he become acquainted with the life and needs of the people when he spends his nights at the green table pre-

siding at councils, offering explanations and answering objections? In the daytime he has to listen to reports on this question and on that, concerning riots, mutinies, newspapers, elections, police measures—everything. And all the livelong day he deals only in words.

Even if the Minister-President had adopted efficacious measures to restore order, which, after all, is the first duty of every Government, the feat would be little less than miraculous. But he failed utterly. One of the obstacles to success was the very Duma which ought to have been an auxiliary. The deputies promised land for nothing and the peasants tried to take it. Pillage, riots and the wanton burning of property were among the results. Juries are afraid to bring in verdicts of guilty, even in cases where the evidence is overwhelming. Nowhere is one sure of one's life. Universities, schools, hospitals, homes for children, churchyards, are arsenals where bombs, dynamite, rifles, ammunition, are stored. Even churches afford no sanctuary to peaceful people. Assassins do their fell work there. Numbers of outrages are reported from orthodox places of worship during divine service.

In a word, terrorism was rampant in Russia. The plot against the life of the Tsar, which was among the most thorough schemes of the kind ever matured, marked the turning-point. Even Liberals of a moderate type called loudly for a firm Government after this. And, when a majority of the Duma refused to express satisfaction that the nefarious plot had been foiled, it became obvious to most people that such a Parliament could never work hand in hand with the Ministers of the monarch. If the deputies' persons are to be hedged round with inviolability, people said, is not the person of the monarch to be safeguarded from bombs and revolvers?

Unless we allow for the influence, not of a court camarilla, but of the Tsar himself, acting this time cautiously and resolutely on behalf of the nation, an influence which undoubtedly gave a bias to the course of recent events, we shall miss the force of the far resonant result and its significance for the future. The monarch's comments were first addressed to individuals. The President of the Duma, for instance, who was received in audience by the Tsar, passed an uncomfortable half-hour. Among other things, the Emperor catechized him respecting his severe treatment of

members of the Right. An explanation was forthcoming at once. It was strengthened by the assurance: "I regard with equal dislike the extreme Right and the extreme Left"—a specious saying, but hardly a fair principle. It is as though a policeman coming upon a highwayman and his victim should exclaim: "I am a representative of the authorities and have as little sympathy for one of you as for the other." The Tsar's comment was: "Hm, that is a question of — taste." In the course of a conversation which he had with certain Conservative members of the Duma on the same day, the mild-mannered monarch uttered a "*Tu quoque, fili mi!*" when speaking of those members of the Duma who had passed into the Opposition camp from the council-room of the Tsar. The words the Emperor is said to have used are these: "As for socialists like Alexinsky and Tseretelli, I say nothing. They know no better. But I cannot forgive my Generals, who lack this excuse." But the most significant conversation of all passed between the Tsar and one of the ultra-Conservative deputies who had been expelled from fifteen sittings of the Duma. "If I am not mistaken you have been expelled from the Duma," his Majesty remarked, interrogatively. "I had that honor, Sire," the deputy replied. The Emperor looked puzzled and after a pause said: "I don't quite understand your meaning." "I mean, Your Majesty, that I was put out for having defended with some warmth the principle of monarchical government. As I acted according to my convictions, I am resolved to continue to defend the same principle in future." "I thank you," was the significant reply.

These narratives were repeated and commented upon. People construed them as an indication that the Emperor would soon resume his rôle of ruler. What Stolypin would then do was not quite clear, but it was assumed that he would resign his post. That was the origin of the rumors of his impending resignation, for which there was just then no tangible ground.

M. Stolypin's letter to the President of the Duma asking for the surrender of eight members on charges, the nature of which had been communicated long before, was the beginning of the end. The demand had been made in March, and had elicited no reply down to June 14th. Two days later the Premier notified the Speaker of his intention to make an important communication at a secret sitting from which the public must be excluded.

That sounded ominous. But even then the deputies did not lose heart. At the historic sitting the Premier announced that treasonable charges based upon trustworthy and copious evidence were made against fifty-five Socialist members of the Duma. As their surrender to the law authorities without delay was a State necessity, would the Duma take the necessary measures? The Duma declined to debate the request, but discussed the question whether it should be handed over to a committee and answered it in the affirmative. Whether the Cabinet would assent to the delay involved appeared doubtful at first, but as the Duma wisely ordered that the Committee should report within twenty-four hours, all misgivings were quieted. Accordingly, on Saturday the Committee met and deliberated, but was unable to come to a decision. The Chairman reported that further documents and explanations were desirable. The Minister of Justice at once despatched an official with documents and instruments to furnish detailed answers to all questions. The official, Kamyshensky, won the hearts of the Committeemen, whose apprehensions vanished. So completely did they vanish that the Committee resolved to take no decision, to hold no plenary sitting that day, but to adjourn until Monday. And the solemn promise to report definitely that evening, and to grant or refuse the surrender of the deputies? That once broken, would a second promise be credited? Apparently it would. For the official sent by the Minister of Justice agreed to return on Monday to the Committee-room and answer further questions. On Monday? Then the Government assented or would assent to the postponement until Monday? Surely; otherwise, how could its representative agree to return on that day? And the members of the Committee went home. Between eleven and twelve at night four of them—all "Cadets"—called on the Prime Minister to ask how he would regard a decision which would surrender a certain number of deputies and refuse the remainder. But it was too late.

For, meanwhile, events which the future historian may be left to narrate had taken place at some distance, and the decision was no longer in M. Stolypin's hands. The Imperial Manifesto which the Premier did not write, and the electoral law which he and the Deputy Minister, Kryshanoffsky, had helped to draft, were being signed and sealed. On Sunday morning they were duly published and the Duma ceased to exist.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

THURSDAY, *July 11.*

Of Second Wives and Husbands.

THAT a second wife fares better than one first wedded has become an axiom, the truth of which has been, and no doubt will continue to be, amply confirmed by observation. We wonder why. The effect of gradual change from novel to commonplace relationship is understandable; so also is the result of a widening of mental, moral and physical interest on the one side accompanied by a narrowing on the other, but these are features of existence wholly incidental to and in accord with the immutable laws of nature. How often it happens in these days of women's exchange that, to the most kindly observer or even friend, the first seems vastly superior in all respects to the second companion, despite the abrupt change of attitude on the part of him most concerned from indifference or cruelty towards the former to patient devotion to her presumably fortunate successor!

The greed of man in the possession of woman has been manifest from the beginning. Adam undoubtedly would have taken more wives could he have spared more ribs; and, despite his subsequent exemplary life, barring an excusable tendency after service so strenuous to linger too long with the wine, it is quite improbable that Noah lived as a recluse during those five hundred long years before he begat our ancestral Shem, Ham and Japheth. Even the canny Jacob, after being tricked by the no less crafty Laban, doubtless in meet return for swindling his guileless brother, was unwilling to part with Leah, and put his hands to the plough for seven more long years to get Rachel. Apparently there was little difference in attractiveness between the two sisters. The "tender eyes" of the elder surely must have counterbalanced the beauty of the younger; moreover, Leah gladdened

her husband's heart with many lusty children long before Rachel placed in his arms the little Joseph, who subsequently engaged in predatory activities that in these good days would clearly fall within the provisions of the Interstate Commerce act and subject their doer to stern rebuke for possessing a swollen fortune. Nevertheless, when later Jacob lifted up his eyes, in conformity with his characteristic caution, and beheld the red-headed Esau approaching with four hundred stalwart retainers, he promptly stationed the patient Leah and her children on the firing-line and secluded Rachel and the future young corn monopolist in a protected tent in the rear. We readily perceive, therefore, as previously noted, that from the very beginning and for no apparent reason the second wife was unduly preferred, and so the custom has maintained even to these regenerate days.

Further analysis of the causes of this continuing discrimination might prove interesting, but could hardly serve any useful purpose; so we may as well place the burden upon the authority of Biblical tradition and cease to bear too heavily upon the modern usage, which virtually forbids one to divorce more than one partner without encountering forbidding glances from scrupulous high society of the present day. Since the Puritanic dictum that, having made one's bed, one must lie in it, has proven too restricted for twentieth-century requirements, it is a comfort to reflect that observance of obligations to a second spouse must be maintained to avert the ban of social ostracism.

But what happens to the second husband? To him no truism has been applied and we have never heard his case discussed. Is he, too, regarded more kindly than his predecessor, or is his position as insignificant as that of a bridegroom on a wedding day? Upon this point no data seem to exist, nor have we been able by the most diligent inquiry to extract any trustworthy information from those best qualified to testify. We can only hope that the mere statement of the query may bring forth evidence of fact similar in quantity and quality to that which has afforded us so much enlightenment respecting the true spheres of living American spinsters.

FRIDAY, *July 12.*

Of Family Tendencies.

IN the modern haste to rise in the world, and to obliterate one's footsteps, people are apt to overlook the strength that is gained

by standing still; the firmness and sturdiness of growth and the slow but sure development of force and influence. We are inclined to think too much nowadays of the name of the work we do, rather than the way the work is done and the results it begets. If we could but return to the simplicity of Herbert's:

"All may of thee partake:
Nothing can be so mean
Which with his tincture for thy sake
Will not grow bright and clean—

"A servant with this clause
Makes drudgery divine;
Who sweeps a room as for thy laws
Makes that and th' action fine."

There is no joy in life greater than congenial work, and that work is like to be most congenial and most fitting which is the work our fathers did before us. If only we could, by any earthly means, get back to the feeling that no work is in itself more noble than another, and that the whole question of fineness and prestige depends upon the way one's work is done, what a paradise the world would grow to be. Fancy a world where each man is doing the thing he can do best and doing it because he loves it. There is no royal road to such a paradise, but it would seem natural that the most fitting profession for a man should be that of his fathers before him. Who cannot remember the splendid body of English domestic servants, now so rapidly passing away, who handed down their situations from generation to generation and were as deeply implicated in the fortunes of a great family as its own members? It is told of Johann Sebastian Bach that when he was training his great choir in Leipzig and writing the wonderful organ fugues, there were seventeen Bachs, all organists and choirmasters in small German towns. A very successful modern writer tells of his family that of "my great-grandfather's descendants sixteen have published books," and "of my father's children all five have published books."

One remembers the Rossetti family, Maria Francesca, writing her beautiful volume on Dante; Dante Gabriel, following, gifted as few men have ever been as seer, painter, poet; William Michael an industrious writer and critic, and Christina the first of English women poets.

The strength of numbers, of continuing a vocation instead of finding a new one, the avoiding all the difficulties of a fresh initiation, all these tend to lift one at the start when one pursues the family calling. For try as we will, in a democratic country, to believe that a man stands on his own feet only, the truth is that a man is a great deal more than himself; he is his ancestors, with their leanings, their tendencies, their failings, their gains; he is his brothers and his sisters and his cousins, with their successes and their position in life and their reputations, and when he differs from them it is only a casual break in the thread of continuity, a little sporadic side issue. In the main, a man is a part of his own tribe and clan, and can infinitely better follow the same pursuits and accomplish like designs than divorce himself from his past and begin to blaze a new trail.

And how instinctively, in old age, we all turn back to the family and read the records and gather up the traditions, and smile indulgently over the failings, because the same tendencies have warred in our own members. It is when a man remembers the family that he realizes, after all, how little he is a unit in this great universe.

SATURDAY, *July 13.*

The Object of Women's Clubs.

THE Woman's Club is here not only to stay but to multiply, and the great question is what its object should be, and then in how far it attains that object. If one ask what it was that marred the life and influence of the old-fashioned much-domesticated woman, we find that the conditions of her life tended to confining her sympathies and interests; to making her useful to a small community rather than to humanity at large. It would be dull, indeed, to overlook the fact, that by just such confining, noble natures were often deepened, and that if they were of value to few people they were, at any rate, of infinite value to those few.

But propaganda, and popular movements and organizations are not for the nobler natures. Noble natures are self-poised and help themselves. No club was needed to help George Eliot write novels, or Rosa Bonheur to paint, or Duse to act, or Florence Nightingale to nurse. Clubs are for the masses who cannot escape deleterious influences except by organized effort. So, if one be called upon to state succinctly the object of women's clubs, one might

say their highest function is to introduce to women the idea of comradeship and cooperation, and to release them from merely personal interests. Women have served men and children, but few women have understood how to serve their kind bravely. They have shown passionate loyalty in the family; but only here and there, in special cases, have they shown loyalty to womanhood. If the congregating of women should ultimately lead to the realization that the welfare of each woman is insolubly bound up with the welfare of all women, what a wide realm of reform we might see! If the comradeship of women should show them that some form of economic independence is necessary to the dignity of each human being, what a world of falseness and favor-currying might be done away with!

Doubtless the humiliating and shocking incident of two little boys who jested and laughed at their mother for buying their father an easy-chair and charging it to him, could only be duplicated in an old-fashioned community, and yet the idea that their mother had a right to any income, or to any expenditure of her own, despite the fact that she had married a poor man and by prudence and industry helped him to become a rich man and had borne his nine children, occurred to them as dangerously new and advanced. They were good sons and loving, but their mother was, after all, only the father's slave, and she had no right, out of his income of some twenty thousand a year, to buy an easy-chair. Perhaps the fact, too, that three little boys who heard their mother say, in response to this tale, "Thank Goodness, I can buy a chair when I want, for I make as much as my husband," all blushed and said shamefacedly, "At least, I'd never mention it," may go to show that the economic position of woman needs some readjustment. So long as woman's independence is gained only by underhand means, by favor or admiration, so long will she remain only a part of a man's goods and chattels and in a position which invites dishonor.

It is another question to ask in how far women's clubs are going to improve the life of women. Their clubs are multiple and exist for multiple purposes. There are social clubs that exist for no better object than to cultivate exclusiveness, for the ignoble object of showing that one woman may flaunt something from which she can debar another. There are clubs which exist to offer women a chance at the more common self-indulgences of

men. There are clubs to encourage women to speak easily in public, to lose whatever timidity and reserve the centuries of domesticity have inculcated. All these purposes, barring the first, which is simply primitive and vulgar, may be shaped to useful ends if only they lead women to respect and uphold true womanhood. There are many civic duties which women by virtue of their training can attend to better than men. There seems no doubt that, in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the children in the State, the influence of woman would be more scrupulous and disinterested than that of man. There is no doubt that the civic cleanliness, convenience and order would be more wisely administered by women. But, chiefly, let us hope that the women's clubs, by bringing women more constantly in contact with each other, may teach them loyalty to each other and induce the feeling of the responsibility of all women for the fate of each woman.

MONDAY, *July 15.*

On Making Wills.

THE writing of a will is a serious and a formal matter, and into one a man puts his deliberate and well-reflected intentions. This makes a will stupendously revealing, and to read one over is to come very close to the spirit of the man who wrote: to know his treasures, to understand his feeling toward men and to measure his fitness for adventures among seraphic and angelic beings. The words a man desires to have read when he lies dumb, the gifts he leaves, the grace with which he gives, all these lay bare the spirit, the heart of a disposition as few other things can. For a will is that which is to live after one, and it is written knowing that no wound inflicted can ever be remedied, no neglect repaired.

"Why," said a little child on first hearing of a search for a will—"why, don't they know that he has carried his will up to God?" And yet the final expression of it remains in concrete terms for men to see. How egotism, or miserliness, or conceit, or self-satisfaction can shine out of a will! How little exalting it is in most cases to read wills, and how often they turn us back to the authoritative statement that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle!

The most perfect will we have ever seen was that of one who

had so noble a sense of proportionate values and so keen and perfected a set of perceptions that, reading it, we can readily fancy how easily the bridge was passed from human life to the councils of the angels:

"I, Charles Lounsbury, being of sound mind and disposing memory, do hereby make and publish this, my last will and testament, in order as justly as may be, to distribute my interest in the world among succeeding men.

"That part of my interest which is known in law and recognized in the sheep-bound volumes as my property, being inconsiderable and of no account, I make no disposal of in this my will.

"My right to live, being but a life-estate, is not at my disposal, but these things excepted all else in the world I now proceed to devise and bequeath:

"*Item:* I give to good fathers and mothers, in trust for their children, all good little words of praise, and encouragement, and all quaint pet names and endearments, and I charge said parents to use them justly and generously, as the needs of their children may require.

"*Item:* I leave to children, inclusively, but only for the term of their childhood, all and every, the flowers of the fields, and the blossoms of the woods, with the right to play among them freely, according to the customs of children, warning them at the same time against thistles and thorns. And I devise to children, the banks of the brooks, and the golden sands beneath the waters thereof and the odors of the willows that dip therein, and the white clouds that float high over the giant trees. And I leave the children the long, long days to be merry in, in a thousand ways, and the night and the moon and the train of the Milky Way to wonder at, but subject, nevertheless, to the rights hereinafter given to lovers.

"*Item:* I devise to boys, jointly, all the useful idle fields and commons where ball may be played; all pleasant waters where one may swim; all snow-clad hills where one may coast, and all streams and ponds where one may fish, or where, when grim winter comes, one may skate; to have and to hold the same for the period of their boyhood. And all meadows with the clover blossoms and butterflies thereof; the woods and their appurtenances; the squirrels and birds, and echoes and strange noises, and all distant places which may be visited, together with the adventures there found. And I give to said boys each his own place at the fireside at night, with all pictures that may be seen in the burning wood, to enjoy without let or hindrance and without any incumbance of care.

"*Item:* To lovers, I devise their imaginary world with whatever they may need: as the stars of the sky; the red roses by the wall; the bloom of the hawthorn; the sweet strains of music and aught else they may desire to figure to each other; the lastingness and beauty of their love.

Item: To young men, jointly, I devise and bequeath all boisterous, inspiring sports of rivalry, and I give to them the disdain of weakness and undaunted confidence in their own strength. Though they are rude, I give to them the power to make lasting friendships, and of possessing companions, and to them exclusively I give all merry songs and brave choruses, to sing with lusty voices.

Item: And to those who are no longer children or youths or lovers, I leave memory, and I bequeath to them the volumes of the poems of Burns and Shakespeare and of other poets, if there be others, to the end that they may live over the old days again, freely and fully, without tithe or diminution.

Item: To our loved ones with snowy crowns I bequeath the happiness of old age, the love and gratitude of their children until they fall asleep."

It is strange and ironical comment upon human institutions that this will should have come from an insane asylum.

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CHAPTERS FROM MY AUTOBIOGRAPHY—XXI.*

BY MARK TWAIN.

PREFATORY NOTE.—Mr. Clemens began to write his autobiography many years ago, and he continues to add to it day by day. It was his original intention to permit no publication of his memoirs until after his death; but, after leaving "Pier No. 70," he concluded that a considerable portion might now suitably be given to the public. It is that portion, garnered from the quarter-million of words already written, which will appear in this REVIEW during the present year. No part of the autobiography will be published in book form during the lifetime of the author.—EDITOR N. A. R.

From Susy's Biography of Me.

Feb. 12, '86.

Mamma and I have both been very much troubled of late because papa since he has been publishing Gen. Grant's book has seemed to forget his own books and work entirely, and the other evening as papa and I were promonading up and down the library he told me that he didn't expect to write but one more book, and then he was ready to give up work altogether, die, or do anything, he said that he had written more than he had ever expected to, and the only book that he had been pertickularly anxious to write was one locked up in the safe down stairs, not yet published.†

But this intended future of course will never do, and although papa usually holds to his own opinions and intents with outsiders, when

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†It isn't yet. Title of it, "Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven."—S. L. C.

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mamma really desires anything and says that it must be, papa allways gives up his plans (at least so far) and does as she says is right (and she is usually right, if she dissagrees with him at all). It was because he knew his great tendency to being convinced by her, that he published without her knowledge that article in the "Christian Union" concerning the government of children. So judging by the proofs of past years, I think that we will be able to persuade papa to go back to work as before, and not leave off writing with the end of his next story. Mamma says that she sometimes feels, and I do too, that she would rather have papa depend on his writing for a living than to have him think of giving it up.

[Dictated, November 8, 1906.] I have a defect of a sort which I think is not common; certainly I hope it isn't: it is rare that I can call before my mind's eye the form and face of either friend or enemy. If I should make a list, now, of persons whom I know in America and abroad—say to the number of even an entire thousand—it is quite unlikely that I could reproduce five of them in my mind's eye. Of my dearest and most intimate friends, I could name eight whom I have seen and talked with four days ago, but when I try to call them before me they are formless shadows. Jean has been absent, this past eight or ten days, in the country, and I wish I could reproduce her in the mirror of my mind, but I can't do it.

It may be that this defect is not constitutional, but a result of lifelong absence of mind and indolent and inadequate observation. Once or twice in my life it has been an embarrassment to me. Twenty years ago, in the days of Susy's Biography of Me, there was a dispute one morning at the breakfast-table about the color of a neighbor's eyes. I was asked for a verdict, but had to confess that if that valued neighbor and old friend had eyes I was not sure that I had ever seen them. It was then mockingly suggested that perhaps I didn't even know the color of the eyes of my own family, and I was required to shut my own at once and testify. I was able to name the color of Mrs. Clemens's eyes, but was not able to even suggest a color for Jean's, or Clara's, or Susy's.

All this talk is suggested by Susy's remark: "The other evening as papa and I were promonading up and down the library." Down to the bottom of my heart I am thankful that I can see *that* picture! And it is not dim, but stands out clear in the unfaded light of twenty-one years ago. In those days

Susy and I used to "promenade" daily up and down the library, with our arms about each other's waists, and deal in intimate communion concerning affairs of State, or the deep questions of human life, or our small personal affairs.

It was quite natural that I should think I had written myself out when I was only fifty years old, for everybody who has ever written has been smitten with that superstition at about that age. Not even yet have I really written myself out. I have merely stopped writing because dictating is pleasanter work, and because dictating has given me a strong aversion to the pen, and because two hours of talking per day is enough, and because— But I am only damaging my mind with this digging around in it for pretexts where no pretext is needed, and where the simple truth is for this one time better than any invention, in this small emergency. I shall never finish my five or six unfinished books, for the reason that by forty years of slavery to the pen I have earned my freedom. I detest the pen and I wouldn't use it again to sign the death warrant of my dearest enemy.

[*Dictated, March 8, 1906.*] For thirty years, I have received an average of a dozen letters a year from strangers who remember me, or whose fathers remember me as boy and young man. But these letters are almost always disappointing. I have not known these strangers nor their fathers. I have not heard of the names they mention; the reminiscences to which they call attention have had no part in my experience; all of which means that these strangers have been mistaking me for somebody else. But at last I have the refreshment, this morning, of a letter from a man who deals in names that were familiar to me in my boyhood. The writer encloses a newspaper clipping which has been wandering through the press for four or five weeks, and he wants to know if Capt. Tonkray, lately deceased, was (as stated in the clipping) the original of "Huckleberry Finn."

I have replied that "Huckleberry Finn" was Frank F. As this inquirer evidently knew the Hannibal of the forties, he will easily recall Frank. Frank's father was at one time Town Drunkard, an exceedingly well-defined and unofficial office of those days. He succeeded "General" Gaines, and for a time he was sole and only incumbent of the office; but afterward Jimmy Finn proved competency and disputed the place with him,

so we had two town drunkards at one time—and it made as much trouble in that village as Christendom experienced in the fourteenth century when there were two Popes at the same time.

In “Huckleberry Finn” I have drawn Frank exactly as he was. He was ignorant, unwashed, insufficiently fed; but he had as good a heart as ever any boy had. His liberties were totally unrestricted. He was the only really independent person—boy or man—in the community, and by consequence he was tranquilly and continuously happy, and was envied by all the rest of us. We liked him; we enjoyed his society. And as his society was forbidden us by our parents, the prohibition trebled and quadrupled its value, and therefore we sought and got more of his society than of any other boy’s. I heard, four years ago, that he was Justice of the Peace in a remote village in the State of —, and was a good citizen and was greatly respected.

During Jimmy Finn’s term he (Jimmy) was not exclusive; he was not finical; he was not hypercritical; he was largely and handsomely democratic—and slept in the deserted tan-yard with the hogs. My father tried to reform him once, but did not succeed. My father was not a professional reformer. In him the spirit of reform was spasmodic. It only broke out now and then, with considerable intervals between. Once he tried to reform Injun Joe. That also was a failure. It was a failure, and we boys were glad. For Injun Joe, drunk, was interesting and a benefaction to us, but Injun Joe, sober, was a dreary spectacle. We watched my father’s experiments upon him with a good deal of anxiety, but it came out all right and we were satisfied. Injun Joe got drunk oftener than before, and became intolerably interesting.

I think that in “Tom Sawyer” I starved Injun Joe to death in the cave. But that may have been to meet the exigencies of romantic literature. I can’t remember now whether the real Injun Joe died in the cave or out of it, but I do remember that the news of his death reached me at a most unhappy time—that is to say, just at bedtime on a summer night when a prodigious storm of thunder and lightning accompanied by a deluging rain that turned the streets and lanes into rivers, caused me to repent and resolve to lead a better life. I can remember those awful thunder-bursts and the white glare of the lightning yet, and the wild lashing of the rain against the window-panes. By

my teachings I perfectly well knew what all that wild riot was for—Satan had come to get Injun Joe. I had no shadow of doubt about it. It was the proper thing when a person like Injun Joe was required in the under world, and I should have thought it strange and unaccountable if Satan had come for him in a less impressive way. With every glare of lightning I shrivelled and shrunk together in mortal terror, and in the interval of black darkness that followed I poured out my lamentings over my lost condition, and my supplications for just one more chance, with an energy and feeling and sincerity quite foreign to my nature.

But in the morning I saw that it was a false alarm and concluded to resume business at the old stand and wait for another reminder.

The axiom says "History repeats itself." A week or two ago Mr. Blank-Blank dined with us. At dinner he mentioned a circumstance which flashed me back over about sixty years and landed me in that little bedroom on that tempestuous night, and brought to my mind how creditable to me was my conduct through the whole night, and how barren it was of moral spot or fleck during that entire period: he said Mr. X was sexton, or something, of the Episcopal church in his town, and had been for many years the competent superintendent of all the church's worldly affairs, and was regarded by the whole congregation as a stay, a blessing, a priceless treasure. But he had a couple of defects—not large defects, but they seemed large when flung against the background of his profoundly religious character: he drank a good deal, and he could outswear a brakeman. A movement arose to persuade him to lay aside these vices, and after consulting with his pal, who occupied the same position as himself in the other Episcopal church, and whose defects were duplicates of his own and had inspired regret in the congregation he was serving, they concluded to try for reform—not wholesale, but half at a time. They took the liquor pledge and waited for results. During nine days the results were entirely satisfactory, and they were recipients of many compliments and much congratulation. Then on New-year's eve they had business a mile and a half out of town, just beyond the State line. Everything went well with them that evening in the bar-room of the inn—but at last the celebration of the occasion by

those villagers came to be of a burdensome nature. It was a bitter cold night and the multitudinous hot toddies that were circulating began by and by to exert a powerful influence upon the new prohibitionists. At last X's friend remarked,

"X, does it occur to you that we are *outside the diocese*?"

That ended reform No. 1. Then they took a chance in reform No. 2. For a while that one prospered, and they got much applause. I now reach the incident which sent me back a matter of sixty years, as I have remarked a while ago.

One morning Mr. Blank-Blank met X on the street and said,

"You have made a gallant struggle against those defects of yours. I am aware that you failed on No. 1, but I am also aware that you are having better luck with No. 2."

"Yes," X said; "No. 2 is all right and sound up to date, and we are full of hope."

Blank-Blank said, "X, of course you have your troubles like other people, but they never show on the outside. I have never seen you when you were not cheerful. Are you always cheerful? Really always cheerful?"

"Well, no," he said, "no, I can't say that I am always cheerful, but—well, you know that kind of a night that comes: *say*—you wake up 'way in the night and the whole world is sunk in gloom and there are storms and earthquakes and all sorts of disasters in the air threatening, and you get cold and clammy; and when that happens to me I recognize how sinful I am and it all goes clear to my heart and wrings it and I have such terrors and terrors!—oh, they are indescribable, those terrors that assail me, and I slip out of bed and get on my knees and pray and pray and promise that I *will* be good, if I can only have another chance. And then, you know, in the morning the sun shines out *so* lovely, and the birds sing and the whole world is so beautiful, and—*b' God, I rally!*"

Now I will quote a brief paragraph from this letter which I have a minute ago spoken of. The writer says:

You no doubt are at a loss to know who I am. I will tell you. In my younger days I was a resident of Hannibal, Mo., and you and I were schoolmates attending Mr. Dawson's school along with Sam and Will Bowen and Andy Fuqua and others whose names I have forgotten. I was then about the smallest boy in school, for my age, and they called me little Aleck for short.

I only dimly remember him, but I knew those other people as well as I knew the town drunkards. I remember Dawson's schoolhouse perfectly. If I wanted to describe it I could save myself the trouble by conveying the description of it to these pages from "Tom Sawyer." I can remember the drowsy and inviting summer sounds that used to float in through the open windows from that distant boy-Paradise, Cardiff Hill (Holliday's Hill), and mingle with the murmurs of the studying pupils and make them the more dreary by the contrast. I remember Andy Fuqua, the oldest pupil—a man of twenty-five. I remember the youngest pupil, Nannie Owsley, a child of seven. I remember George Robards, eighteen or twenty years old, the only pupil who studied Latin. I remember—in some cases vividly, in others vaguely—the rest of the twenty-five boys and girls. I remember Mr. Dawson very well. I remember his boy, Theodore, who was as good as he could be. In fact, he was inordinately good, extravagantly good, offensively good, detestably good—and he had pop-eyes—and I would have drowned him if I had had a chance. In that school we were all about on an equality, and, so far as I remember, the passion of envy had no place in our hearts, except in the case of Arch Fuqua—the other one's brother. Of course we all went barefoot in the summer-time. Arch Fuqua was about my own age—ten or eleven. In the winter we could stand him, because he wore shoes then, and his great gift was hidden from our sight and we were enabled to forget it. But in the summer-time he was a bitterness to us. He was our envy, for he could double back his big toe and let it fly and you could hear it snap thirty yards. There was not another boy in the school that could approach this feat. He had not a rival as regards a physical distinction—except in Theodore Eddy, who could work his ears like a horse. But he was no real rival, because you couldn't hear him work his ears; so all the advantage lay with Arch Fuqua.

I am not done with Dawson's school; I will return to it in a later chapter.

[*Dictated at Hamilton, Bermuda, January 6, 1907.*] "That reminds me." In conversation we are always using that phrase, and seldom or never noticing how large a significance it bears. It stands for a curious and interesting fact, to wit: that sleeping or waking, dreaming or talking, the thoughts which swarm

through our heads are almost constantly, almost continuously, accompanied by a like swarm of reminders of incidents and episodes of our past. A man can never know what a large traffic this commerce of association carries on in our minds until he sets out to write his autobiography; he then finds that a thought is seldom born to him that does not immediately remind him of some event, large or small, in his past experience. Quite naturally these remarks remind me of various things, among others this: that sometimes a thought, by the power of association, will bring back to your mind a lost word or a lost name which you have not been able to recover by any other process known to your mental equipment. Yesterday we had an instance of this. Rev. Joseph H. Twichell is with me on this flying trip to Bermuda. He was with me on my last visit to Bermuda, and to-day we were trying to remember when it was. We thought it was somewhere in the neighborhood of thirty years ago, but that was as near as we could get at the date. Twichell said that the landlady in whose boarding-house we sojourned in that ancient time could doubtless furnish us the date, and we must look her up. We wanted to see her, anyway, because she and her blooming daughter of eighteen were the only persons whose acquaintance we had made at that time, for we were travelling under fictitious names, and people who wear aliases are not given to seeking society and bringing themselves under suspicion. But at this point in our talk we encountered an obstruction: we could not recall the landlady's name. We hunted all around through our minds for that name, using all the customary methods of research, but without success; the name was gone from us, apparently permanently. We finally gave the matter up, and fell to talking about something else. The talk wandered from one subject to another, and finally arrived at Twichell's school-days in Hartford—the Hartford of something more than half a century ago—and he mentioned several of his schoolmasters, dwelling with special interest upon the peculiarities of an aged one named Olney. He remarked that Olney, humble village schoolmaster as he was, was yet a man of superior parts, and had published text-books which had enjoyed a wide currency in America in their day. I said I remembered those books, and had studied Olney's Geography in school when I was a boy. Then Twichell said,

"That reminds me—our landlady's name was a name that was associated with school-books of some kind or other fifty or sixty years ago. I wonder what it was. I believe it began with K."

Association did the rest, and did it instantly. I said,
"Kirkham's Grammar!"

That settled it. Kirkham was the name; and we went out to seek for the owner of it. There was no trouble about that, for Bermuda is not large, and is like the earlier Garden of Eden, in that everybody in it knows everybody else, just as it was in the serpent's headquarters in Adam's time. We easily found Miss Kirkham—she that had been the blooming girl of a generation before—and she was still keeping boarders; but her mother had passed from this life. She settled the date for us, and did it with certainty, by help of a couple of uncommon circumstances, events of that ancient time. She said we had sailed from Bermuda on the 24th of May, 1877, which was the day on which her only nephew was born—and he is now thirty years of age. The other unusual circumstance—she called it an unusual circumstance, and I didn't say anything—was that on that day the Rev. Mr. Twichell (bearing the assumed name of Peters) had made a statement to her which she regarded as a fiction. I remembered the circumstance very well. We had bidden the young girl good-by and had gone fifty yards, perhaps, when Twichell said he had forgotten something (I doubted it) and must go back. When he rejoined me he was silent, and this alarmed me, because I had not seen an example of it before. He seemed quite uncomfortable, and I asked him what the trouble was. He said he had been inspired to give the girl a pleasant surprise, and so had gone back and said to her—

"That young fellow's name is not Wilkinson—that's Mark Twain."

She did not lose her mind; she did not exhibit any excitement at all, but said quite simply, quite tranquilly,

"Tell it to the marines, Mr. Peters—if that should happen to be *your* name."

It was very pleasant to meet her again. We were white-headed, but she was not; in the sweet and unvexed spiritual atmosphere of the Bermudas one does not achieve gray hairs at forty-eight.

I had a dream last night, and of course it was born of association, like nearly everything else that drifts into a person's head, asleep or awake. On board ship, on the passage down, Twichell was talking about the swiftly developing possibilities of aerial navigation, and he quoted those striking verses of Tennyson's which forecast a future when air-borne vessels of war shall meet and fight above the clouds and redden the earth below with a rain of blood. This picture of carnage and blood and death reminded me of something which I had read a fortnight ago—statistics of railway accidents compiled by the United States Government, wherein the appalling fact was set forth that on our 200,000 miles of railway we annually kill 10,000 persons outright and injure 80,000. The war-ships in the air suggested the railway horrors, and three nights afterward the railway horrors suggested my dream. The work of association was going on in my head, unconsciously, all that time. It was an admirable dream, what there was of it.

In it I saw a funeral procession; I saw it from a mountain peak; I saw it crawling along and curving here and there, serpentlike, through a level vast plain. I seemed to see a hundred miles of the procession, but neither the beginning of it nor the end of it was within the limits of my vision. The procession was in ten divisions, each division marked by a sombre flag, and the whole represented ten years of our railway activities in the accident line; each division was composed of 80,000 cripples, and was bearing its own year's 10,000 mutilated corpses to the grave: in the aggregate 800,000 cripples and 100,000 dead, drenched in blood!

MARK TWAIN.

(To be Continued.)

THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF CHILDREN.

BY SIR OLIVER LODGE.

I.

THE teaching of religion to small children is a difficult subject in itself and a subject also of unfortunate controversy.

There are those who say it should be dogmatic; that however reasonably, and with whatever qualifications, propositions may be laid before adults, children require and can assimilate crisp and definite dogma.

There is probably some truth in this contention, but it may easily be misunderstood. Statements concerning fact, if precluded and supported by explanations and illustrations, may properly be summarized in dogmatic form; and in that form may be learned by heart; but elaborate theories, of the nature of ecclesiastical doctrines, are surely not appropriate for children. Dogma, however, cannot be excluded: children want to know something about the nature of man, of the universe and of God; they ask questions on these topics, and they ask questions about nature: one part of religious teaching is to answer these inquiries. Idle and impudent questioning should be discouraged—children are sharp enough to presume, if their sallies are considered amusing; they ought to know, and do know well enough, that these are great and serious topics—but reverent curiosity should be fostered; and then an attempt should be made to satisfy it, so far as we are able, in accordance with all that we know of reality; expressing as much of truth as we think they can understand, and indicating uncertainty where it admittedly exists.

The ultimate object of religious training must be to implant such ideas and habits as shall result in a happy childhood and a sound and useful life. We should not subordinate the life

of the child, too entirely, to the life of the adult; it is a period of preparation truly, but it is something more than that; it is a life-period of value in itself. It is a time of considerable subjective length, and it should be allowed due weight and prominence in the scheme of existence.

At the same time, a respect for "grown-up" people is a natural childish instinct which ought not lightly to be destroyed. The first real gods of a child are his parents, however ungodlike they may be; and hence arises that feeling of security, and nearness of protection and law, which is one of the luxuries of childhood: and, I may add, one of the responsibilities of parenthood.

It is frequently maintained that children should have given to them, by the State, the religion of their parents. Some parents would be better if they had the religion of their children; and we have high authority for the idea that it is possible for adults to learn something from an unsophisticated child,—that childhood, in fact, may be higher in some respects than a subsequent condition.

In too many cases, in our barbarous state of society at present, children do have the religion of their parents; and a great pity it is. In some cases, it is a slum religion of a dangerous and troublesome kind. In another set of extreme cases, not nearly so frequent, it is a religion of mere greed and selfishness and social apathy,—a religion of the trough and sty. For "religion" is the outcome of our ideas about the universe: it is our response to all that we know, consciously or subconsciously, of cosmic law. We all have ideals, unformulated though they may be: our conduct frequently falls short of them; it can seldom or never surpass them.

But, looking at the matter on its best side, if children are to have the religion of the parents, then the parents are the right people to give it. They cannot expect to have it precisely given by deputy.

It is curious how, while the family is the unit for many things, it is not the unit for national education. It is isolated for most domestic purposes, there seems no idea of cooperative management in small matters: there is no cooperative cooking, not much cooperative washing, very little feeding in common, though it is the custom thus to drink. But education and the care of children are largely undertaken cooperatively: a sort of joint-stock

arrangement is good enough for that. It seems to be thought that, though potatoes must be peeled and cooked separately, each household with its own fire and utensils, children can wisely be dealt with by the gross.

Now, it is very likely that cooking for a whole street might be economically and favorably carried out; and a few common social eating-houses for a small district, as at some places abroad, might not be a bad thing; but to undertake the joint education of all the children in such a district, to take them at an early age from their mothers, in order that the said mothers may earn something wherewith to pay the rent, including rates, and otherwise support the family, is not perhaps a perfectly good arrangement. "Our poverty but not our will consents" to it.

Small children require individual attention. In the family, in the ideal family, I mean, they get it: that seems to be the Providential or natural plan; but the conditions of average family life throughout, shall we say, England, are so bad that the State has to step in, and act as foster-parent: though a line is drawn at supplying them with bodily food. Only their minds may be treated by the community.

In discussing religious teaching, we are considering what we term their "souls"; and, however many clouds of glory the average poor child may be trailing, when he arrives on this planet, he has not to wait very long before every trace is completely lost; and "the vision splendid" fades into the light of common day, at a very early stage, I fear, in the infancy of the street urchin. It is a lamentable result of town life, and the struggle for existence, in our complex civilization. I am not sure that it is not a wicked and blasphemous condition of things. I incline to think that it is a bad investment from every point of view; that not only must it be regarded with disfavor in high quarters, but that the resulting outcome is in many respects ruinous and wretched, and such as to torment the sympathies and spoil the lives of all but the utterly thoughtless and selfish.

That nation, or colony, which could ensure that its children should spend their short and vital early years among healthy, happy surroundings, suited to their time of life and state of development, and leading to a good robust serviceable manhood and womanhood,—that nation would in a few generations stand out from among the rest of the world as something almost

superhuman. The idea seems remote, the path towards its attainment too difficult; yes, but that is partly because too few realize it as an ideal, too few are aware of any such problem before them. They have no such aim: and without proper aim we are not likely to hit the mark. I do not believe that the problem is insoluble: I believe that some day it will be solved. Human life is not always going to be the failure that it is at present. Crime and vice and besotted stupidity are not always going to have it their own way. We owe it to the children to give them a fair and decent chance of understanding the world, and of living in it with pleasure and human profit.

People will say that it would cost too much. Nothing of the kind can cost too much! What is the meaning of life? What is this planet for? Consider those questions, and then consider whether as yet we have learned, or even effectively tried, to answer them in any reasonable manner: whether we are not hopelessly befogged by custom and buried beneath the relics of barbarous times. Taking control over the processes of evolution, in one way or another, is part of our serious duty: and no such duty is really divorced from practical religion.

I urge that attention to, and instruction in, physical conditions is a part of true religious teaching; and that many social reforms—such as purifying and revolutionizing the physical atmosphere of towns, such as reafforesting and beautifying waste and desolate places, such as restoring the humanizing influence of simple wholesome natural surroundings—must have an indirect but incalculable moral effect, and will indirectly aid the work of religion: a work which is now hampered and frustrated by untoward surroundings and other remediable and unnecessary defects.

However, we must leave the huge and complicated question of a better general social organization—though that ought to be the outcome of every religious belief if it is healthy—and limit ourselves to the consideration of how the average home or school can best be made a place of religious education. What should we teach our own children? What sort of religion is suited to the child's mind? What will bring forth the best fruit? For, surely, it is by the fruit of a good and developed life that any system must ultimately be judged. Good and faithful service is the end and aim.

It is not natural to the child to think that the world exists for his pleasure and profit; it is natural to him to wish to be of use. He is happy when he feels that he is helpful; and the docility with which children flock to the monotonous grind of wage-earnings, apparently without question of its utility, is pathetic. There are only a few children, or youths rather, who without social rebuke are permitted to regard the world from a wholly selfish point of view, if they choose; but these are in a non-natural condition,—they need not exert themselves for a living—they inherit the religion of their parents.

II.

Now let us consider what it is that we are aiming at in teaching little children. I asked an experienced and somewhat inspired teacher of infants (the Principal of the Edgbaston Kindergarten) for some ideas on this subject; and she was good enough to send me a few notes or thoughts, which, though not intended for publication, I propose to reproduce. They are as follows:

“The religious education of little children ought to have the attributes of *Indirectness* and *Continuousness*. It should be indirect,—that is to say, not always consciously given under the name of religion: and continuous,—not once a week, or on specified occasions only, but always, and in the simple acts of life.

“By ‘religious education’ I mean an effort on the part of the adult to form such habits of body and mind, and such aspirations of soul, as shall tend towards a clean heart and the ultimate condition of a realization of unity with the Divine Spirit of Good. We worship this spirit—God—through his manifestations in Man, in Animals and in Plants, and in the expression (craftsmanship) of man which is (or ought to be) Art.

“Accordingly, a teacher of little children is teaching religion when she tries to form the elementary habits of cleanliness, order, punctuality and courtesy. (These qualities are necessary if we wish to show love to our fellows.) She is teaching religion when she helps her children to make animals—wild or domestic—happy and responsive. She is teaching religion when she helps her children to take care of their gardens, plants and flowers,—to leave beautiful things to grow in their own green world, to exercise self-control in a country lane in June.

“When a teacher touches her class with a beautiful song, picture or poem,—the history of our planet and other planets, and all the natural lore of the world—she is giving religious teaching. If she turns the instinct of destruction into one of creation, if she helps a self-centred child to make himself useful by preparing the accessories for the next lesson, if she teaches her pupils to respect persons and property,—all this is part of religion.

"Above all, the imagination, the emotions and the sense of reverence for Beauty—anything which awakens these qualities—must be religious teaching; for are they not the roads leading to love, which is God?

"And all these things are taught not by words, but by doings—by action. They are not taught one day and left out of the next day's plan; they are not taught by one special kind of action, but by constant repetition under all the different forms which are supplied by the natural activities of a sane and happy life in the school or home."

III.

Now, clearly, this kind of practical every-day real education is or should be the work of an ideal home, as well as of a school. It is the homes that make our children what they are—for better, for worse,—and parents cannot really throw their responsibilities on others, however much they may try.

But in addition to all this practical and homely teaching, it will be said, there must be some doctrinal teaching, too: there must be some instruction in the elements of revealed or spiritual or theoretical religion.

Yes, that is generally admitted—though not universally. But, whatever doctrines are imparted, I venture to maintain that religious theory for children should not be based extensively on the doctrine of sin: it is not a natural or wholesome idea for them, as a foundation for religion, and its conventional treatment at revival meetings is apt to be terrifying. Children are not wicked, in the sense intended by those denunciations; they have their fits of temper, and they may be bad and disobedient, like animals; they may be even vicious, like them,—though, probably, that is an artificially made condition; moreover, if not properly instructed in social virtues, they may imitate their remote ancestors in lying and theft, and they may certainly be "spoiled"; but, when small, they must be largely the product of heredity and environment, and it is not fair to inflict on them theological doctrines concerning sin.

Considered from the point of view of evolution, healthy infancy under favorable conditions must be regarded as a period of innocence. It may be a question, therefore, as to what need there is for Theology at all. Why either frighten them with, or protect them from, ideas like those of the Pilgrim's Progress, about hell and Apollyon, the burden of guilt, the wrath to come, and the like? One answer is, I think, because such ideas are

natural to undeveloped humanity; all savages have frightened themselves by vague imaginings, by sacrifices or propitiations, have sought to mitigate Divine wrath; and the untaught or badly taught notions of children about the universe are liable to be *more* terrifying than what we conceive to be the reality, not less. The childish atmosphere is full of potential superstition; and nurses or companions are sure to waken it sooner or later. The fact is, you do not avoid superstition by eliminating the idea of God. A writer, whom I shall quote directly, says: "It is clear that, unless you fortify a child against the fancies inherited from a dim and partly savage past, by teaching the clear protective personality [or, rather, aspect] of God, you leave it a prey to dark thoughts and terrible fear."

It is idle to suppose that a child can long be screened from the religious ideas of mankind; it is our business, therefore, to see that the teaching is of a right and helpful, and, so far as we know, true kind. Moreover, the Bible is part of their heritage, to which they have a right to be introduced; and they should also be helped to realize the advantages of belonging to some recognized community, for fellowship and brotherly help.

Here, however, enter difficulties. We are face to face just now with two momentous problems. How far does the Bible still hold its place as the supreme treasure-house of religious and ethical teaching? And of what value are the traditional rites and ceremonies, the outward symbols of various religious beliefs, in the spiritual education of our children?

To consider the latter question briefly first: It is unfortunately manifest that, in admitting, and still more in emphasizing, the value of ceremonies, we may get dangerously near to the arena of sectarian conflict, and dreadfully far from the spirit of true religion. Nevertheless, it is true that the religious instinct in most people, like the artistic instinct, struggles for some definite and appropriate expression in incarnate form. And though it seems probable that the religious instinct, as it strengthens within us, may ultimately urge us to materialize or express our beliefs through the higher organization of social life, rather than through the machinery of ecclesiastical ritual, yet it must be admitted that certain church influences—such as the definite occasion for attention to spiritual things, the fellowship of spirit, and the association of certain simple human acts with high

thoughts,—give every religious sect a powerful opportunity for aiding the development of a child's soul, if they can be rightly utilized.

To pass to the other point—the value of the Bible in children's education: In so far as the Bible is unsuitable, or too grown up (and seeing that it is the literature of a people extending over many centuries, such unsuitability is not in the least surprising), the compilation by Mr. Mackail called "*Bibulum Innocentium*" may be mentioned as an attractive temporary substitute or introduction. A recent book by an experienced teacher, Mr. Mitchell, recently of the University Men's Training College at Liverpool, now a vicar in Sheffield, called "How to Teach the Bible" (Williams & Norgate), contains some useful hints and elementary information. Among the hints I select the following two points: (1) That the Gospels are from their structure ready fashioned for the work of the teacher,—wonderfully perfect, he says, from this point of view; and (2) that the Gospel of Mark is a short, swiftly moving dramatic history; divisible perhaps into two parts, the first mainly relating to events in Galilee, previous to acceptance of the name of the Messiah; and the second half relating to subsequent events in Judæa. It can be read through at one sitting, or at most two; it is only half the length of "Hamlet," and not very much longer than the story of Joseph and his brethren.

That is one mode of dealing with a Gospel narrative, and it is a method insufficiently practised by adults; but, in my experience, even Mark is too long to be understood in that way by children. The material is of unequal value, and I doubt if children can carry away much from a comprehensive scamper over the ground.

Other parts of other Gospels, every one knows, are of the most striking character, and very appropriate for learning by heart. It is difficult to see how a teacher can go wrong in dealing with the Gospels; though, unfortunately, experience shows that it is possible, and that even such a subject as the Parables can be spoiled by making them technically a school subject, and submitting them to the labored treatment supposed to be suitable for examination purposes. Exact treatment, based upon scholarship and real information, can be most interesting to adults; but spurious or imitation-exact treatment, devised by parent or

teacher without scholarship and with no real information, is to everybody instinctively repellent.

Other parts of the Bible, such as some of the Psalms and the Prophetic Books, are manifestly of great value; but they are for the most part only appropriate to elder children, in my judgment. The teaching of the Prophets is, indeed, urgently needed by many in the nation to-day.

There is so much that is thus good, from every point of view, that there has been recently a tendency on the part of some Education Authorities to select these manifestly worthy portions exclusively, and to avoid reading the more archaic and, so to speak, bloodthirsty books, such as Judges, Kings, and Genesis, altogether.

But these are the parts which children like; and I do not think we need be too squeamish. That which was appropriate to the early stages of the race will be more or less appropriate also to the early stages of the individual; and, if a child does not understand future literary and popular references to the chief names and events therein recorded, his education is lamentably deficient.

But I cannot say that I am able to attach much, perhaps not any, moral significance to these dramatic stories of ancient times. They are exceedingly interesting, from an adult point of view, and instructive as to early human ideas, but are not easily apprehended in the historic sense by children; who often fail to discriminate between a very ancient and a more modern period, or even between the Old and the New Testaments.

IV.

In order to ascertain what sort of notions has been formed in their early days by children who were still young enough not entirely to have forgotten those days,—which I am afraid is the case with many of us,—I catechised in a friendly manner a small class of children, of a reasonably intelligent and fairly favored kind. I think it may be interesting if I give a summary of the sort of questions and answers that went on; it being understood that the questions were elaborated and expressed in such a way as to be intelligible, not put in the curt form here set down.

Q. 1.—“*What parts of the Bible first impressed you, when very small?*”

Child A.—“I think the Ark, because I was interested in the animals, how they went in and what they would do there.”

Child B.—"I remember best about Gideon and the lamps, the breaking of the crockery and the attack in the sudden glare."

Child C.—"I used to like about Samson."

Child D.—"The flood, because it seemed the kind of thing that might happen again."

Child E (rather wearily).—"I suppose all that about Joseph."

Child F.—"I remember the man sowing; for there was a picture of it outside the book. I think I liked the pictures, and did not care for the words."

Very well, then, save for the pictorial exception, so far, we have Noah, Gideon, Samson Joseph: all in Judges and Genesis.

Q. 2.—"*Did these stories affect your conduct and make you better children?*"

General Chorus.—"Oh no. It has nothing to do with that; they were just stories!"

Child A.—"But not quite like other stories—more like history, perhaps, yet not like history."

Child B.—"No; people used to read them in a different way, so they felt different; but still they were stories."

Q. 3.—"*Do you remember the first times of going to church?*"

A.—"Yes; we used to look at the people: we did not understand at all, but in the sermon the preacher repeated one word many times, so I remembered that. I told it to my father, and he was pleased."

Q. 4.—"*Do you remember saying your first prayers?*"

A.—"Yes; but they had no meaning; it was just a going on of words—rather like gibberish. I remember asking [a slightly elder brother] whether it meant anything. It afterwards dawned on me that there was a meaning in the words, though still it felt like saying them over to mother or to nurse; though I remember that mother tried to explain about it."

Another child.—"My first religious recollection was saying the name 'Jesus' along with other names, and nurse told me never to use that word; so I felt there was something strange about it."

Q. 5.—"*Very well, then, come to the New Testament; what do you first remember about Christ?*"

Child A.—"Oh, I remember about the manger, and when he was twelve and the shepherds; but we got that from a hymn,—in fact, we got several things from hymns, especially those we had to say every night."

Child B.—"I used to like things about bushels and candlesticks, and things in Matthew; I am not sure whether that is Old or New Testament."

Child C.—"I think we like the New, now we are bigger; and some parts we used to like when small, such as the Parables."

[Town children, I fear, may be becoming inaccessible to some of the Parables.]

Child D.—"And I remember liking the Sermon on the Mount, because it said, 'Blessed are the dressmakers,'—or so I thought for some time."

Q. 6.—"*How do you like the Bible now?*"

General Opinion.—"Oh, now we are doing dull parts; it does not seem to have stories like it used to. Solomon is a dull part."

Another child.—"When we did Acts at school, it was horrid."

Q. 7.—"*Well, do you think the New Testament affected your conduct?*"

A.—"No, I do not think so."

Q. 8.—"*Then, what makes you such good children?*"

A.—"Oh, it is not the Bible at all—nothing to do with that. A book like 'Being and Doing' might do us good."

Another child (a small one).—"I think that the Bible, now we are older, might do us good perhaps."

Q. 9.—"*How do you know the difference between right and wrong?*"

A.—"When you have done a thing wrong you feel it; you do not need people to tell you. But, anyhow, people do tell you. What they tell us may have an effect, but it has nothing to do with reading: it is mostly what we feel in ourselves."

Well, it is very incomplete, but I am sure it is true, so far as it goes, though I am doubtful what the full moral that might be drawn from a more extended inquiry of this kind might be. Something, I think, in the direction of the indirect and continuous influence of a good home, and the intercourse with each other and with friendly adults; without, necessarily, so very much *ad hoc* teaching, beyond what is necessary for literature, and for the purpose of answering serious questions about the problems of existence, such as rationally occur to children—not forcing them to receive answers before there is a chance of their being ready for them,—before, in fact, either question or answer has any real meaning.

Faith and trust in the Love and Goodness underlying the universe seem to me the most vital and helpful thing; this is able to remove a mass of terror and unreasoning suspicion,—quite natural to a being rising to consciousness in an immense universe, in which it is helpless, and of which it feels ignorant.

Ignorant, no doubt, to a great extent, we all are; but what we have of good hope and trust we should endeavor to impart to children, whether it appears to us specifically religious or not, so long as it appears definitely true. Much of it *must* be told as the result of our larger experience, and therefore must be in a sense dogmatic. This is the sort of dogmatic teaching that is legitimate; but, with doubtful and critical questions of ecclesi-

astical theology, it does not seem to me that children have anything to do, or that such ideas have any practical effect. Such effect as they do have can hardly be regarded as altogether wholesome; much dread has been caused by them: it is rather cruel to inflict them on the receptive and docile mind of a child. If a child were to take seriously views expressed at some religious gatherings, and were to mope about its own salvation, it would be rather pitiful; if it were to pray for the conversion of its schoolfellows, instead of joining in their games, it would be monstrous. Healthy children do not do these things; their goodness is of another and higher order, not based upon a sickly consciousness of sin. And, so far as Christ is recorded to have dealt with children, He never thought of convicting them of evil; rather they were held up as examples of simple-hearted and natural goodness, such as we might learn from in the spirit, while we trained the body and taught the mind.

There is, however, a certain sort of dogma which we may wisely and circumspectly and reverently teach to children, if we think that there are fundamental facts which should precede initiation into the details of those differentiated doctrines which at present unhappily divide Christendom. Last year I drew up, and published as a small book, a Catechism of what I thought were the fundamentals of Christian faith, in a form suited to teachers and adults, for use with children from the adult's own standpoint; to be supplemented and enlarged and modified in accordance with personal conviction,—without which no religious teaching can be worthy of the name. I am now drafting a much-simplified statement, so as to summarize the essential features in a form more directly intelligible to children, and appropriate for learning by heart. This task is more difficult than the other, but it does not appear to be impossible; and it is hoped that it may be found a useful auxiliary to the larger document.

OLIVER LODGE.

THE AWAKENING OF INDIA.

BY FRANCIS H. SKRINE, INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE (RETIRED).

THE volcanic conditions prevalent in British India have something more than an academic interest for American citizens. The great Republic has long outgrown doctrines which would restrict her energies to the New World. She has wrested the last relics of colonial empire from Spain, and assumed the responsibility of governing 7,000,000 Asiatics. At no distant date she may be forced into a struggle for supremacy in the Pacific with one or more Asiatic Powers. In the realm of economics, the solidarity of mankind has been well-nigh accomplished; and every pulsation of that mighty heart is felt from Maine to Mexico. No patriotic American can ignore the awakening of the East.

The first lesson taught by events of this twentieth century is that we are face to face with world-forces. Asia is the cradle of our religion and civilization, and both were evolved in the alluvial valleys of the Nile, Euphrates, Indus and Ganges, in the course of that "eternal conflict between East and West which dyed blood-red the waters of Salamis and brought Zenobia a prisoner to Rome." There is some reason to believe that the process operates in æons of 500 years; each swing of the vast pendulum being attended by drastic changes in religion, social institutions and international politics. No student can survey the landmarks of history from 500 B.C., without arriving at a conviction that the Demi-millennial Theory rests on a solid substratum of fact. It was enunciated thirty-five years ago by Mr. Stuart Glennie, who holds that a new era has dawned with the defeat of Russia by Japan. These forces have generated the unrest that marks our age, when ancient idols are tottering to their fall, and deeply rooted canons of thought and action are called in question. To withstand world-forces is impossible. It

is the politician's function to forecast their operation, in order that the vital portions of existing institutions may emerge unharmed from their impact. *C'est contre le lendemain que mon esprit lutte*, said Prince Metternich to an American traveller, proving thereby that he had grasped one of the attributes of statesmanship. Progress is not attained by cataclysmic upheaval, but by the gradual modification of organs to suit a new environment.

Synthesis is an inherent property of human nature, and we may regard national consolidation as brought about by a series of ferments infusing new life into a chaotic mass. History marks the progress of change from fluidity and incoherence to consolidation and unity. The Superman seems essential to the making of the people. At every period of the world's history we find lawgivers, teachers, organizers and leaders, who tower high above their fellow men and guide them to a higher sphere in the leading-strings of fear or love. The welding agencies are some degree of uniformity in religion or morals, intermarriage, industrial co-operation and a democratic government. Thus is formed a multicellular organism, linked together by a living tissue of law, tradition, custom and history; furnished with organs for self-preservation and extending its environment; gifted, too, with a soul which reflects the ideal of the average human unit. It does not escape the laws of evolution which govern the material world. The stages of national growth are well defined. The first is one of mutual defence. Feudalism is usually associated with the break-up of the Roman Empire, but an almost identical system was evolved in India, Japan, Mexico and Peru.

It is based on the appropriation of land by a limited class, which is vested with privilege and saddled with corresponding duties. Thus an aristocracy of birth takes shape, which uses its legislative power for selfish ends, and becomes an oligarchy whose bond of union is mutual interest and caste-feeling. When feudalism has served its ends, the nation enters on an industrial era. This implies the concentration of labor in urban centres, whose wealth enables the *bourgeoisie* to wrest political power from the privileged classes.

But evolution is inexorable. The new ruling class succumbs in its turn to a democracy, whose spirit is thus admirably stated by Mr. Owen Wister:

"It was through the Declaration of Independence that we American acknowledged the eternal inequality of man. For by it we abolished a cut-and-dried aristocracy. We had seen little men held up in high places and great men artificially held down in low places; and our own justice-loving hearts abhorred the violence to human nature. Therefore we decreed that every man should have equal liberty to find his own level. By this very decree we acknowledged and gave freedom to aristocracy, saying—'Let the best man win, whoever he is!'"

This stage is fraught with danger to the life of the social organism. If commercialism enter its soul, the higher faculties are doomed to atrophy; the burden of national defence is shifted to mercenaries; the current of national life is narrowed by feudal survivals and choked by gross materialism. The dying community becomes a prey to parasitic growths, or is absorbed by a more virile neighbor.

Taine has remarked that the growth of moral sense is characteristic of a decadent community. In point of fact, a moral stage should succeed one in which a people's energies are concentrated on production and material enjoyment. The national conscience awakes to the evils of unrestricted competition, and realizes the fact that the Government exists not to promote the accumulation of wealth, but the diffusion of happiness. Hitherto, this renaissance has come too late to prevent disintegration. In the world-wide arena of international struggle progress is stimulated by racial antipathies. Deep-seated is the hostility between Aryan and Semite, between white and yellow races. Cooperation is, indeed, a higher evolutionary process than the Struggle for Life, but ages must pass by ere it extend to the relations between communities. Each blindly obeys the promptings of the wish to live at its neighbors' expense. The hiving instinct, or earth-hunger, impels a vigorous nation to extend its borders by means of warfare, commercial enterprise or colonization. But when a civilized government comes into contact with others less advanced, its conquests must continue until they reach the sea, an impassable mountain barrier, or the frontiers of another State strong enough to be mistress at home. Such is the genesis of all empires, past and present. Their permanence is in a direct ratio with their power of assimilation. No Government, however enlightened, suffices to weld a community together in lasting bonds. As I have remarked above, the necessary factors in nation-building are some uniformity in the standard of religion or

morals, miscegenation and democratic rule. In the absence of these essentials, the victor's iron grasp must, sooner or later, relax; and his distant possession is left to a far worse fate than if it had never tasted of the cup of civilization.

Applying these canons of evolution to India, we perceive the tremendous perplexity of the problems with which Great Britain is confronted. The peninsula is a triangle of 1,500,000 square miles in area. Its base, resting on Asia, is protected by the impenetrable Himalayan range. Only on the northwest is India vulnerable by passes in the Suleiman Mountains. Its sides are washed by the sea, and have but few good harbors. Thus, India has the advantages and defects of an insular position, which favors the growth of national life, while it intercepts currents of energy from without. In prehistoric times the central plateau was an island; but it had been connected with the mainland by detritus washed from the Himalayas by a group of mighty rivers. The alluvial plains of India afford a key to her civilization and history. The valleys of the Indus, Ganges, Brahmaputra, and their network of tributaries, yearly fertilized by silt, are fit breeding-grounds for the human race. The climate is tropical, but the northern provinces have extremes of hot and cold. It is enervating to muscular power, while it stimulates the sexual instinct. Before the dawn of history, India was the habitat of aboriginal tribes, who lived by fishing and the chase. About 1500 B.C., if not much earlier, waves of foreign invasion began to pour in from the northwest. The newcomers' kinship with ourselves was proved by their lofty brow, clearly cut features and fair complexions. They had reached a high degree of civilization, were well organized for war, and brought with them the Sanskrit language—perhaps the most complex and perfect of all vehicles for exchanging thought. Their religion was the worship of Nature-powers; and the antisocial caste-instinct had not yet developed. These Aryans drove the aboriginal tribesmen to the mountains and forests, or reduced them to slavery. On settling down in the alluvial valleys, their warlike spirit relaxed, and their skins darkened. The synthetic tendency produced caste distinctions. Priests, warriors, professional men and traders formed communities apart, and intermarriage became impossible. Thus the chief factor in nation-building was absent. With specialization came greater complexity in religion. It developed an ethical

side, and blindly sought the Intelligence which stands behind elemental powers. In this view, the world is an arena for the activities of creating, sustaining and destroying influences. The human soul seeks absorption in Divinity; but its impurities cannot be purged away in the course of one transient life. Thus arose the doctrine of Metempsychosis, which enunciates the transmigration of souls during ages of purifying trial. Asceticism was a necessary consequence, and the keen-witted priesthood developed a marvellous system of philosophy. The ignorant masses were held in thrall by legends celebrating the exploits of demigods—incarnations of the Sustaining Influence.

In the sixth century B.C. Hinduism underwent a transient reformation. Gautama, known to his followers as Buddha—"The Intelligence"—headed a reaction against Brahmin arrogance, and the materialism attending prosperity. He rejected caste, and the elaborate ceremonial which was the backbone of priestcraft, but retained the conception of Metempsychosis. Buddha anticipated Schopenhauer in believing that existence is a curse, and annihilation a blessing. The latter could be effected only when a balance had been struck between the good and evil actions of the soul after undergoing countless transmigrations. The charity of Buddhism knows no bounds, but its spirit is distinctly individualistic. It preaches resignation, passive contemplation and abstraction from mundane affairs. Such a creed was incompatible with the struggle for life; and after enduring for eleven hundred years it provoked another reaction. In the sixth century of our era, Hinduism in a degraded form was restored. Brahmins regained ascendancy, and strengthened their position by multiplying ceremonial observances. Religious ideals degenerated. No longer was the Creative Influence adored. Its place was usurped by a Sustaining Factor in its generative aspect. This cult soon assumed a highly sensuous form, and brought about the subjection of women. The Goddess of Destruction was placated by cruel rites. Heroes, regarded as incarnations of the Gods above; symbols of material wealth, such as a Cow and the River Ganges, found millions of suppliants. The theory of government was a pure theocracy; the warrior caste a secular arm, ever ready to do the Brahmins' bidding. The lower castes spread out into countless ramifications, resembling mediæval guilds, linked by religion, but kept apart by marriage customs. Caste stereo-

types a man's position at his birth, and is fatal to social cohesion. Another disintegrating element was the crystallization of society into minute particles. In course of centuries, the Indian plains were overspread by villages, each a complete self-governing unit, like so many infantry battalions. A congeries of States resting on such foundations is powerless against foreign aggression.

In 1001 A.D. came the first of many waves of Moslem invasion. Arabia, inhabited by a fierce, high-souled and contemplative race, was the cradle of Islam. The bane of religion is mysticism, which seeks the Creator but ignores the world, and fanaticism, which is mysticism translated into action. The Arab character was a forcing-ground for these qualities. Islam is a monotheism of the higher type. Its cardinal doctrines are resignation to God's will, the duties of prayer, penance and pilgrimage, the brotherhood of believers, and missionary effort attended by the sword. Inspired by fatalism and the memory of a great name, the Khalifs' followers subdued western Asia, and invaded Europe. But for the crushing defeat which they received from a Christian coalition at Tours (732 A.D), the West would now acknowledge that "there is no God save Allah and Mohammed is His Prophet." The princes of India could not withstand such forces. One by one they succumbed; and the sixteenth century saw an Islamic Empire installed at Delhi. The Mogul rulers were essentially nomads. They encamped in the peninsula, and their reigns were spent in moving from one extremity to the other with a locustlike horde of followers. Such education as they tolerated was purely Moslem; and the current of national life was scarcely affected. At one moment it seemed as though India had found the Superman who would lead her in the path of progress. The Emperor Akbar (1560-1605) had boundless sympathy associated with high culture, and a truly enlightened spirit. He took counsel of the best elements in Hindu society, and his system of Government has left indelible traces on Indian polity. His descendant Aurangzib (1658-1707) was a bigot born in the purple; and his long reign was an era of persecution terminating in civil war. At his death, the Empire, knit together by Akbar's statecraft, fell to pieces. Provincial satraps threw off their allegiance to the puppet Emperor of Delhi, and kingdoms arose with mushroom rapidity.

Meantime, European society had traversed the feudal stage,

and entered one of industry (1500-1900). The transformation of energy was brought about by a variety of causes. Printing multiplied the power of intellect a thousandfold. The grandeur and impeccable beauty of classical literature came as a revelation to the human mind. Renaissance in art and literature inspired revolt against the absolutism and dogma of Rome. The hiving instinct grew stronger, and it prompted maritime nations to seek new worlds beyond the sea. The discovery of America synchronized with that of the Cape route to India. Portuguese, English and Dutch mariners competed for a share in the rich Eastern commerce, and established factories on the Indian coast. At first, they came as timid suppliants; but they grew bolder in the anarchy of Mogul decadence. The instinct of self-preservation compelled them to maintain armies, and form alliances with native Powers. In the race for wealth, British merchants distanced all competitors. An insular position had given their country sea-power and comparatively free institutions; and they received heart-whole support from home. France was the last to succumb. During the first half of the eighteenth century she was a great colonizing Power; but the utter rottenness of the government of Louis XV destroyed an Indian Empire in the making. Hitherto, the Great Mogul, even in his degradation, was a word to conjure with. Had his nominal satrap who ruled Bengal respected the persons of British traders, the bubble might have been long in bursting. The Black Hole of Calcutta was avenged by Plassey (1757), which taught the lesson that Asiatics, led by Asiatics, were no match for European discipline. The prestige of superior might made a company of merchant adventurers the paramount power in India. Among the mother-ideas of Socialism was a spectacle of a band of traders governing an Empire.

Their early attempts to administer this rich and densely peopled domain were mere gropings in the dark. The white "Nabobs" were intent on wringing fortunes from the hopeless ryots, and their insolent wealth degraded the ideals of their countrymen at home. It is probable that India suffered more from the knavery and strength of European civilization than from the preceding anarchy. An exotic system of law was foisted on a people only too ready to profit by imported chicane. The ancient village organization was ruthlessly trampled on; landlordism in its worst

form was introduced into Bengal. With greater experience, the quality of our government improved; and the rulers of India began to grasp their duty towards subject races. Natives gained a footing in the lower grades of the official hierarchy; and English became the medium of higher instruction throughout the peninsula. The imposing edifice rested on insecure foundation. The centenary of Plassey was the signal for a revolt of our pampered native army, which shook the Empire to its foundations. Its suppression was a landmark in history. India passed under the control of the British Crown, or rather of the omnipotent Parliament. No public assembly could be less fitted for so gigantic a task. Ignorant, parochial, opportunist and rent by factions, the House of Commons has allowed its great dependency to be governed by a bureaucracy whose permanent officials have no personal knowledge of their charge. Their servants in the East are far better qualified to administer an Empire. They have the virtues and defects of an imperial race; and the edifice which has arisen in a brief half-century has genuine claims to the world's admiration. India enjoys peace within her borders, security from foreign aggression. The laws have been admirably codified. A network of 29,000 miles of railway, vast systems of irrigation, postal and telegraph services in advance of those of Europe, medical relief, some measure of Western education—such are the advantages which India has reaped from foreign rule. One thing alone is wanting, and that is the union of hearts. We are camping in the peninsula like our predecessors the Moguls. Miscegenation is impossible; for the handful of British would be overwhelmed in the mass, as were the Portuguese three centuries earlier. Efficient government is secured by a constant influx of the flower of Britain's youth. Conquering races are, *ipso facto*, deficient in imagination and sympathy. The British nature is positive, material, refractory to new impressions, and adverse to philosophic speculation. Moreover, national ideals have deteriorated since the Jubilee of 1887, which provoked an aristocratic reaction, and heightened the lust of dominion. The pseudo-imperialism thus generated received a setback from the Boer War; but commercialism and a thirst for material enjoyment have entered the nation's soul to the detriment of all its higher faculties. Anglo-Indians unwittingly outrage native sentiment by consuming forbidden food. "I love you, Sahib," said a

Sikh of high rank to his English friend; "but when I think that you are in the habit of devouring beef, my soul shrinks from yours!" Their interest in the languages and higher manifestations of Indian thought is very slight. Many have no other ambition than to spend as large a proportion of Indian service as possible in hill stations, and hasten back to the delights of golf and bridge. The British are not alone to blame for the widening gulf between rulers and ruled. The Indian nature is charitable, self-denying and prone to natural affection. The cultured classes are idealists, with a secret contempt for material civilization. But the fruit of ages of subjection is seen in their fatalism and lack of self-reliance. Owing to deficient moral balance, they often exhibit the most astounding contradictions. Religious and caste prejudices divide them into countless semi-hostile communities, and restrict social intercourse with Europeans. The saving clause in their complex character is a limitless capacity for admiration. An Englishman gifted with the nobler virtues is loved and obeyed with devotion. Herein, perhaps, lies the key to the problem of governing India.

It can hardly be said that the worthiest traits in Indian nature are elicited by education. The percentage of children attending school to the total population is only 1.9, as compared with 13 in England. Technical instruction has scarcely begun, and infinitesimal is the number of girls who receive any kind of training. Young men are taught to remember, rather than to think for themselves. No pains are taken to form character or inspire a sense of public duty. The output of our Colleges and High Schools is far in excess of the country's wants; and thousands of youths find that their dearly bought culture fails to give them bread. Their bitter disappointment finds vent in the press. The united circulation of India's seventeen hundred vernacular journals is insignificant from a Western point of view. But each copy is read to a little crowd of eager listeners after the daily work is done, and their hostile tone has permeated the masses. The Congress movement has had a similar effect. It commenced in 1885, as an aftermath of the racial friction generated by Lord Ripon's well-meant effort to equalize the legal status of Europeans and Indians. It is the wire-pullers' aim to destroy the monopoly of high office enjoyed by the ruling race and pave the way for democratic government. In its earlier stages the

agitation was conducted by constitutional methods, but they have given place to a campaign of slander and misrepresentation.

India's isolation is a thing of the past. She is penetrated by world-forces, amongst which are Socialism and its offshoot, Anarchism. In both, the cardinal doctrine is class warfare, culminating in a cataclysm which will sweep away the inequalities and injustices of society. It is more than a coincidence that Lajpat Rai, who has recently been deported for sedition, consorted last year with Anarchists in Paris and Brussels. Political agitators have borrowed the tactics described by Karl Marx and Bakunin. Moreover, the spirit of revolt has infected millions belonging to the lower castes. The jute traffic has poured a flood of wealth into Bengal, whose down-trodden masses chafe under Brahmin despotism and crave for a larger measure of social recognition. But the distribution of wealth is as defective as it is in Europe. An increasing percentage of the Indian population is always on the verge of famine. Railways have equalized the price of food, and maintained it at a far higher level than in the days of native rule. Foreign commerce is, indeed, advancing by leaps and bounds; but, from an Indian point of view, it does not conduce to the general well-being. The great bulk of its profits is spent in Europe, America and China. Exports consist mainly of raw materials; imports, of manufactured goods which might readily be produced by organized labor within the Empire. Indigenous industries have been killed by free trade, and those who pursued them have been relegated to an overburdened soil. Ninety per cent. of the population are agriculturists, most of whom are packed into the alluvial areas. Early marriage and large families are inculcated by religion. Thus the preventive checks enunciated by Malthus are at work on a gigantic scale. Warfare and famine are prevented by the British Government, but it is powerless against cholera and plague. The pressure of population on the soil is felt by all classes with increasing stringency; and they blame alien rulers for the consequences of their own disobedience to nature's laws.

Religion is an important factor in the existing ferment. The 207,000,000 Hindus are ruled with an iron rod by the Brahmins, who are strongly organized, and present common characteristics from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. Their dream is a restoration of the theocracies destroyed nine centuries ago, and it is

communicated to the devotees who flock by millions to places of pilgrimage. The rising at Manipur in 1891, which led to the slaughter of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, was planned at Kalighat, a temple of the Goddess of Destruction near Calcutta. The 5,000,000 religious mendicants who batten on Hindu charity and superstition are inveterate foes to the foreign rule. The ideals of Indian Mussulmans, numbering 62,000,000, have undergone a curious transformation. The upper class, descended from Mogul soldiers and statesmen, knew that time was when English merchants sued for the crumbs that fell from the Emperor's table. Their attitude towards us was one of aloofness, and they were inclined to resent the virtual monopoly of high office secured by the suppler and more subtle Hindus. About ninety years ago a reform movement set in among the population of Bengal, whose forebears had been forcibly converted by the Moguls. It was Puritanism of a militant type, and aimed at the extirpation of Christian rule. But in the last few years a change has taken place in the spirit of Islam throughout Asia. The example of Japan has proved that the West may be beaten with its own weapons, and cultured Mohammedans are assimilating the nobler side of European civilization while they reject its dross. The current agitation is essentially Hindu, and those who profess the rival cult are ranging themselves on the British side. Christians of all denominations number barely one per cent. of the population. Proselytes would come in more freely if Christian secretaries would lay aside their mutual jealousy; but the political influence of missionary effort is wholly good. The spectacle of self-devotion, self-denial and brotherly love afforded by devoted Europeans of all denominations is a powerful antidote to the profound materialism of our Government.

Such are the more salient features of the unrest which is permeating India. It is nothing else than the blind struggle of an embryonic national soul to find corporate existence. England has given her great dependency a *lingua franca* for the interchange of thought, means of communication which annihilate space and natural obstacles. For the first time in their history educated Indians are united by a common Government and common political ideals. They are in complete touch with the external world. If the example of Japan has fired the imagination of Indian patriots, the lessons taught by the passive resistance of

Nonconformists and the efforts of Englishwomen to secure political rights have not been lost. The Wish to Live of a nascent organism has been outraged by the partition of Bengal. However necessary some such measure may have been from an administrative point of view, it was far too drastic, and has robbed the ancient province of rich districts which were geographically and politically its own. Of the measures adopted by Indian wire-pullers it is hard to speak with equanimity. The boycott, by which they hoped to bring Great Britain to her knees, was evidently inspired by the direct pressure and general strike recognized by Anarchists, and is equally impossible of realization. For good or for evil, India has entered the comity of civilized nations, and is linked to it by countless ties. Her isolation would mean a reversion to the barbarism of the pre-Aryan period. Such senseless and wicked manœuvres will serve only to make compromise impossible. Nor can the policy of our Indian Government escape condemnation. It neglected the maxim "*Principiis obsta*," and allowed Bengal and the Punjab to drift into a state perilously resembling anarchy. Then it passed from timidity to the opposite extreme. Regulation III of 1818, which was raked up in order to spirit Lajpat Rai two thousand miles from his home, was framed in order to deal with the European adventurers let loose on India by the peace of 1815. When the Tsar of Russia adopts such measures, Englishmen can find no words to express their indignation. The prosecution of obscure native journals only increases their circulation. The prohibition of political meetings closes a channel by which popular discontent is brought to the knowledge of the ruling class. To grapple with external symptoms and neglect deep-seated causation is to lay up a store of racial hatred which will bear bitter fruit in the next decade.

Is the Indian problem, then, insoluble? A gleam of hope is afforded by the awakening of England's conscience. She is entering on a moral stage of national existence, and is becoming alive to the evils attending the unequal distribution of wealth, limitless competition, feudal privilege and *laissez faire*. Her broadening sympathy may, possibly, extend to the three hundred millions of Asiatics for whose welfare she is responsible in the sight of God. European civilization is not the last word; it has much to learn from Asia. From an evolutionary point of view, subject

racess are an impossibility. It is not in the nature of things that an Empire in another hemisphere should be eternally governed from a little group of islands set in northern seas. England's mission is to pave the way for a time when India shall take her place beside the great self-governing Colonies. Indians, too, should profit by the precious years of British peace. They are by no means strong enough to stand alone, and the withdrawal of 70,000 foreign bayonets would plunge them into anarchy and civil war. Social must precede political reform. When the bonds of caste are broken, when Brahmin tyranny is overthrown, when Indian women are emancipated, the process of nation-building will have really begun. Technical education is in its infancy; the empire's resources are poorly developed, and—except in Bombay—the agency has been European, not native, capital. Great Britain and India alike must take to heart the burning words of Ruskin, "That nation is wealthiest which contains the greatest number of noble and happy lives."

FRANCIS H. SKRINE.

THE GERMAN PRESS.

BY AUSTIN HARRISON.

NOTHING sticks so long as a bad name, a good nickname or a false reputation; and Bismarck's apothegm, half parable, half paradox, that the German Government had to pay for the window-panes its press smashed, has gone down to posterity with legendary fame and familiarity. As when Uncle Toby swore his first oath, the Recording Angel may well have blushed as the *mot* was registered—the stigma persists; and so the German Press still is regarded as the most reckless, ignorant, irresponsible and ill-informed in any country in Europe.

Public opinion in Germany being commonly reputed to be non-existent, or if existent impotent, it is not unnatural that the German Press should be decried generally as a totally inadequate, unrepresentative and unimportant institution; reflecting neither the voice of the people nor the opinion of the Government, neither the temper of the nation nor the will of the Emperor; ill-conditioned because ill-directed, discrediting and compromising its own Government, policy and people; and, since it possesses little prestige in its own country, *ipso facto* not calling for the serious attention of politicians in others. This reputation was, of course, precisely the one which Bismarck, in his perspicuous statecraft, desired that it should have. In the years immediately succeeding the creation of the German Empire, public opinion hardly existed in Germany at all. The public conscience lay dormant (politically speaking) in palsied Philistinism, the heritage of Napoleonic dominion. In schism, controversy and in a wilderness of partisan meta-politics, the Germans had grown from infancy to manhood, from a centrifugal congeries of States and State policies to national unity and cohesion, overnight almost as it were, by blood and iron; and, on the morrow of the great

event, lacked not only political education, but singleness of national purpose or understanding for their epochal political achievement.

To mould the people, Bismarck set about moulding and establishing a great press. No statesman ever used the press to such purpose, with greater advantage to himself, or with more unscrupulous effect. He established a press bureau in the Wilhelmstrasse, which became and still is an integral part of the German Foreign Office. From the chemistry of his "inspiration," Busch, "his little Archer," shot off his journalistic arrows in the guise of *ballons d'essai*, test questions and crooked answers, threats, suggestions, insinuations, declarations, backed up by the "inspired" leading article, the suggestive *entrefilet*, the historical survey and the paragraph of bluff; throwing over the whole German Press a skein of intrigue, diplomatic blarney and mystery which it was the duty of European chancelleries and journalists to unravel, and if necessary to respond to. Bismarck is dead, but his deeds live after him. In all essentials, the German Press to-day is to the political student as invaluable as it was in Bismarck's days. In many ways it is the most faithful index of impending political events of any press in Europe.

Let it be said at once that to those who can read, the German Press reflects the whims, ambitions and aims of the Government as no other medium can do. It is the most docile, well drilled and controlled, the most supine, press in all international questions of any in the world. On foreign affairs, it is the instrument of authority, not the expression of the popular sentiment or will. In such matters it waives all right of independent opinion. Now, in this servility to official guidance lies its inherent strength, and its chief claim to our attention.

To imagine that the lucubrations of German journalists are not worth the ink expended on them, and that the press is badly informed, badly directed, without coherent aim or policy, is to fall into the very trap that Bismarck laid for the artless politician when he promulgated his exceedingly artful press dictum. The secret of understanding the German Press is this: first, that on questions of foreign policy it is never independent, though frequently entirely divorced from public opinion; and, secondly, that whatever it does say, it says with some object, either tentative, advisory, minatory, or otherwise, and that it may faithfully

be regarded as the mouthpiece of semi-official opinion. It is important to appreciate this fact.

Not that it is easy to read the German Press always correctly. For this, obviously, considerable experience is necessary. Mystification is often the object of diplomacy. One must "know" the papers, and of course any one who has resided in Germany has an enormous advantage over the tyro, who is unacquainted with the men of the press, or those who "impress" them. At the present moment, the press is far more centralized politically than it used to be, and as subject to "inspiration" as it ever was. Its centre is Berlin. From the oracles of the Wilhelmstrasse the idea goes forth. A suggestion, a pat on the back, a political simile or jest or quotation, a diplomatic wink, or hoodwink—such devices are sufficient, and their substance appears in a leading article or in paragraphic completeness, which is repeated by rote through the provincial press of all Germany. With the exception of the Socialist organs, the great provincial papers are fed from Berlin, where they maintain their own correspondents; and in this way Hamburg knows what München, and Dresden what Breslau and all other cities, repeat. This, of course, simplifies the matter. The incense emanates from the capital, and thus it is enough to study the Berlin papers to know quite accurately what political Germany thinks about any important international question.

However anomalous it may seem to Americans, German Press humility does not entail humiliation. In a country where freedom of speech and person is limited, and where autocratic, military rule is absolute, it is natural enough that the press should be receptive and subservient. Journalism in the Fatherland is the calling for those who, for some reason or other, have never found another calling. It is an estate without a status. Emoluments are small. It carries no dignity, offers no position, involves neither social, political nor literary distinction. Thus inevitably its ranks are recruited from the flotsam and jetsam of other professions, almost never from the schools; and the open contempt with which Germans regard the "Gentlemen of the Press" is one of the main causes of German political ignorance. Nor does the German public at all resent the conception of a "reptile press" as in any way reflecting upon the public prestige. It is recognized as the tool of the Government, as the public whipping-

toy which all alive can have a fling at. Then, too, ridiculous orders and titles being cheap, much-prized loyalty is easily preserved, and small difficulty is experienced in manipulating the machine. The *flair* for news is generally lacking. Independent enterprise finds little opportunity. Foreign correspondence is meagre in the extreme. And practically the entire German Press depends for its foreign intelligence upon the very economical service of the semi-official Telegraph Agency, which supplies only the barest facts, and, being itself under official tutelage, exercises a semi-official influence over the entire German Press. Were it not for the foreign correspondence of the "*Lokal Anzeiger*" of Berlin and the letters in the "*Koelnische Zeitung*," the German public would practically know nothing of what goes on in other countries except occasional facts of what Germans would style of world-political importance.

Needless to say, this is a very pernicious state of things. The German public is kept systematically in profound ignorance of events in other countries; and, as there are no rival agencies, and no likelihood of any rival agency appearing, this state of things will probably continue for a very long time. The absence of press initiative renders it an easy matter for the Government to keep the press "in order," the public in ignorance, and to stir up artificial waves of emotion and indignation whenever the "authorities" judge it provident to do so. Thus, during the Boer War, the public was completely hoaxed by the press. And thus, too, in all questions regarding Russia, everything is done to spare Russian susceptibilities, and nothing is permitted to be said that may give offence to the Government of the "Little Father." As, moreover, the German newspapers are widely read in Russia and arrive there before the English mails, the German Press invariably addresses itself to its audience across the Eastern frontier and writes on all international affairs for Russian consumption. During the Russo-Japanese War, though German sympathy was markedly anti-Russian, the German Press on every possible occasion "wrote up" Russian victories and prophesied Japanese defeat, and adopted an attitude of sympathy with the Tsar's legions utterly at variance with the feelings of the nation, which felt as bitterly towards Russia as it did towards England—only that, in the case of Russia, the press refused to give it expression, while in the case of England the press encouraged it!

"Reptile" Bismarck called his press, and few who know it will contend that it has done anything since to belie that reputation. A press which is controlled by semi-official inspiration, which, without any independent thought or conscience of its own, will resort to calumny or lickspittling, according to direction, and which on foreign politics writes not so much for the education or guidance of its own public as for the greater and more intelligent political public in other countries, must be more or less "reptile," and a very fair weathercock of German diplomacy. Neither party faction nor political personal ambition in any way affects the attitude of the press on foreign affairs. Editors seem to regard such matters as beyond the province of their imagination. They distrust their own judgment. They seek blindly for inspiration, and they get it. And that is the reason why the German Press is so instructive a political handbook.

How does the press draw its inspiration? Well, readers of Busch's "*Secret Pages of the History of Bismarck*" will remember the delectable scene wherein the author describes his first bow to his future master. He has left us a vivid account of the nature of his duties, how he became the amanuensis of the great Chancellor, and how with his ready pen he kept Europe in a constant state of trepidation in the interests of high German diplomacy. The system remains. The esoteric mysteries of "inspiration" are as obvious as the oracles themselves.

As before said, the press bureau is an integral part of the German Foreign Office. It has a head and a staff of some four or five members, drawn, like Busch, mostly from the press; men who have been singled out for official distinction—for, on entering the Foreign Office, they become officials with an official status. Their duties are fairly arduous. The senior members receive press representatives and instruct them in their calling, and they are in constant touch with the Chancellor, and one of them invariably attends upon him in the Reichstag. From this bureau emanate elaborate articles on international politics, elliptical paragraphs and "well-informed" rebukes administered to foreign peoples and to refractory German organs.

It is frequently observed that the degree of information of the various newspapers varies in great measure, now one paper, like the "*Post*," apparently knowing everything, now the "*National Zeitung*," now the "*Frankfurter Gazette*," now the "*Ber-*

liner Lokal Anzeiger" or some out-of-the-way provincial organ. The reason for this is what Germans would call the "personal moment." Naturally, some members of the press are more favored than others, or they are cleverer at deducing, comprehending and anticipating, and they learn more than the man who, knowing nothing himself, endeavors to get the tip by fair and square tackling. Some press representative is always *persona grata*, and one of the best informed men in Germany, who perhaps knows as much about the "true inwardness" of German domestic and foreign policy as the Chancellor himself, is the Berlin correspondent of the "*Frankfurter Zeitung*"; but he is extremely cautious and loyal to the Government he serves.

The press office is always open. It is a sort of political inquiry agency; and once a journalist has the ear of the oracle, and is clever and tactful, he can learn as much about the trend of political affairs as is good for him, and becomes a very "well-informed" and useful contributor to his newspaper. Of course, obedience is essential. If he is instructed to say something about British perfidy, and then writes an article about Britain's rectitude, he may find the workshop closed next time he applies for admittance, or an even worse fate may befall him, so that in effect the use of the press office is remarkably disciplinarian and dictatorial, and offers an effectual clog to individual journalistic effort—which, it may be, is also its main object. As a rule its mandates are never disobeyed. It decrees, and exacts implicit obedience. And the journalist who desires to get on has to take the straight "tip" without demurrer or exalted individualism. In this way it diffuses its influence over the whole country.

Abroad, too, German Press "inspiration" is an important asset in every well-appointed German Embassy. There is usually some member of the embassy deputed to receive correspondents, to keep in touch socially with the captains of the press and to temper the distemper of a "bad press." German Embassies are not for ornament and mere representation. In London, during the reaction following on the German Anglophobia of the Boer War, strenuous efforts were made to placate and assuage the British press, and it must be admitted that German Embassies are fully aware of the growing importance of sympathetic co-operation with the press, and obtain very gratifying results in consequence. In Paris, during the recent Moroccan crisis, and

in the days of the Algeciras Conference, some remarkably adroit subterranean work was accomplished, with which achievement the presence of the leading member of the press bureau of the Wilhelmstrasse in the French capital may legitimately be connected. With Americans the Emperor has set the fashion, having broken all precedent by receiving the Berlin correspondent of the Associated Press in Berlin,—whereas it is notorious that German journalists are absolutely tabooed at Court—and by never letting the opportunity pass of tendering his imperial *petits soins* to American pressmen. This is always noticeable at the Kiel regatta and other great functions. It is mentioned here as evidence of the Emperor's "modernness" and intelligent understanding of contemporary conditions of political life.

A word must be said about the influence of the great commercial and financial magnates on the German Press and of their growing power in things political. Men like Ballin, the founder of German commercial power; like the late Krupp, the arm and burgonet of German sociocracy; like the late v. Siemens, the designing brain of the Baghdad railway scheme; like the great bankers Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Bleichroeder, etc.; and, latterly, like Scherl, the proprietor of the "*Lokal-Anzeiger*," exercise far more influence on German politics than is commonly supposed. The Kaiser and Ballin made Germany a great sea-power. The bankers initiated the German policy of economic penetration in South America, Asia Minor, China, and Morocco, and maintain and virtually direct it. Without the Deutsche Bank and the Disconto Gesellschaft Bank, Germany would never have entered South America at all; and without the banking interest the great Anatolian railways scheme would never have been conceived. The Emperor early saw their influence and cultivated it accordingly. He consults them, and in great measure is guided by their counsels. Although Herr Ballin is a Jew, the Emperor is on terms of close intimacy with him, while he was the open friend of the late Krupp, who has made Germany the leading arsenal of the world. And, when important financial questions are at issue, the influence of the great financiers makes itself felt not only upon the press, but upon the whole trend of German politics. Particularly is this the case as regards England and Russia. Most marked was this politico-financial pressure on the press in the case of the Russian loans, though the German people were,

and are, diametrically opposed to the pro-Russian policy of their Government. It is not too much to say that German Imperialism, which from adverse circumstances owes its motive mechanism to State policy rather than to the natural result of individual enterprise, is only possible by reason of the great banking interest which is not only identical with, but is the basic incentive to, the Emperor's over-sea and colonial policy. England's Empire was built up by individual enterprise and economic provision, the flag following only when the work was completed. German Imperialism is being founded upon the flag and State finance for the purpose of attracting individual effort and enterprise in their wake. The distinction is great, and largely explains the suspicion with which Pan-German ambitions are viewed by the more satisfied nations of the earth.

For such as are not acquainted with the status of the various German newspapers a few explanatory words may be useful. The German Press may be classified as semi-official and financial; all the rest being practically but pale reflexes of the leading organs and without much influence or interest to the foreign political public. There is no "Times" in Germany, and no Book Club. But the semi-official press is quite as well informed on foreign affairs as any English newspaper, and though not so enterprising, is quite as instructive and quite as accurate.

Most important of these is the "North German Gazette," which is the official organ of the Foreign Office and speaks with Papal knowledge and infallibility. Its functions are mainly negative, and its most obvious purpose is to issue semi-official denials, to correct some German organ or other which has offended, and to give the tone generally to press and people. This it does in a sort of running commentary on events, and occasionally, but only occasionally, by means of a small leader which has the official imprimatur of authoritative utterance. Its editor is a Russian by birth, strongly pro-Russian in policy, formerly a leader-writer on the "*Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*," where he was distinguished for his anti-English lucubrations and Pan-German proclivities. He has imparted elasticity to the paper; and, when things are "moving" in the great world of politics, he rattles off daily disclaimers, corrections, rebuffs and rebukes with ready proficiency and pertinacity. It is essential to read this organ. Though not a paper for the general public,

though not a paper at all in the English or American sense of the word, it is the guiding power of official press utterance, and is the first newspaper the foreign correspondent reads on beginning work as possibly containing the most essential item of political intelligence.

The greatest newspaper in Germany still is the "*Koelnische Zeitung*," which is published at Köln, and is still the most expensive daily in the Fatherland. Its leaders resemble those of "The Times" in length, weight and form. On foreign affairs, its information is thoroughly sound and reliable, and, on occasion, it proves itself to be the best informed of any newspaper in the Empire. Prince von Bülow favors it, and its Berlin correspondent regularly punctuates German diplomatic action and is "used" for sounding the foreign press, issuing *démentis* and the like, and is a very important personage in the land. The journal is always worth reading, and it has an admirable correspondence from London and Paris, and many highly interesting articles on all sorts and conditions of men and topics. The student has to read it carefully. Its leaders are full of *entre-filets* requiring telegraphic attention, and it speaks for the nation from Berlin. Naturally, its field is Köln and the Rhenish provinces, but many people take it in all over the country, and of course all interested in foreign affairs study it. The point to note is that it has no independent opinion on foreign affairs, and its articles are important because they reflect the Foreign Office view and are intended for foreign consumption.

Another "well-informed" paper is the "*National Zeitung*" of Berlin, the leading organ of the National Liberals, who are really a rational Imperialist party. It represents the German national idea and interest, and under the direction of its Imperialist editor speaks with grave authority on all international questions. It arrogates to itself the rôle of monitor to its less "well-informed" contemporaries; it keeps in close touch with the Foreign Office, and is a very inspiring and inspired newspaper. Here, again, there is no independent judgment on foreign matters, no personal criticism, no individual line or attitude. It is a sensible, well-conducted newspaper, containing good articles, good criticism of art, literature and the stage, and is quite indispensable to the man on the spot whose business it is to study German public affairs.

Then there is the "Post," the leading semi-official organ of the Conservative parties, strongly Imperial and Imperialist, reactionary, and also extremely "well informed" and conducted from "on high." Its articles on foreign policy are always interesting, generally flavored with some kind of inspiration, and not infrequently written by men who are actually "in the know." Especially in its Saturday and Sunday editions its knowledge is manifested. Some of these sapient reflections on foreign affairs emanate straight from the Foreign Office, even if they are not actually written there. Being the mouthpiece of the Junker aristocracy, and so of militarism, its leading contributors are often members of that "set," and on all occasions it voices the will of the Prussian Squirearchy, of pipe-clay Conservative interest and class prejudice, and is a fierce opponent of Social Democracy. It must be read. It is too conservative for Socialist Berlin, but it is *the* respectable organ of Conservatism, and its circulation is limited to the class which it represents. Of all German newspapers, perhaps it is the most consistently useful to the foreign observer of *Weltpolitik*.

Another useful and inspired paper is the "*Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*," which has great trade interests behind it and is strongly national in the pan-German sense. In degree of "inspiration" it varies from time to time. It is a widely read paper in Berlin, of the purely political type peculiar to German journalism. Its public is naturally the Conservative National Liberal one, financial and military people, and it is a strong advocate of the Emperor's naval policy.

Then there is the "Daily Mail" of Germany, the Berlin "*Lokal-Anzeiger*," which is a very up-to-date, go-ahead newspaper with an enormous circulation, and quite the most prosperous organ in the land. Originally, it was popular and reflected no political view whatever. But of recent years its power has attracted the powers that be, and it is, and has been for some time, an extremely "well-informed" news organ, often being in the position to publish political information of first-hand importance, and now consistently reflects the official opinion in matters of State concern. It is admirably conducted; and its political editors are in close touch with the Foreign Office. This organ is the only one in Germany which maintains a daily independent telegraphic service from foreign capitals, and is the organ *par*

excellence of all who desire to know what is going on in other countries.

All the leading provincial dailies are more or less subject to inspiration. Thus organs such as the "*Hamburger Correspondent*," the "*Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*," the leading dailies in Dresden, Breslau, Leipzig, Hanover and other places are supplied from Berlin, and kept under the centralization of semi-official organization.

Of the great financial organs, the best is unquestionably the "*Frankfurter Zeitung*," which is perhaps the best paper in Germany. It is subject to Jewish influence, and is read all over the country. On foreign affairs it follows the direction of the Foreign Office. Its Berlin correspondent is admirably posted on the intricacies of inner policy, and frequently his despatches reflect the opinion of the German Government. It is very careful not to wound Russian susceptibilities; for the good reason that the Tsar, who got to know it in his Darmstadt days, still takes it and reads it regularly. Thus, during the massacres of Jews in Russia, this Jewish organ saw no anomaly in publishing advanced pro-Russian leaders.

In Berlin, the great financial organs are the "*Berliner Tageblatt*" and the "*Boersen Courier*," which are controlled by bankers and financial magnates, and profess Liberal tendencies. Of these two, the "*Tageblatt*" is the more important politically. It is a good paper with a big circulation, and it is the "safe thing" to read it, as it opposes Social Democracy. One sees officers glancing at it in cafés, and it is fond of assuming occult political information. In its leader it frequently assails the Government; it leans towards English constitutionalism, and is a force in the political world—eminently respectable and readable. Frequently, too, it is "well informed." Sometimes it breaks loose and bitterly attacks Governmental policy—but not for long; the next day, as likely as not, an article will appear of a conciliatory nature. Practically its influence, so far as foreign politics are concerned, is semi-official.

"Aunt Voss," or the "*Vossische Zeitung*," of Berlin, is neither wholly political nor wholly independent. It is the accredited organ of Liberalism, with excellent art and literary criticisms, a wide public, and, with the "*Lokal-Anzeiger*," possesses the largest advertisement institution in the country. The revival

of Liberalism has imparted increased political lustre to its prestige. Sometimes it takes a strong independent line, advocating reforms, attacking existing institutions, and embarking on revolutionary crusades of all kinds. But it has the heart of a maiden aunt, and its imprecations frighten nobody; very often it is well informed, and as a general rule may be regarded as thoroughly acquainted with, even if it does not always follow, the views of the German Foreign Office.

Military Junkerism is represented by the "*Kreuz-Zeitung*," which is the organ of the military classes and of German aristocracy. It is often quite independent and attacks Government and parties alike with refreshing detachment. In this paper Professor Schiemann expatiates once a week upon foreign politics. He is a personal friend of Emperor and Chancellor, a Pan-German, and speaks with unique authority on foreign affairs. As a Russian, he naturally is pro-Russian and in consequence an Anglophobe. He journeys frequently to and fro between Berlin and St. Petersburg to sound, propound and expound. He knows far more than he says, and is one of those personages whose posthumous reminiscences *à la* Hohenlohe would be an interesting human and political document. The "*Kreuz-Zeitung*" is read by the military aristocracy all over Germany. It supports the *Kaiseridee*, or the belief in the divine right of Kings, the Imperial policy of over-sea expansion, and is the literary expression of Prussian reactionism.

The great Catholic organs are the "*Kölnische Volkszeitung*," published in Köln, and the "*Germania*," of Berlin; but of course in every Catholic city the party maintains its own journal. Both are subject to inspiration, but not consistently so, and they stand primarily and essentially for the single Catholic interest.

Then, too, there is the Socialist press, the leading organ of which, the "*Vorwärts*," is published in Berlin. The "*Vorwärts*" is a very well-written journal, purely partisan, always hostile to the Government and always interesting and instructive. It is never inspired. Any one wishing to follow German public affairs must read it, as it provides the most intelligent and exhaustive criticism of German politics and institutions, and is sometimes extraordinarily entertaining and witty.

A word must be said about the "*Zukunft*," Maximilian Harden's weekly, which is the German "Truth." Harden is a fanatic-

al Bismarckian, a brilliant writer, critic and dialectician, and his organ is much appreciated by all sections of the community. The "*Grenzboten*" is another review which still maintains its Bismarckian reputation for political knowledge; and as such must be read by the student. The purely Pan-German organs, headed by the "*Alldeutsche Blätter*," are useful, though wild and irresponsible; nor must the political influence of the German pamphlet system be left out of account—most Germans having written a pamphlet or so some time or other; nor the publications of the Navy League, and the tangle of so-called literature which invariably crops up on all important political questions.

This exhausts our summary. The point to note is that on foreign affairs the German press is invariably subject to official control, as is the official Telegraph News Agency, and that its object is purposely educational. To maintain that the German press has nothing to teach is not to understand it. It is the "best press" any Government can boast of; dull, and lacking in understanding of modern journalistic enterprise, but to the student the most instructive in all Europe.

AUSTIN HARRISON.

RESULTS OF BRITISH NAVAL CONCENTRATION.

BY ARCHIBALD S. HURD.

THE full political significance of the reorganization of the British Navy, which has lately been completed, has not been realized. The map of the world is very infrequently studied by persons outside the Naval Intelligence Department in the great capitals for the purpose of seeing how naval power is distributed over the seas. Ships of war are continually being ordered from one station to another; and, if there were no newspapers to record the movements in international politics, any intelligent student of affairs, with an atlas before him, could form a fairly accurate impression of the trend of friendships and jealousies from the manner in which the respective naval Powers group their naval forces on the various great ocean highways. If the British redistribution scheme is examined by this method, it will be found that it supplies very gratifying evidence of the continued growth of cordial relations between the British Government and Japan, France, Italy and, notably, the United States of America.

Prior to the decision to reorganize the British sea-going forces, the Admiralty was maintaining an enormous preponderance of ships of war in the Mediterranean, was keeping two large groups of cruisers patrolling the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the American continent, and had in full commission in China waters no fewer than five battle-ships, eight cruisers and a similar number of sloops and gunboats, in addition to torpedo craft. At the same time, a small squadron of cruising vessels was stationed on the West Coast of Africa, a larger squadron was based upon Simonstown, Cape Colony, and there was a considerable array of strength in Australian waters, on the one hand, and in the East-Indian seas—not excluding the Persian Gulf—on the other.

This wide distribution of naval power had been inherited, with practically little change, from the time of the Napoleonic wars and of the troubles between Great Britain and the United States, while in the Far East the accumulation of naval war material had been due to the action of Russia. When at last it occurred to some one, and if the truth must be told that some one was Admiral of the Fleet Sir John Fisher, to take an atlas and find out what justification existed for such a distribution of power, it was found that the time was overdue for a very considerable rearrangement.

The majority of the officers and men of the Fleet were engaged in cruising in vessels of slight fighting value in waters which were far removed from probable scenes of conflict. Great Britain was on the most cordial terms with all the Powers in the Mediterranean, and yet she still persisted in parading the Midland Sea with a fleet of huge proportions, including over a dozen battle-ships. In the Western Atlantic, nearly a dozen cruisers were continually under the orders of the Admiral in command of the historic North-American and West-Indian station, whose duty consisted in making peaceful but purposeless cruises, luxuriating in the invigorating climate to be enjoyed in Canadian waters in the summer months, and hibernating under genial and pleasant weather conditions in the West Indies during the colder months of the year. Then, on the other side of the American continent, yet another Admiral was busy making the best of life as it is led on the Pacific coast. Why, it was asked, is it necessary for Great Britain to keep a dozen battle-ships in the Mediterranean, where month after month is devoted to the pleasant interchange of friendly courtesies between Powers more or less completely bound together in the determination to preserve the *status quo* in this region of the world? What foe, it was also asked, are all the cruisers wandering about the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of America prepared to meet and defeat? In these waters it was realized that the only possible enemy was the United States. Had it not been an axiom in the political relations of the countries, it was further inquired, that war between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race was a hideous spectre which had been laid because it outraged the feelings of both countries? Moreover, if these friendly relations did not, as a matter of fact, exist between Great Britain and the United

States, of what use, it was suggested, would the two squadrons of the Atlantic and Pacific, consisting entirely of vessels without armor belts, be against the massed squadrons of battle-ships flying the Stars and Stripes.

Again, when it came to an examination of the reasons which had led to the assignment of a large naval force to Far Eastern waters, it was immediately recognized that the whole naval position had been completely altered in consequence of the alliance formed by Great Britain with Japan. On the other hand, in consequence mainly of the progress of the German Fleet, the naval position of Great Britain in the English Channel and the North Sea was becoming year by year increasingly threatened. Owing to the large number of officers and men required for manning the battle-ships and cruisers in extra-European waters, where no trouble threatened, a large portion of the armored ships of the Empire, and almost all the torpedo craft, lay in the dockyards without officers and without men. It had long been the custom to calculate, in a rough-and-ready way, the naval strength of Great Britain by the number of ships which she possessed, rather than by the number she could put to sea in an emergency, fully stored and with crews adequately trained in their war duties. At this date, every naval harbor in the United Kingdom was crowded with men-of-war, some so old as to have far exceeded the span of useful existence, and others so comparatively modern as to deserve a better fate than to lie month in and month out without an officer or seaman on board. With a naval personnel exceeding 131,000, the resources of the Admiralty were unequal to the task of even providing the best ships in reserve with reduced crews, and of the horde of torpedo craft only about a score were maintained in a condition of preparedness for action. Year by year, great additions had been made to the number of torpedo craft, and only a small section of this most important division of the Fleet was kept at anything approaching a condition of war readiness.

Success in naval war depends upon a delicate combination in peace time of human intelligence and skill with the best available war material. Ships in reserve which are hurried to sea in charge of strange deck officers and men, and of engineers and stokers who are unfamiliar with their mechanical equipment, must become merely horrible shambles when brought face to face

with the foe adequately trained for war. The total expenditure on the Fleet at this time was approximately £40,000,000, and owing to the crowded state of all the Royal Dockyards demands had already been formulated for extensive naval works, in order to provide additional docks and fresh space for anchorage adequately defended by fixed defences. Then there was an inexorable need for newer and more efficient men-of-war; and, in consequence of the demands for officers and men for the large number of weak men-of-war patrolling the waters of friendly States, a further large augmentation of the personnel was inevitable. It appeared as though, in the then existing course of naval routine, Navy Estimates amounting to about £60,000,000 annually would be presented to Parliament at an early date, imposing upon the taxpayers of England an unparalleled burden. The situation was one calculated to arouse the gravest anxiety, particularly in view of the energetic measures adopted by Germany with a view to creating a great Fleet efficiently organized for war, and within three or four hundred miles of the eastern and least defended coasts of Great Britain.

In these circumstances, the scheme of British naval reform was considered and finally adopted. A little calculation showed that the officers and men who were required for placing the reserves of ships in a satisfactory condition were already in existence, locked up in the non-fighting ships spread out over extra-European waters which in the existing political situation could not become the scene of naval conflict. On the other hand, it was readily ascertained that the vast assembly of obsolete and obsolescent men-of-war which had congregated at the naval ports not only did not represent any reserve of strength, but, owing to complications which their existence introduced into the naval organization, were a distinct hindrance to any progress towards a more efficient marshalling of the British naval resources. In the then existing condition of the Fleet, ships at home and men abroad were deteriorating for want of reasonable and coordinated organization for war. Fighting-ships were moored in lifeless lines in the naval harbors, while the officers and men required to man them cruised up and down the coasts of friends and allies, carrying out a purposeless routine, not merely uncondusive to war fitness, but distinctly tending towards naval decadence. The secret of war efficiency lies in concentration. Then and then only

is a spirit of emulation excited. Only then is emulation in war-like drills aroused between ship and ship in the first degree, and between group and group of ships in the second degree. Under the scheme of distribution which dissipated the naval strength of Great Britain over all the world's seas, irrespective of the political circumstances of the hour, ships were cruising in an isolation far from splendid in its influence upon officers and men. British naval expenditure had reached a standard representing the maximum outlay for the minimum result.

Consequently, when it was finally decided to withdraw the naval squadrons in the North and South Atlantic and the squadron on the Pacific coast of America, and to recall and put on the scrap-heap a number of non-fighting ships which were sauntering up and down the coasts in other parts of the world, and at the same time to clear out the naval lumber which crowded the home ports, at one and the same time a policy of naval economy and war efficiency was initiated. It was instantly discovered that the plans for additional docks and anchorage could be torn up. The proposals for adding to the Navy a large additional number of officers and men could be abandoned. The estimates which had been prepared for repairs upon ships which could never do efficient service in war could be struck out. Several small dock-yards in distant peaceful waters, which had hitherto been maintained on a war footing, could be reduced to cadres, and simultaneously a naval organization could be introduced representing a higher standard of war efficiency with a far lower standard of expense.

It is very much cheaper to maintain a ship near a home port than in foreign waters, and in no country is this advantage so great as in Great Britain, where the cost of living and the outlay upon coal, victuals and stores of all kinds is specially low. A vessel which is stationed within steaming distance of a British port is provided with coal, stores and victuals at first cost, and a very low first cost; whereas a man-of-war which is stationed in foreign waters has to be debited with the very heavy expenditure due to the outlay upon transport, while, in the case of perishable goods, contracts have frequently to be made in expensive markets. Another advantage attaching to withdrawal of ships from distant waters is that the pay of officers and men, instead of going into the pockets of foreign tradesmen and others, is spent among

those who actually pay the taxes by which the Fleet is supported. The elimination of so many old ships in the home ports, ships which were tinkered from year to year and thus accounted for a considerable amount of labor, led to a large reduction in the number of dockyard hands. But this policy of economy was offset by the increased spending power of the Fleet in home waters, and thus experience has shown that never in time of peace have the British naval ports been in a condition of such abounding prosperity as now. The labor displaced found employment in other channels.

The scheme of redistribution of British naval strength involved some loss, more sentimental than actual. The North-American and North-Pacific Squadrons were withdrawn, and thus the naval supremacy of the United States was left absolutely uncontested, in recognition of the good faith of the American people, and as a tangible admission of Great Britain's hearty concurrence in the Monroe Doctrine. The United States has taken upon herself the *onus* of maintaining the *status quo* on the American continent; and, by withdrawing her naval squadrons, Great Britain tacitly affirmed her acceptance of this great central principle of American national policy. As a naval Power, the United States is bound by every incident in the history of the Republic to maintain her position as the supreme naval Power on the American coasts. The only vessels of the British Fleet in what may be regarded as American waters now comprise one little sloop on the Pacific coast, merely to show the flag, and three small cruisers based upon the West Indies, to carry out police duties and keep the natives in order. It is well, in the interests of the friendship of the two peoples, that the public should realize the significance of this change of naval policy.

In the Far East, an even more significant moral may be drawn from the reduction in the China Squadron. Time was when the British Fleet in Chinese and Japanese waters was as supreme as the British naval forces in the English Channel. The Royal ships in China waters acted as the protectors of white traders of whatever nationality, and was busy, month in and month out, in putting down piracy, not only on the high seas, but up the rivers of the Celestial Empire. As the grasp of Russia upon China increased during the nineties and the early years of the present century, so Great Britain, with a firm determination to

maintain her position, repeatedly strengthened the local squadron. The growth of the Navy of Japan vitally affected the situation; and, when the Government at Tokio indicated its resolve to preserve, if need be by force of arms, the integrity of China and the nominal independence of Korea, and thus secure the future of the Japanese Empire itself, Great Britain willingly struck a bargain and agreed to keep the ring, while Japan freed China and Korea and herself from the alien domination which was slowly being imposed upon these countries. Until the struggle was over, the China Squadron of Great Britain was maintained at full strength, but as soon as the last remnant of Russian naval power had been broken in the Sea of Japan, the British battle-ships were ordered to return to Europe, and the squadron was reduced to a strength of four armored cruisers, two protected cruisers, and a number of small craft for river work, together with half a dozen destroyers. From a fighting fleet it was transformed into a fleet primarily intended to carry out police duties in view of the importance of British commercial undertakings in the Far East, and in the last resort to cooperate with the Japanese Navy in defence of common interests. By this action, the British Government virtually gave its adherence to a Japanese political principle in the Far East equivalent to the Monroe Doctrine of the United States.

Force of circumstances has compelled the British authorities to admit that British naval power can no longer be world-wide, as in the days when Great Britain held absolute supremacy in commerce. Competition in naval armaments in local waters, with the United States on the one hand and with Japan on the other, was admitted to be not only hopeless, but unnecessary, and even dangerous to the mutual interests of these countries. It was argued that both these Powers had given their cordial adherence to the principles of political and commercial liberty in support of which British naval forces in the Far West and in the Far East had been employed. The Republic of the Far West and the monarchy of the Far East had risen to a sense of their responsibilities in their own immediately adjacent waters, and in perfect reliance on the good faith of the two nations Great Britain handed over to them naval sway in the Atlantic and South Pacific. To-day there are two Monroe Doctrines; in the Far West the United States stands guardian, and in the Far East

Japan, for her own preservation, and, as events will show shortly, with the consent of all the Powers of the world, is taking upon herself a similar responsibility.

The new scheme of British naval distribution has been criticised. It has been suggested that the British flag is not shown in sufficient strength in extra-European waters; but the real fact is that the British flag, as a commercial asset of admitted value, has never stood higher than to-day. It is true that a number of small, slow, non-fighting vessels are no longer creeping up distant coasts with the Union Jack at the main, sauntering into this port and into that. But, on the other hand, the withdrawal of these small and unimportant craft has furnished the British authorities with officers and men to man squadrons of large, powerful and imposing cruisers, which are frequently engaged in ceremonial voyages to distant parts of the world. Never before in the history of the British Fleet has the Union Jack been seen more frequently or supported with more dignity than during the past two years, when Prince Louis of Battenberg, Sir Alfred Paget and Rear-Admiral George Neville have successfully paid visits to Canadian, United States and South-American ports, apart from the frequent presence of Rear-Admiral F. S. Inglefield's squadron of large cruisers which spend the autumn and spring months in the temperate climate of the West Indies, with contingents of boys completing their training for naval service.

The effect of these changes upon the efficiency of the British naval organization for war has been remarkable. It was immediately possible to fit out another sea-going fleet, manned and armed for any eventuality, and gradually yet another fleet has been called into existence with attendant cruisers and auxiliaries, and all the torpedo craft of the British service have been manned in exact proportion to the haste with which they will be required on a sudden outbreak of war. In 1904, there were only sixteen battle-ships in British waters, together with eight armored cruisers, six protected cruisers, twenty-four destroyers and a few torpedo-boats. All the remainder of the ships of the British Fleet, nominally in reserve, lay idle in the dockyards and harbors, unmanned and with hardly a semblance of organization for war. The British naval machine has now been tuned up to a higher standard of war efficiency. The task is not yet complete, but the fruits of the bold scheme initiated by the Admiralty less than

three years ago are already apparent in the imposing naval forces organized in the English Channel, the North Sea and the Mediterranean. Ten armored ships—six battle-ships and four armored cruisers—together with four small cruisers and twelve destroyers, keep watch and ward in the Mediterranean; and, apart from the routine of naval training, they are occupied chiefly in further cementing the friendly relations which exist between Great Britain and the Mediterranean Powers. Fully manned, constantly cruising, and being maintained month in and month out at war strength, Great Britain has now massed in home waters three great fighting fleets, the Channel, Atlantic and Home Fleets. The innovation in this organization is the Home Fleet under Vice-Admiral F. C. B. Bridgeman and five Rear-Admirals, which is divided into three divisions, one based on the Medway, at the mouth of the River Thames and therefore overlooking the North Sea; another on Portsmouth, the most easterly British war port in the English Channel, and another on Devonport, which is further west. In the existing political situation, and particularly in view of the *entente cordiale* with France, the burden of naval responsibility has shifted from the English Channel to the North Sea; and, consequently, the head and front of the Home Fleet is stationed at the Nore. It consists of six battle-ships, including the "Dreadnought," and six armored cruisers forming the Fifth Cruiser Squadron. It is intended that eventually this latter force shall consist of swift ships of the new battle-ship-cruiser type, with an advantage of six knots in speed over the swiftest German battle-ship, and a considerable superiority of gun-fire at modern ranges. Half the battle-ships of the German Fleet carry nothing better or more powerful than an obsolescent 9.4-inch gun; while the main armament of the British battle-ships at the Nore is the serviceable 12-inch gun, and eventually each of the cruisers will carry six 9.2-inch guns of a new and particularly powerful type. Associated with this force at the Nore are five small cruisers and a large number of auxiliary ships, besides forty-eight of the most recent torpedo-boat destroyers and a flotilla of submarines.

If this were a complete picture of the advantage gained by the scheme of redistribution, it would more than compensate for the disadvantages upon which some criticism has been centred. As a matter of fact, however, these fully manned battle-ships, cruis-

ers and torpedo craft based upon the Nore and continually cruising in the North Sea, are merely the ever-ready section of the new Home Fleet formed as a result of the scheme of naval reorganization. Behind this imposing naval force are the Portsmouth and Devonport divisions. These two other sections of the Home Fleet consist of ships which, under the old régime, would have been in the dockyards and harbors without officers or men. Now they are part and parcel of the fighting Fleet. Each vessel has its captain, chief executive officer, torpedo, gunnery and navigating lieutenants, and all the essential skilled ratings upon which the fighting efficiency depends. Each vessel has approximately three-fifths of its full complement, and the remaining two-fifths are available at short notice without calling out a single man of the reserves. These ships can be brought from a nucleus state up to war strength and sent to sea at a few hours' notice. In the case of the torpedo craft at these two ports, the delay would not amount to more than four hours, as has been shown by experimental mobilization.

Under the old scheme, the British Fleet could not be mobilized without a Royal proclamation calling out all the reserve forces. During strained relations, such procedure would have inevitably tended to precipitate war. Under the new scheme, the whole of the Home Fleet can be despatched to sea fully manned, victualled and stored, without recourse to any such dramatic and dangerous machinery. Periodically, the Devonport and Portsmouth divisions with their nucleus crews proceed to sea for a week or ten days, during which they carry out the ordinary drills and, in particular, attention is devoted to gunnery. This is a remarkable development from the state of affairs when the reserve ships lay deserted and inert. These two divisions comprise seven battle-ships and over twenty-five cruisers, besides upwards of sixty torpedo-boat destroyers, thirty-six torpedo-boats and the reserve section of the submarines which have been recently added to the British Fleet. Yet another section of the Fleet comprises what are termed "special-service vessels." These are obsolescent ships, which have merely care and maintenance parties on board to keep them in condition to be brought forward for service in an emergency; they are England's forlorn hope. This plan of reorganization has been carried out without denuding harbor ships of their crews or interfering with the

classes under training at the various instructional establishments, such as those devoted to gunnery, torpedo, signalling and navigation, the last-named being an innovation. Moreover, it has been accompanied by a notable increase in the general efficiency of the naval personnel, due, no doubt, in large measure to the spirit of emulation which is always engendered when large masses of ships are collected for the purpose of naval training.

The net outcome of the scheme of naval distribution, apart from its political aspects, to which attention has already been called, is that the striking-power of the British Fleet has been at least doubled. In the opinion of the late Prime Minister, Mr. A. J. Balfour, this is a very moderate estimate of the accession of strength due to the provision of nucleus crews. Great Britain now has in full commission in the English Channel, the North Sea and the Mediterranean thirty-two battle-ships, eighteen armored cruisers, fifteen protected cruisers and sixty torpedo-boat destroyers, apart from the nucleus crew ships. This total includes the Nore Division of the Home Fleet, the naval forces massed under the orders of Admiral Lord Charles Beresford and forming the Channel Fleet and First Cruiser Squadron, the Atlantic Fleet and Second Cruiser Squadron, under Vice-Admiral the Hon. Sir A. G. Curzon-Howe, based upon Berehaven and Gibraltar, and the Mediterranean Fleet with the Third Cruiser Squadron under Admiral Sir Charles Drury. Each of the two last-named officers has at his command ten armored ships, six in each case being modern battle-ships.

This naval organization is the direct result of the scheme of redistribution; and it has been effected with an economy in the Navy Estimates amounting to six millions sterling a year. Great Britain is the only naval Power which has reduced its naval commitments in recent years, and the saving has been accompanied by an immense increase in strength in the adjacent seas, which are the fulcrum of European political development.

ARCHIBALD S. HURD.

THE NEW WESTERNER.

BY CHARLES MOREAU HARGER.

I.

THE story of the material development of the West has been an instructive serial with constantly increasing interest in its chapters. Not all the incidents making up the marvellous narrative have been pleasant ones—anti-climaxes have mingled with inspiring situations; but each has had its part in bringing out of vast sodded plains and wealth-lined hills an empire of rich farms, prosperous towns and thriving cities. Through it all has run the tale of frontier struggle against nature, conquest of the desert, adaptation of methods to new conditions and comparative triumph over climatic surprises and engineering difficulties.

In acres, bushels and dollars has been expressed with exuberant liberality the measure of the West's success, generally disregarding the moulding influence of thirty years or more of trial upon the people themselves.

A third of a century, broadly speaking, has gone into making the Westerner of to-day, and it has evolved a type differing much from that of the beginning, and often corresponding little in its chief characteristics with the popular conception distant communities have formed of it.

The settlers of early days were dreamers. Whether they sought the West to found homes on newly broken sod, or were to join the army of traders and storekeepers brought into service by the increasing population, they had one hope in common: to make a fortune in a short time, then return to the old home "back East" and live in comfort ever after. They were animated by the same spirit as were the Argonauts who toiled toward the gold-fields of '49. Veterans of the Civil War, disappointed in

business when the conflict ended, looked upon the virgin lands as offering opportunity for conquest, but it took hard fighting to bring victory out of the bare soil. The speculators and country merchants met with reverses as often as did the farmer. Both classes remained in the West: each made discoveries, and in the end each attained to success—but the soldier reared his family where he took his claim, and the business man saw years slip away before he enjoyed even a short trip to the old home.

The Texas cattle trail, opened from the Gulf into central Kansas in 1867 to meet the first railway across the plains, formed a north and south highway that led Southerners into the fertile lands. Three million cattle were driven over the trail in 1870-71, and with them journeyed representatives of a vast Southwest industry. As the railway pushed on to the mountains and branch lines reached down into the Staked Plains, the movement of cattle on the hoof ceased, but that of men did not, and Cavalier mingled with Puritan in the development of the great granary of the nation.

The sturdy immigration from Europe, Scandinavians from the north and Germans from farther south, with tens of thousands of English, Irish and Canadians in every commonwealth made up the cosmopolitan population which was to unite in the task of conquering the desert. The lesson has been learned through tribulation, and its mastery has fused the varying elements into the modern type which is practically a new generation.

The dwellers in the somewhat indefinite area which we term the "Middle West," extending from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains and excluding the States bordering on the Gulf, are essentially a farming people. Of 3,352,000 engaged in gainful pursuits, according to the recent census, 1,713,000 are devoting their attention to agriculture. The hardship inseparable from opening new crop areas attended their early trials. Remote from neighbors, lacking in implements, harassed by debts when crops failed, and with insufficient knowledge of climatic conditions, they spent the first years of pioneer life in a somewhat serious pursuit of happiness.

As the big ranches have been broken up and the size of farms decreased, the solitude of the homestead has vanished, and there have entered into the life of the prairie-dweller many elements of contentment, driving out the old-time longing for the child-

hood home, even if it be not forgotten. The older generation, the one that has put in long years of middle life on the plains, never will forget.

"I see by the paper," remarked a grandfather two hundred miles west of the Missouri River, as he read a village journal published in a little western New York town, "I see that they are having lots of snow down home." Down home! It has not been his home for a quarter of a century, yet the old associations held fast, and unconsciously he deemed himself a sojourner in a strange land. Tens of thousands of those village papers fluttering each week in the prairie dwellings keep alive the sentiment of youth for the native abiding-place, the East.

The new generation, as well as the one that came West in childhood, now grown to manhood's and womanhood's estate, knows nothing of this. To such the West is home. Western ways and Western ideas are inbred—the wind-swept farm, with its struggling cottonwood grove, is as dear as ever was to the parents some New England cottage, with giant elms and rustling beeches overshadowing its moss-grown roof.

Perhaps the most lasting influence in the making of a Westerner was the poverty of early days. For there was poverty, with its accompanying trials, in most families. It did not always show on the surface, but, hidden beneath the couponed mortgage note and revealed, when crops were scant, by the overdue store accounts, it existed in positive form. Talk with most old settlers and they will tell you frankly of this.

"We would have been on our feet," commented a now prosperous stockman, "if the wind hadn't turned to the north one June day in '79. We had two hundred acres of wheat on the bottoms, and it was ripe for harvest. Grain was worth almost a dollar a bushel, and it was good for thirty bushels to the acre. On the afternoon before we were to start the harvesters, a hail-storm came out of the northwest and went down the valley. In two hours the wheat, instead of standing as high as my head, was levelled to six inches. We did not gather a bushel. Of course, the mortgage was foreclosed and we began over again."

Then there were dry years, before the farmers learned that some crops will do nearly as well in drouth as in moisture. It was no modest test of courage to see the corn wither and the grass burn beneath the hot winds of July, knowing that upon

the result of the summer's growth depended the retention of title in the land. Little wonder that discouraged men and disheartened women, mistaking the cause of their disaster, rebelled against political affairs and howled for the destruction of the "Money Power"! It was merely the savage protest of the primitive nature which sought from the object nearest at hand redress for suffering.

Out of those years came the class of "movers," dwellers in "prairie-schooners," who roamed aimlessly here and there as opportunity seemed to offer improvement, and finally, as a pistol-shot gave the signal, made one tremendous rush across the border of Oklahoma and halted on Indian reservations to essay again the settler's task of home-building.

The turn of the tide, the beginning of the change that was to influence so greatly the nervous, quick-tempered and sensitive Westerner, came in 1897. Six years of indifferent crops—not failures, but such uncertainty as made it difficult to meet the large obligations incurred in the boom days earlier—had succeeded 1890, the year of awakening from the West's dream of sudden empire. In that time a quarter of a million people moved out of western Nebraska and Kansas. The population of most prairie States decreased, and into prominence came the class of political leaders whose advice was to raise less corn and more of the unmentionable region. Yet through it all ran an enforced economy, a rigid balancing of resources and outlay, a planning for the future and a determined effort to get rid of the incubus of debt afflicting the West.

This process so manifestly strengthened the finances of the dwellers on level lands that they were attaining to a semblance of independence, even had there come no marked change in crop production. They had overcome the boom spirit, had moved the surplus houses from the town "additions" to the country, had learned some lessons in the rotation of crops and were raising alfalfa, kaffir corn and sorghum to assure themselves of "roughness" should a winter come with a short supply of maize. But radical politics yet held sway; there was a disposition to harass the railroads with stringent regulations; the Westerner was still at odds with investment interests and was half convinced that he was being abused by Wall Street.

In the mining regions and on the great ranches the conditions

had become encouraging. The Cripple Creek gold-fields had given Colorado an impetus toward prosperity, increased by the advance of irrigation on the foot-hills. Cattle prices were reviving in the ranch country, and the stock industry was just about beginning the boom that was to make—and break—dealers two or three years later.

The West was prepared for a business revival that should not only benefit the bank accounts of its people, but have a lasting effect on the trend of their social and mental life.

II.

The material welfare that has come out of the eight years of abundance is easily outlined. It is expressed in a catalogue of cancelled mortgages, new dwellings, refunded bonds, swollen bank deposits and improved belongings. The prairie farmer, with his free rural delivery route, his rural telephone, his rubber-tired top buggy and attitude of independence, has become a familiar figure in current literature. He is interesting and worthy of study. He is not, perhaps, quite so luxurious and plutocratic an individual as he is often pictured, but he occupies a very comfortable place in the economic world.

The influence that has come from this betterment of the Westerner's condition has been manifested in a modified and broadened outlook on life. In some sections the transformation has been marvellous. For instance, in Oklahoma City, where seventeen years ago not a white man had foothold, a population of 30,000 now possesses every modern appliance for ease and comfort. Electric cars traverse the streets over more than 30 miles of track, and groups of Indians, lazily watching the innovation from merchants' doorways, make vivid contrast between the old and the new civilizations. Interurban trolley lines will be in operation a hundred miles west of the Missouri before the end of the current year. Life's enjoyable features which have been monopolized by the East for a decade are moving across the country, as processes of manufacture are cheapened and the ability of new communities to obtain them is met by lessened expense.

The Western States boast a great deal about their bank deposits. It is true that a single bank of New York City has as much money in its coffers as do all those of Kansas, for in-

stance—but, in the latter case, the savings are not trust funds or speculators' accounts; they are those of tens of thousands of hard-working citizens and represent long days of toil beneath burning sun. The ownership of the farmers' comparatively plethora bank books have had a liberalizing effect. The fateful things promised during the days of financial darkness have been forgotten. The capitalist, while perhaps not considered a comrade, is looked upon as having rights—an attitude once unknown. There is no more talk of electing judges who will refuse to order mortgages foreclosed. For one thing, there are few mortgages to foreclose; and, for another, the Westerner is in favor of enforcing the law to the utmost, since the local loan fund is a staple source of investments in these latter days.

Likewise, it tends to conservatism. The man who seeks bonds for the promotion of a scheme must make a strong argument or fail. The towns look warily on industries that need a bonus. The demand for independence has spread to the minor factors of development, and has caused a more manly position for every community. No antagonism to the East is mingled with this; the West is not so vain as to think it can live by itself alone; it merely stands sturdily with a smile on its face, confident that it ranks as an equal in the development and growth of a great nation.

The Westerner of to-day is a seeker after education. The schools of the West are of exceptional merit. They are for the most part managed by young men; vigor is seen in every movement. The salaries are small, and often the better educators are tempted by much-endowed institutions to seek other fields, but their places are taken by the product of the plains, usually broadened in its view by a touch of post-graduate work in some Eastern university. In the early days, colleges were as much a part of the boom town's equipment as a carriage-works or a sugar-mill—and about as much fitted for the place. Many of the boom colleges have passed away. Consolidation has lessened the numbers of the remainder, and the schools of the West are becoming proportioned to the actual needs of the people. The students in them are workers. In the State University of Kansas, 47 per cent. of the students are paying their own way, earning the money for their own education. In Nebraska, the proportion is about the same, and, even as far east as Missouri, 30 per cent. are earning

all the money for their schooling, and half are partly paying their own expenses.

Out of such experience come manliness, courage, ability. The first generation of Western students has entered into the life of the plains as men and women, and their influence has of itself given to the communities in which they reside a higher ambition. Public libraries are common; women's clubs are everywhere, even out to the "short-grass country" near the foot-hills of the Rockies; lecture courses and classic plays are appreciated. The new Westerner is a well-informed and thinking person. He reads and studies as much as does his Eastern brother or sister, within the limits of his leisure hours. It has broadened his views and brought a contentment into the one-time dreary existence of the frontier.

This sentiment is reflected in the Western newspapers, good indices of the communities in which they are published. Seldom does one find an "Arizona Kicker" in Western journalism. The early-day editors, who delighted in wars of epithet and abuse with their "esteemed but loathed contemporary," have nearly passed away. The few remaining have been softened by the influence of the times. The new generation, grown up in the West and in sympathy with Western conditions, is "moulding public opinion." The prevalence of sanity and good-will, together with intelligent comment on affairs of the day, is noticeable. The average Western paper in a small village is better than its counterpart in an Eastern town of similar size. This may be explained on the ground that it has a wider field and is less harassed by the proximity of cities. Its influence spreads far and its editor is rarely a "fire-eater."

All these conditions bear fruit in the social life of the West. In early days, there was little social distinction. Every man's history "began with the day before yesterday, and no questions asked." The parties were free-for-all, and the balls open to the public. That condition exists to some extent in the remote forefront of the wave of immigration, but for the most part its day has gone. The clannish spirit is not prominent, but division lines are drawn, and the natural differences of temperament are seen in the function of the times. The towns are naturally most progressive in this, though in the country districts the spread of advanced ideas has been rapid.

Homeseekers' excursions bring thousands of Easterners to the West, but "old home week" and the various national gatherings, offering low railroad rates, take other thousands to the former home "back East," to revisit the scenes of childhood. Such visits do much good. There is a return to the West with new ideas, with better sense of the greatness of the country, with a clearer perspective and a larger liberality. In the days when the West was too poor for these journeys, it harbored exaggerated ideas of the possessions of the East. Now it knows that the East is little to be envied—that there is about as much happiness on the prairies as on the boulevards. It has taken back plans for colonial porches and mission furniture, and has learned some things about town-building.

One of these is the advantage of manufactures. All over the West are springing up small manufacturing plants that have for their object the utilization of raw material, or the supplying of a demand that is confined largely to the plains country. Cotton-mills in the Southwest, harvesting-machinery makers in the wheat belt, brick, tile and cement in the oil and gas region—the West is living up to its opportunities.

Thus, on his intellectual and constructive sides the Westerner has had a period of upbuilding and of development. It would be, indeed, remarkable if it had not brought to him a more perfect understanding of the possibilities that are his. The opening of a new empire in the Orient, with its enhancement of Pacific coast trade, has opened to him an outlet for his overflowing products never before dreamed of; the Gulf traffic has taken one-third of his exports to Europe—little wonder that he feels himself a central figure of the nation, equal in standing to any, or that he looks to future years of greater power.

III.

The first generation of Westerners was stern-faced and anxious, with small capital but sturdy faith. That goodly company has passed away. Another is on the stage—the West, that vast granary with indefinite boundaries and with overflowing hopes, has reached a new period of its development.

The pioneer was the beginner. His stout arm guided the plough across level leagues of greening sod; his earnest heart withstood the privations of early years. He was a hero in his generation,

a conqueror of greater things than the kings of old, a forerunner of the incoming of the plain's riper fruitage. Nothing is better established in the study of mankind than that we are influenced by our environment. The Western people reflect the conditions among which they are placed. Upon the plains have mingled the descendant of the Quaker and the offspring of the European; the emigrant from Atlantic slopes and the wide-hatted native of the Gulf borders. To all have come the same training of vigorous strife, the sharpened wits of frontier rivalry, the sympathy of equally modest beginnings. It would be strange if out of the years of stress there came not a character fitting the freedom, the energy, the enthusiasm of the great West. Perhaps the busy years have robbed them of some of that well-balanced ambition for culture which should go hand in hand with the acquisition of wealth; perhaps the insistent restlessness that seems a part of the very air of the plains has restrained the true home-making art of the American; but the foundation has been laid, and already Western communities are giving more thought to the needs of mind and soul.

Is it not fair to expect that the new Westerner, with less anxiety concerning business success, will be more generous in his social, artistic and educational development, rounding out his life more fully with the fair embellishments of culture, and thus reflecting greater honor on himself and on his rich domain?

Is it not fair to anticipate a new type of American; the outgrowth of the lessons learned, of the experiments tried, of the wisdom sought, of the promise and assurance of to-day? In him shall mingle the frugality of the East and the good old-fashioned courtesy of the South. He will prize his possessions most for what they give in the refinement of character; he will cherish success for what it yields in wider opportunity for good. In the stretching areas of sod he will see, with the poet of the Sierras,

"Room, room to turn round in,
To breathe and be free."

The Westerner has emerged from the experimental period of his history. That there will come again lean years and days of discouragement, none can doubt; the skies will not glow forever with promise. But the manner in which the man of the New West meets reverses will mean much. Schooled in the variations

of the seasons, he will not stake all his fortune on one crop or one product. He will encounter drouth complacently, as becomes one who knows crops that thrive nearly as well in dry weather as in wet; he will greet the furnacelike south winds contentedly, as he looks at whirring windmills lifting moisture from the earth's bosom for herds and gardens; he will try no more to build a metropolis at every cross-roads. He will admit that the prairie is not omnipotent. The watchword of the new time is "Stability." After four decades of trial, he has pinned faith to those things that make for permanence; he conserves the wealth the plains possess, rather than seeks for that which is not there.

The New York banker may have some alarm about finance and may spend anxious hours over the stock fluctuations—but the Western farmer jogs along the country road between towering walls of corn and in sight of golden stacks of wheat, his wagon filled with gleaming cans of cream, unconscious of it all. When he depended on one crop alone, he had fits of depression and proceeded to express himself in weird kinds of politics; now, while the grass grows and the sun shines, his prosperity is assured. He is making haste to seek other channels of development—he can exert his superabundant energies in making the West rich in the adornments of all that art and life can give—as it already is in every-day necessities of existence.

The new Westerner is as proud of the plains as were the pioneers; as valiant in their defence; as eager in their eulogy—but he exaggerates less and qualifies more. The West is being pictured as it is, and in dealing thus in candor and frankness its children are establishing their fortunes on surer foundations.

The Western farmer used to think men with wealth did nothing but live at ease, and he howled for the destruction of the money power. Now he has money of his own, and finds that he has to work as hard to take care of it as he did to earn it. He appreciates the obligations of being a capitalist and is cautious about tinkering with the currency.

They say the wheat belt has moved westward. That is not it. The land has moved eastward. It has come under the influence of moister skies, or, what is the same thing, new methods of agriculture have conquered the desert—and there is no frontier.

The pioneer of the plains is a reminiscence. His white-hooded prairie-schooner is little more than a dream.

"Unused, forlorn and gray it stands,
A faded wreck cast far ashore;
The Mayflower of the prairie lands—
Its journey o'er."

The boomers and the promoters have had their day. They operated on wind, but there is another circulating medium now. Some have reformed; others have gone—some to their long rest, some to Mexico and some to Canada.

The new Westerner is another type—the clear-headed, stout-hearted, frank-faced man of the plains; the product of years of trial, of experiment, of triumph. He trusts not in luck, but in sense and system and preparation; he builds not for a day, but for decades; he is manifest on the distant reaches of the "short-grass country"; he is the rustler of the prairie village; he walks the pavements of progressive cities; he believes in colleges as well as in corner lots; he asks sanity and high ideals in the plans for the growth of the West.

Tanned by the prairie winds, warmed by the glowing sunshine of the level lands, standing where meet the trade currents of North and South, with command over both, the New Westerner has in his grasp a glorious destiny, and he seems capable of living up to its possibilities.

CHARLES MOREAU HARGER.

THE PRESIDENT'S POLICIES.

BY GEORGE GRISWOLD HILL.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, during his six years in the White House, has propounded several broad and distinct economic propositions, one of them, at least, being essentially new. These propositions, taken together, form that political creed popularly referred to as "the President's Policies," although Mr. Roosevelt is convinced that they have been accepted by a large majority of Republicans, and that they constitute the political issues for which the Republican party stands. Certain conservative leaders in the party describe Mr. Roosevelt's policies as ultra-radical. Those who have followed his leadership in their economic reasoning regard them as reasonable, judicious and progressive. Whether Mr. Roosevelt has succeeded in inscribing these policies indelibly on the Republican escutcheon, or whether they will pass away with his administration, his party returning to the tenets of the conservative faction which has hitherto been synonymous with Republicanism, constitutes the chief issue in that epoch-making campaign which is already inaugurated, and which will not end until the adjournment of the Republican National Convention, next June, if it ends then.

Briefly stated, Theodore Roosevelt's policies consist of the exercise of the right of Federal control over interstate commerce to remedy or eradicate those economic evils with which he believes the States are unable to cope, and the exercise of the taxing power of the National Government to prune what he has described as "swollen fortunes," and in a measure to equalize those inequalities in the distribution of wealth which, he believes, have resulted from entrusting to the several States a task which they are unable to perform.

In fearless devotion to his honest convictions, the President has

given utterance to his belief that the Federal Government must supervise the workings of practically all corporations engaged in commerce between the States and with foreign nations. In his last annual message, he declared that "in some method, whether by a national license law or in some other fashion, we must exercise, and that at an early date, a far more complete control than at present over these great corporations . . . a control that will among other things prevent the evils of excessive over-capitalization, and that will compel the disclosure by each big corporation of its stockholders and of its properties and business, whether owned directly or through subsidiary or affiliated corporations." An examination of Mr. Roosevelt's public utterances reveals a gradual development of this idea extending back over many years.

An opportunist, as well as an economist and a politician, Mr. Roosevelt has not wasted his time in vain promulgation of a theory for which the people were not prepared; but he has lost no opportunity of guiding his party toward that well-defined goal which he regards as essential to the public welfare, and under his skilful leadership giant strides have been taken toward an end which, had they perceived it as clearly as did their leader, would probably have driven the legislative leaders of the party in quite the opposite direction.

He seized upon the uncovering of pernicious railway methods and the resentment which popular knowledge of these evils enkindled to secure the enactment of the Railway Rate law, whereby a commission of the National Government is authorized to declare what shall constitute a just and reasonable rate for transportation, and to compel the carriers of the country to respect its decisions. Beginning with his annual message of 1904, he undertook the education of the Congress to the necessity of such legislation; and, finding his progress slow, he availed himself of the opportunities afforded by his public speeches made before Congress met in the following year, to educate public sentiment to a point where its almost omnipotent force would compel the national legislature to carry his recommendations into effect.

The Railway Rate law was not, however, the only long stride toward Federal supervision of all corporations doing an interstate business taken under the leadership of Mr. Roosevelt. That law hardly goes as far, for instance, as the Meat-Inspection act.

The clever and ingenious methods which the President employed to create and foster a public sentiment which would compel Congress to enact that measure, including the publication of the sensational report of his special investigation of the packing industry, are well remembered; but the extent of Government control and supervision authorized by the law, which confers on Federal inspectors the right of access at any hour of day or night to every part of the establishment of any packer who seeks to send his product across a State line or the national boundary and which positively prohibits common carriers from transporting any packing-house product which does not bear evidence of Government inspection, has been generally lost sight of in the widely felt relief that there can no longer exist the appalling evils which the law was framed to remedy.

The National Food and Drug act, identical in spirit with the Meat-Inspection law, and differing from it only in the methods employed to accomplish its purpose, constitutes still another long stride in the direction of Federal control, and goes far to bridge the chasm between the unrestricted operations of corporations created by the States and that Federal supervision which Mr. Roosevelt regards as essential to the success of his party and the welfare of the nation. Taken together, these laws have put into effect national supervision and control of a vast number of industrial operations, including all common carriers, the meat, drug, grocery, canning, liquor and numerous kindred industries. And, radical as have been these legislative measures, for the enactment of which Mr. Roosevelt is almost solely responsible, the dire results predicted by those engaged in the interested industries have entirely failed to materialize, and no one of them has served even to check the steady progress of that general prosperity for which the Republican party claims, and is generally accorded, credit.

It may be objected that the recent depreciation of certain railway securities disproves, at least in part, the assertion that the legislative enactments for which Mr. Roosevelt is responsible have promoted rather than decreased the prosperity of every industry affected, and certain prominent railway managers have recently complained to the President that, as a result of his policies, the public has lost confidence in their securities, and that they find themselves unable to raise the capital needed to

make those improvements of trackage and equipment which are necessary to meet the demands of a steadily increasing commerce. To all who have made this complaint, Mr. Roosevelt has replied by asking if certain stock transactions, recently brought to light by the Interstate Commerce Commission, have not been the real occasion of the loss of public confidence, and if Federal supervision of stock and bond issues would not give to railway securities a stability which would insure their ready sale at a reasonable figure. He has also pointed to his last annual message, in which he described overcapitalization as perhaps the "chief" railway abuse, as "generally the result of dishonest promotion," and said of it: "Such overcapitalization often means an inflation which invites business panic; it always conceals the true relation of the profit earned to the capital actually invested, and it creates a burden of interest payments which is a fertile cause of improper reduction or limitation of wages; it damages the small investor, discourages thrift, and encourages gambling and speculation."

In his next annual message Mr. Roosevelt expects to deal with this question at great length, as he purposes to make it one of the chief issues of the next session of Congress, while it is entirely likely that between now and next December he will avail himself of some of the opportunities afforded by his public speeches to impress upon the people the advantages to be derived from such legislation, and thus to secure to the representatives of the people such encouragement as may be necessary to offset the warnings and protests of those who regard all change as a menace to their interests.

Mr. Roosevelt believes that all combinations, even though they may be in restraint of trade, are not necessarily evil. He has advised Congress that "the power vested in the Government to put a stop to agreements to the detriment of the public should, in my judgment, be accompanied by power to permit, under specified conditions and careful supervision, agreements clearly in the interest of the public." And, while he may not specifically recommend an enactment authorizing traffic agreements, commonly called "pools," he would doubtless approve such a law if the railways should see their way clear to give their cordial support to his policy of Government control of stock and bond issues.

On April 14th, 1906, the President publicly expressed his con-

viction that "we shall ultimately have to consider the adoption of some such scheme as that of a progressive tax on all fortunes." This idea he has gradually developed until the imposition of an income tax and of a graduated inheritance tax by the National Government has come to constitute one of his most important public policies. A discussion of these forms of taxation, coupled with an earnest recommendation of legislative action, will constitute one of the striking and forceful features of the President's next annual message.

No feature of the President's policies is more widely misunderstood than his attitude on the tariff. He has long believed that the time has arrived when revision of the Dingley tariff act is advisable. True, there have been evils which he has regarded as of paramount importance—as, for instance, the granting of railway rebates, overcapitalization, etc.; but on a number of occasions he has summoned the leaders of his party and sought to impress on them the advisability of tariff readjustment, only to learn that the determined opposition of Speaker Cannon and his associates in the House constituted an insuperable obstacle. On one occasion, in his annual message of 1904, he went so far as to give notice of a special message in which he would urge tariff revision. He wrote, "On the subject of the tariff I will address you later." But the earnest representations of the leaders of his party that tariff revision would be impossible at a short session and that notice given so far in advance of a special session to be called for this purpose would seriously unsettle business led him to order the line quoted to be stricken from the message after the advance copies had been furnished to the press. In January, 1905, he secured the assent of the Senate leaders, not excluding Senator Aldrich, who has long been known as "the high-priest of protection," to a special session for tariff revision to be called soon after March 4th; but the continued opposition of the Speaker and a few other leaders of the House demonstrated the futility of such a course. Mr. Roosevelt is now of the opinion that it would be unwise to attempt tariff revision in the coming Congress, but he will exert his influence to commit irrevocably the Republican party, in its next national platform, to the programme of summoning Congress in special session to revise the tariff, immediately after March 4th, 1909.

After his attitude toward the tariff, no policy of Mr. Roose-

velt is more widely misunderstood than that which concerns our insular possessions. His sole desire and intent, in so far as the Philippines, Cuba, Santo Domingo and Panama are concerned, is to guide them to a point where they can govern themselves. He has asserted with vehemence that the mere thought that the United States must always retain its present possessions, or that it might be compelled to annex Cuba or Santo Domingo or Panama, makes his heart heavy. He is striving to educate these people in the difficult art of self-government, to inspire them with patriotism and to develop that stability of character which alone can make possible that stability in their national existence for which he hopes and strives. In the case of the Philippines, he has always been a consistent and persistent advocate of delegating to them every measure of self-government for which they seemed prepared. He witnessed the necessity of the return of the United States to Cuba with sorrow, and it is his determination that this time the work, not only of establishing a national government at Havana, but of fostering it until it shall be capable of inspiring that confidence which is essential to its permanence, shall be so thoroughly done as to obviate all danger of this country's having again to take over the control of Cuban affairs. The treaty with Santo Domingo, for which he sought so long to secure the approval of the Senate, and only recently succeeded, has for its sole purpose the avoidance of all necessity for interference by this Government and all danger of interference by any other. All these features of his insular policy the President clearly set forth in his letter to the Peace Conference in New York.

The foregoing constitute the important features of Mr. Roosevelt's policies, which he hopes to see enacted into law during the coming Congress, or to bequeath to his successor, for Mr. Roosevelt does not expect to succeed himself. On the contrary, he is determined that under no circumstances will he do so. The sincere belief of many of his friends that circumstances, during the next year, will so shape themselves that a majority of his party will insist on his renomination with a unanimity which he cannot resist, he dismisses with vehemence.

Does Mr. Roosevelt, however, seek to name his successor? He does not. He believes it would be improper for him to exert his influence as President to promote the interests of any individual

candidate. Personally, he regards William H. Taft as the ideal man for his successor. He believes that Mr. Taft's naturally judicial temperament, his eleven years' experience on the bench, his exceptionally capable administration as Governor-General of the Philippines, his competent direction of the Isthmian Canal, his extraordinary diplomacy in dealing with the difficult situation which confronted him in Cuba, his close association, as member of the cabinet, with all the more important affairs of the nation during the last three years, have constituted an experience and demonstrated an ability which render him peculiarly fitted for the responsible duties of Chief Executive.

Theodore Roosevelt's loyalty to those policies for which he is responsible, and which he believes to be the policies of the great majority of the Republican party, will lead him, not to attempt to dictate his successor, but to exert his influence to prevent the nomination of any Presidential candidate unfitted by sympathy and conviction to carry on the work where he leaves off.

GEORGE GRISWOLD HILL.

MOHAMMEDAN MARRIAGE, DIVORCE AND DOMESTIC RELATION.

BY GEORGE S. BATCHELLER, ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF APPEALS (MIXED COURTS) OF EGYPT.

THE domestic relation, beginning with the rite of marriage, has been a subject of primal interest in all generations. Marriage and family relation is as old as the world, but divorce, through legal formalities, is of comparatively modern invention. "In the good old days" the devoted husband usually put out the marital candle in the Othello or Blue Beard style, and it may have been noted that the modern Blue Beard of Chicago, who recently paid the penalty of an assassin, practised the ancient system of separation quite in accordance with well-known precedents.

In different countries and different states, various laws and customs prevail as to the manner in which the family relation may be established and disestablished, and to the degree in which the relation may be "accumulated" and maintained as a domestic institution. The laws and customs pertaining to the family in so-called "civilized" countries are familiar to all, and I propose here to discuss and illustrate these relations among the people of the Mohammedan religion, whose laws and customs are so little understood, and almost universally denounced as barbarous, inhuman and immoral. In the first place, marriage is almost universal among the Mohammedans. There are no "old maids," and very rarely "cocottes," in the ordinary acceptation of the term. This latter class is recruited from divorcées, widows without children or other family ties. As a rule, no young man is considered fitted for business, or entitled to the confidence of the community, until he is engaged or married. Not infrequently, quite young children are "engaged" by their

parents or guardians, and it is seldom that these early obligations fail of fulfilment in more mature years. A young man may marry at the age of fifteen, and a girl at twelve. These pre-arranged marriages are very common, and it is seldom that the husband looks at the unveiled face of his bride until after the formalities are accomplished. Still, the law allows him to see the face and hands of his intended once before marriage. There are, doubtless, disappointments at the first interview, though those are usually family secrets; and the bridegroom is supposed to philosophically observe that "beauty is only skin deep," and the bride, no doubt, possesses all the other qualities that go to the creating of the happy fireside. Then he may console himself with the knowledge that he may make three other trials in order to fill up his cup of domestic bliss, and the door of divorce is always open through which he may retire without serious opposition.

The personal statutes of the Mohammedan set forth in minute detail the rules pertaining to marriage and divorce, and prescribe the duties and obligations of both parties during the marital relations.

Article I provides that all women free of conjugal ties, and widows or divorcées, after the legal "retreat," may be demanded in marriage; but a candidate for the fair hand can only express a desire of marriage to a divorcée or widow after the expiration of one year. The marriage contract is purely a civil obligation, and may be proposed by either sex, or by the parents or guardians of either. Two witnesses are required, who must be of full age and of the masculine sex, but one man and two women may be accepted as witnesses. The marriage may also be contracted in writing if the parties are not present, and the writing is read aloud in the presence of the necessary witnesses.

Like most European countries, the question of dowry or "*dot*" forms an essential part of the marriage contract. In Mohammedan lands the husband only is obliged to provide a dowry for his bride, which varies in amount according to their respective pecuniary situations. In the absence of a fixed sum, this is regulated by the custom of the province in which the marriage takes place. This dowry is paid directly to the bride in whole or in part, and in case of non-payment she may maintain an action against her husband for its recovery.

The trousseau of the bride, whether provided by the parents or from her own separate estate—which may consist of her personal wardrobe and the furniture of the household—is the inviolate property of the wife. The husband can make no claim on any part of it; he may not oblige her to place the furniture which belongs to her at his disposal, nor at the disposal of his guests; and, should he use the same or take possession of any part of the trousseau, the wife may pursue him in the courts in restitution or in payment of the value in case of its loss or deterioration. The intervention of a magistrate or religious authority is not essential; but if the marriage is contracted without the above conditions it may be annulled by a magistrate on the application of either party.

The Koranic law does not require a record of either marriage or divorce; but, in most Mohammedan countries, the civil authorities have provided for this defect.*

There are several prohibitions to marriage which apply to near relations and to questions of religious belief. Mohammedans may marry Christians and Jews, but no one may marry a woman who has not a “celestial religion.” “Idolaters, sun-worshippers, adorers of the stars,” and, in fact, all whose religious belief is not founded upon some “sacred book” are eternally forbidden to Mussulmans.

The Mohammedan law authorizes the legitimate marriage of four wives, nor can that number be exceeded, unless, of course, to replace one divorced or deceased.

Polygamy among the Mohammedans is regarded as a moral institution. They do not pretend, like the Mormons, that it is based upon divine or religious authority, although they cite abundant precedent as revealed by the sacred books of religions, including, of course, the “Testament” of the Hebrews. There are legal restrictions pertaining to this feature of the domestic relation. No man may have a plurality of wives, unless he is able to maintain them according to their rank or social position. If they desire, each wife must be provided with a

* It is an interesting fact that, until quite recent date, no authentic records of marriages have been required or kept in various States of the Union, nor have existing laws been rigorously observed, and I venture to say that, in the cases of a very large percentage of citizens, it would be impossible to furnish legal proof of the marriage of their parents or more remote ancestors.

separate residence, and is not required to maintain social relations with, or even to make the acquaintance of, the others. Should her husband fail to furnish wardrobe, support and servants suited to her estate, or should he neglect her personally, she may cite him before the Cadi, who will require him to manifest perfect impartiality, and to fulfil all his marital duties. The children all stand upon the same footing; and, in fact, children "*born in a household*," whether the mothers be wives or "servants," are legitimate heirs of the father, and in inheritance share with their brothers and sisters of the "regular" household. It is an interesting fact that there are scarcely any bastards in the Mohammedan world—it is not a disgrace to be born of a slave in a Mussulman's household. The father of the present Khedive, Tewfik Pasha, was the son of a slave; his father, Ismaïl Pasha, only married her after he had obtained from the Sultan a firman, fixing the inheritance to the Khediviat in his oldest son.

Several of the princes of the Khedival household are likewise sons of other than the four wives of Ismaïl, and their princely rank or social status is never questioned. Polygamy is rapidly decreasing in Egypt. The Khedive Tewfik, father of the present Khedive, had only one wife, a beautiful and accomplished woman, still living. The present Khedive has only one wife. It is "the fashion" now for all high personages to follow the "European plan," and one rarely hears of the existence of polygamy among the higher classes.

Among the fellaheen, or peasantry, this institution still prevails to a limited extent, usually as a matter of domestic economy, where all must work to maintain existence. The personal statute prescribes with care that the marriage shall be "assorted" to persons of the same social grade. In a marriage contract through parents or guardians, if the husband be inferior to the wife, such a marriage is radically null. The equality in Islamism, as far back as the grandfather, must be taken into consideration. Those who have recently espoused this faith are declared inferior. *Education is considered a patent of nobility.* "Nobility" acquired by knowledge and merit is superior to that acquired by birth. A "savant," who is not of Arab origin, is equal to an Arab woman of ancient lineage, and a "poor wise man" is equal to the daughter of an "ignorant opulent." "A

vicious man cannot be equal to a virtuous daughter of an honest man." The personal statute provides many additional rules and regulations governing as to the compatibility, both social and moral, of persons intending to enter into the marriage relation, but they are too technical and complicated to be set forth here.

It should be remarked that the street pageants so often seen in the Orient, and known as Mohammedan marriage, signify the home-coming of the espoused bride. Other gorgeous entertainments at the home of the bridegroom or father of the bride, in high social circles, may simply indicate the proclamation of the contract of marriage, even of children of tender age, to be consummated at some future day.

The marriage being consummated, the domestic relation is so minutely traced by law that there can possibly be no misunderstanding as to the respective duties of man and wife.

Quoting almost literally from the "Personal Statute," it may be said that the husband is obliged to treat his wife with kindness, to dwell in affectionate relation with her, to provide for her support, her clothing and her lodging. When there are several wives, the husband is obliged to treat each one with equality, especially in regard to their entertainment, the distribution of his attentions and company. He is obliged to visit alternately the habitation of each of his wives, for a day or several days, as he may distribute his time. The equality of this "frequentation" is obligatory, either by day or night, according to his other occupations. He may not give one wife an advantage to the prejudice of her associate spouse, nor remain in her presence longer than the allowed time, without the consent of the other wives. In case of sickness, however, he may visit the invalid beyond the prescribed time, until her recovery. When the disease is very serious, one wife may renounce her special rights in favor of another, but she may reclaim them at any time. In case of travelling from home, the husband may select one or more wives to accompany him; if he selects but one, it is better that it be by lot, but on his return he is obliged to equalize his attentions with those who have remained at home. If, after the husband has established the rotation of his visits with each of his wives, he fails to maintain that equality in favor of one or the other, the magistrate, upon the request of the wife interested, will ad-

minister a reprimand to the husband, and admonish him to be more just in the future. If, in spite of this judicial reprimand, the wife remains an object of injustice on the part of the husband, he becomes liable to a correctional penalty more severe, but not to imprisonment. The husband, though poor and ill, and in a state of decrepitude, or even of tender years, is obliged to provide for the support of his wife whether she be rich or poor, Mussulman or Non-Mussulman, very young or advanced in age, provided she is in a state of perfect health. These obligations apply even though the wife remain in the paternal home, unless the husband provides a suitable domicile. The husband is not discharged from the obligation to pay the expenses of his wives' support when in prison, even for a debt owing to a wife which he is not able to pay. If the husband has the means, he must provide for the domestics of each of his wives. The amount allowed to the wives for their support and maintenance is fixed according to their respective conditions. They should be sumptuous when both are rich, simple when both are poor, and medium when their conditions are unequal. In the latter case, if it is the husband who is poor, he will pay what he can, and any portion furnished by his wife becomes a debt of the husband, payable when his pecuniary condition is improved. The amount for support, if not agreed upon by the parties, may be fixed judicially, and may be varied according to the varying fortunes of the parties. The code provides for the establishment of these sums according to the profession, trade or occupation of the husband. Should the wife complain that her allowance is insufficient, the magistrate may summon the husband to render account of his income and to justify his failure to furnish the amount established; and, in case of failure to conform to the judicial order, the magistrate will cause his arrest, at the request of the wife, and, if he persists in this neglect, he may be condemned to imprisonment. The magistrate may also order the sale of all his personal property to supply the allowance of the wife. In case of distress occasioned by the failure of the husband to provide for support, the parents of the wife are obliged to maintain her and her children until other relief be found.

The wife is obliged to prepare the family provisions, but may claim payment for services if she performs culinary duties for his sole profit. Should the wife provide for the support of the

family from her own private estate, whether for her own maintenance or that of her children or husband, the amounts so advanced may be sued for and recovered of her husband, and she may judicially enforce this claim as if he were an entire stranger. The wife is not obliged to accompany her husband to the "*domicile conjugale*" even after the consummation of the marriage, until the dowry to which she is entitled by the contract has been fully paid and assured. She has the right to visit her father and her mother once a week, and other relatives once a year, but she cannot pass the night with any one of them without the express consent of her husband. She may receive visits from her mother and her father once a week, and from her other relatives once a year. The wife whose father, even not a Mussulman, is afflicted with a long sickness, may go to his bedside, and give him necessary care, without the consent of her husband.

The foregoing citations on the Mussulman domestic law might give the impression that the family relation differs materially from that of other peoples; but, notwithstanding these legal provisions, the Mussulman household is quite human and attractive. Affection and gentleness are the prevailing elements, and the devotion and solicitude of a husband for his family is worthy of all acceptance. While, in the Mohammedan kingdom, women do not mingle in miscellaneous society, nor expose their faces to the public gaze, their influence in the domestic circle is potent and often controlling; and any matter involving the welfare and interests of the family is seldom undertaken by the husband without the approval and counsel of the women of his household, of whom the chief personage may be the mother or grandmother. The affection of the Mussulmans for their children is strong and enduring, and there is no sight more beautiful than the happiness manifested by a father over the amusements and pleasures of the younger members of his household. Mohammedan women do not complain of their social restrictions; on the contrary, they look upon the liberty exercised by their sisters of other faiths rather as a derogation from the modest sphere originally assigned to the gentler sex. It has been said that the Moslem women have no spiritual or religious life, and that that quality was reserved exclusively to the men, but this is inexact. On the contrary, women whose pecuniary means will admit are educated in all the doctrines of their re-

ligion. They can recite large portions of the Koran; and, while they do not go to the mosque and pray in public, they invariably invoke the blessing of Allah upon their households, and carry to Him all their personal griefs. It is a well-known historical fact that, throughout the Mohammedan kingdom, women have exerted in many important events a potent and controlling influence. It has been "historically" stated that women are not accorded the same right of sepulchre as men, and yet the most imposing funeral rites I have ever witnessed in the East have been those of women. Even the Khedive Tewfik was buried with less impressive ceremonial than his mother, the fourth wife of Ismail.

There are many problems, perplexing to a Christian, bearing upon the interior life of the Mohammedan. That life is so hidden from public gaze that only an intimate personal relation with these families can reveal its true situation. The moral principle pervades these interiors quite as much as in Christian households. How often have I heard it said by old and young, "I would not do this, for it's not right," and many years ago I heard a little donkey-boy protest against conducting his English patron through a certain part of the city of Cairo "because it was wrong." The master of the group was attempting to force him to proceed with the others when I intervened, and asked why he would not go, and he said, "My mother told me it was a wicked part of the city, and I ought not to go there, or take any one with my donkey." I sustained his position, and he ever remained grateful to me for it. I have seen him grow to become a prosperous dragoman, who has served many an American family on the Nile. He has now retired with a competency, and there is no more respected citizen, no matter of what religious faith, in the city of Cairo. This is one of many similar incidents which have fallen within my observation during my long residence in the East.

Peasant women in Egypt do not labor in the fields, as they do in nearly every country of Europe. While they perform onerous domestic duties, grind the corn for bread, and carry the water for culinary purposes, they are seldom forced to drudgery, and the ambition of a poor man is to become able to provide servants for his family.

The respect and devotion of the young for the old and infirm

are beautiful to behold, and never does an older person enter an assemblage of younger without their rising, saluting, and remaining standing until he is seated; and in their festivities they manifest a lively solicitude that the old and infirm shall participate in and share all their enjoyments. Indeed, there are many customs and practices within the domestic sphere which would be worthy of imitation among people enjoying the advantages of "Christian civilization."

The severest criticism to be passed upon the marital relations is the facility with which it may be dissolved. "Repudiation" is the prerogative of the husband; the marriage contract may be broken at any time by his independent action, without invoking judicial sanction as required in most other countries. There is a distinction between "repudiation" and "divorce"; the latter is usually accomplished by mutual agreement, or some special condition supposed to sanction the act. It seems shocking to those accustomed to apply to the courts for relief from the marital bond that the husband should be permitted to send away his wife by pronouncing certain formalities, either orally or in writing, without the sanction of any public authority. The formula usually employed is, "I repudiate thee"; and this language is indispensable for the validity of the repudiation, and must be repeated three times, though this repetition need not necessarily be at the same time. The wife may not divorce her husband, unless she has stipulated this right in the marriage contract, in which case she may apply to the Cadi, who will pronounce a divorce without specific motives. This right of "repudiation" is not so frequently exercised as might be supposed, and it is a common practice where domestic infelicity leads to separation that a family council is invoked or convened by the older members, and a reconciliation is established. In actual practice, divorces are not more frequent in Mussulman families than in countries which boast of the privileges of the highest civilization and the benign influences of "evangelic" instruction. I venture to say that in the cities of Alexandria and Cairo divorces have not been more frequent in proportion to the population than in Chicago and, possibly, the enlightened metropolis of New York. In a recent public declaration, Judge Marcus Kavanagh, Chief-Justice of Cook County (Chicago), states that over two thousand

divorces were granted in Chicago in 1904, and in the country at large just as many in proportion to the population of the different communities. Judge Truax boasts of having excelled the records of his associates in the Supreme Court of the City of New York in granting eighty-one divorces in the month of March of last year. Of these, thirty were brought by husbands, and fifty-one by wives. It will be observed that the difference between the Mohammedan "personal adjudication" and that of a duly authorized judge, is not as great as might appear at first glance.*

Under the Moslem system, there is no disgrace or even humiliation associated with repudiation. The divorcée returns to her family, and after a year's delay (which might serve as an example in some other countries!) may remarry. The husband is obliged to provide for the maintenance of the children, and those of tender years accompany the mother. Should she have sons or daughters married and settled in life, they usually receive her and give her the maintenance and protection due to her as a mother. But the former husband may not remarry her until after she herself has remarried and become divorced or a widow.

In considering the character of any people, their origin and political history must be kept in view. Geographical and climatic conditions often have a preponderating force.

The Arabic race should not be confounded with the Turk or Circassian; the latter are entirely different people, and not here to be considered. The Arab is imbued with sentiment, is a lover of the beautiful, both in art and architecture, as the Arabesque designs wherever found will attest. They are patrons of learning, and their schools abound in every province. Cairo possesses the finest Oriental library in the world, and the university of El Azar has an average attendance of ten thousand students. Most of their studies are devoted to the Koranic Canonical law, but the sciences and higher mathematics are also taught as an eclectic course.

Women of *all* religious faiths in the East are considered inferior to men, but this condition also prevails in Continental

* It is revealed by the preliminary estimates of the U. S. Census Bureau that during the period from 1887 to 1906 the applications for divorce in the United States reached the enormous total of 1,400,000; and that three-fourths of these applications were granted, giving a grand total of one million of divorces in the United States during the last twenty years.

Europe, where married women are still held under tutelage of their husbands, even in regard to the control of their separate estates. While the education of girls is unequal to that of boys, history recounts many instances where Mohammedan women have exerted great influence in the affairs of government, and have stamped their individuality upon the epoch in which they flourished. Influenced by his third wife, a woman of considerable learning, the Khedive Ismail caused to be constructed most extensive school buildings to be devoted to the higher education of Mohammedan girls; but this promising institution was suppressed, as a measure of economy, in 1896, through the English and French intervention in Egyptian financial affairs, and these beautiful buildings are now occupied by the administration of public works. A similar "economical" measure was employed in the suppression of the extensive schools for soldiers' children established by General Stone Pasha, the American chief of Ismail's military household. Schools for girls are now beginning to be revived throughout all Egypt, and the movement for the education of women is assuming extensive proportions in the land of the Nile.

A most interesting book has recently been published in the Arabic language by X— Bey, a member of the native law-court, in support of female education, employing the familiar argument that the mother who gives direction to the young idea should be trained and qualified for that responsible function. The wife of a young Mohammedan lawyer of my acquaintance possesses the educational accomplishments of any of her most-favored Christian sisters. She has achieved such success both in painting and music that her canvasses have been exposed in the Salon, and several of her musical compositions have been published in Europe.

No one familiar with this interesting race of people will venture to classify them as inferior in intellectual capacity to their Christian brethren of the East, although lacking in many of the educational advantages enjoyed by the latter; and while it is conceded that ignorance and superstition largely abound, that condition cannot be justly attributed *alone* to the followers of the Prophet, nor can they be excluded from their share of the nobler qualities which are the characteristic of a true civilization.

GEORGE S. BATCHELLER.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY OLIVIA H. DUNBAR, BRANDER MATTHEWS AND A. S. VAN
WESTRUM.

"THE COUNTRY HOUSE."*

AN almost superhuman power of perceiving what we rather tiresomely call "types" has enabled Mr. John Galsworthy to write two of the most remarkable of recent novels,—*"A Man of Property,"* published last year, and *"The Country House,"* which has just been issued. Each book is secondarily, but only secondarily, a satire upon a certain division of the English social system; Mr. Galsworthy must have been obsessed by the passion for human portraiture before he determined to write novels on economic themes. His portraits are almost precise literary equivalents of good cartoons,—strong, eloquent strokes, relentlessly unflattering, indisputably true and of perfectly unambiguous meaning. No indeterminate smudges destroy the sharp, clear black-and-white effect. Mr. Galsworthy is no more "subtle" than he is merely "obvious"; abrupt and elliptical as the cartoon must be, he is not in the least cryptic. Unlike the old-fashioned novel, idealistically wrought in oils, his very individual performances have no unnaturally emphasized foregrounds, no dim, discreet backgrounds. One character is as impartially drawn as another, and when the last figure in the group has been completed, the cartoonist simply stops. He is little more concerned with "plot," with dramatic sequence or climax, than is the life he so straightforwardly and conscientiously sketches.

"The Country House" is rather looser in texture, rather less insistent in idea, than the earlier novel. Inasmuch as there is nothing very new to say about the survivals of the feudal system in England, this picture of country society seems somewhat less

"The Country House." By John Galsworthy. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

original, also, than that of those formidable "men of property," the Forsytes. Of the dryness and fatuity of the kind of life that this book portrays, many satirists have already written, although rarely if ever in such uncompromising and unsentimental fashion. One after another, there slip out the brilliant pictures of what might readily seem a dull group of persons,—not always visibly promoting the progress of the story, but at least invariably provoking the reader's astonishment and delight. Each chapter, that is to say, is a fresh and complete impression, and to a singular extent the book is one that may as profitably be read in isolated chapters as continuously. Didactically speaking, it is doubtless a fault if a novel have very little story interest and practically no suspense; but if Mr. Galsworthy can write a novel so much more entertaining than those of the people who observe all the conventions, one is disposed to waive the question of his method.

It is of the very nature of such astonishing observation as Mr. Galsworthy's that it does not extend to a profound depth. Not a single significant superficiality escapes it,—but there are hidden things that may. Or it would be juster to say that such a writer deliberately assigns himself a province, the province of manners, and consistently makes no attempt to transcend it. This book contains, however, one exception, in that very delicately perceived character, Mrs. Pendyce, the patrician wife of the old Squire, in whose tough-fibred density Mr. Bernard Shaw would take such diabolical delight. Mrs. Pendyce can scarcely be dismissed as a type, like almost all Mr. Galsworthy's faithful portraits,—like Mrs. Bellew, who was so good-looking that other women distrusted her; like Mrs. Barter, the long-suffering wife of the rector, with the "look of women who are always doing their duty"; like Lady Malden, who gave teas to working-men in the London season. These are all more lifelike than life, but there is a touch of elusiveness about Mrs. Pendyce. If the novelist is severe toward crass distinctions of wealth and "position," this one character would show him entirely tolerant of distinctions of race, of blood. His sympathetically pictured aristocrat is too delicately bred for assertion or revolt, and even the lifelong denial of the graces, beauties, as well as the little extravagances and recklessnesses that she covets, imposes on her no tragic suffering, only a kind of hopeless wistfulness. Mrs. Pendyce's excursion to

London, her flight from her husband to her son, is a bit of quite remarkable imagination, and by all means the finest thing in the book. Each of her successive impulses is as true as the disillusionment it leads to, and the discoveries made by this mother who has not yet outgrown her girlhood are pathetically inevitable. Sitting alone in Hyde Park, with youth and gayety before her eyes, she "felt like one of her own plants, plucked up from its native earth, with all its poor roots hanging bare, as though groping for the earth to cling to. She knew now that she had lived too long in the soil that she had hated; and was too old to be transplanted. The custom of the country—that weighty, wingless creature born of time and of the earth—had its limbs fast twined around her." But a much more overwhelming discovery was that her son was, after all, a Pendyce and alien to her. "It may happen that for long years the likeness between father and son will lie dormant, and only when disintegrating forces threaten the links of the chain binding them together, will that likeness leap forth." Thus there became manifest in George Pendyce what his creator calls a "provincial soul." Mr. Shaw, to whose mind Mr. Galsworthy's has a certain cousinly resemblance, could have imagined the congenitally provincial George; but to the delicacies and divinations in such a portrait as that of Mrs. Pendyce he would be conspicuously unequal.

The book is full of phrases and epithets, full of a thousand temptations to quotation. Too much, for instance, can scarcely be said in praise of such a disquisition as that on "Mr. Pendyce's Head," which, "seen from behind at his library bureau, where it was his practice to spend most mornings from half past nine to eleven or even twelve, was observed to be of a shape to throw no small light upon his class and character. Its contour was almost national. . . . His head, indeed, was like nothing so much as the Admiralty Pier at Dover,—that strange, long, narrow thing, with a slight twist or bend at the end which first disturbs the comfort of foreigners arriving on these shores, and strikes them with a sense of wonder and dismay."

Mr. Galsworthy's quality is an unusually positive one. The reader may frowningly reflect on the many things that he is not, but there is very little fault to be found with, so far as it goes, the thing that he is. What we are, after all, accustomed to is the spectacle of novelists imitating each other; and what we doubtless

weakly and half consciously miss in Mr. Galsworthy is an imitation of somebody else. But the virtues of these books of his are very distinctively his own, and they are the virtues not of facility, but of power. With greater facility, these novels would not have their present effect of choppiness; but they might also lack their sturdy sinew. The one thing that it would seem indispensable for him to develop, in order to become a novelist of genuine importance, is a dramatic sense. It is true that Mr. Galsworthy is already a dramatist, or at least a writer of plays; but in his novels, at least, he still treats his characters as isolated beings. When his characters come to develop some consciousness, one of another, when they come to be more closely and significantly linked together, this brilliant portrayer of manners may easily come to produce something of permanent value.

OLIVIA HOWARD DUNBAR.

RALEIGH'S "SHAKSPERE."*

It is now almost thirty years since Mr. John Morley planned the English Men of Letters series and set the pattern for the American Men of Letters series edited at first by the late Charles Dudley Warner, and for the *Grands Ecrivains Français*, still edited by M. Jusserand. All three of these series have generally maintained a high standard,—the French series perhaps the highest of all. Mr. Morley contributed to his own series the admirable volume on Burke, and for Mr. Warner's series Professor Lounsbury prepared the excellent volume on Fenimore Cooper, a model of all that the biography of a modern author should be. It is true that Mr. Morley's good-nature allowed the volume on Sheridan to be undertaken by an incompetent hand; and it is true that since Mr. Warner's death there have been admitted into the American series several volumes—notably that on Prescott—which showed a lamentable falling off from the earlier standard.

It is a curious coincidence that the foremost figure in all French literature and the foremost figure in all English literature waited long before inclusion in the series wherein the less important writers of his language were early considered. Even now the volume on Molière, which M. Jusserand has confided to M.

* "Shakspere." By Walter Raleigh, Professor of English Literature in the University of Oxford. English Men of Letters. New York: The Macmillan Co.

Georges La Fenestre, has not yet appeared; and it is only now that Shakspeare takes his place among English men of letters. The delay has been justified since it has resulted in putting into the skilful hand of Professor Walter Raleigh the difficult task of dealing with the greatest of dramatic poets in the brief compass of two hundred pages. Mr. Raleigh has already studied the careers and the characters of artists as different as Milton, Stevenson and Whistler. He has traced the earlier evolution of the English novel in what is unquestionably the best book on that interesting theme. He has recently been appointed to the newly established chair of English literature at Oxford, where he is the sole representative of a subject so important that in one American university it demands the services of ten professors with as many more tutors and instructors.

The first qualification for a writer on Shakspeare to-day is common sense; he must have a clear head and an open mind; he needs sanity and balance more than anything else. Insight he ought to have, of course, and scholarship also, as well as sympathy and appreciation; but in dealing with Shakspeare in these times of unrestrained and indiscriminate eulogy, he must possess, more than anything else, an unusual disinterestedness and an unusual desire to tell the truth exactly as he sees it and no matter how unwelcome it may seem. And all these qualities Mr. Raleigh has revealed in this little book, especially the most needful of all,—common sense.

Shakspeare's work is not all of a piece; it is not all of equal excellence. We know this, all of us; yet few of us seem willing to admit it. But we fail to appreciate fully the power and the art of "Hamlet" and of "Othello" if we do not see clearly the weakness and the slipshod handling of "Cymbeline" and of "Timon of Athens." Professor Raleigh declares boldly that "more than one or two of these plays as they stand in the Folio, are, to put it bluntly, bad plays, poor or confused in structure, or defaced with feeble writing" (page 108). He dares to assert that "Troilus and Cressida" is "a bad play, crowded with wonders and beauties" (page 116). He perceives that Shakspeare's "bad Kings Richard III and John, are not wholly unlike the villains of melodrama" (page 183). He denies the scholarship and the omniscience with which Shakspeare has been foolishly credited. He shows that Shakspeare is careless in anachronism,

in geography, in history, and even in natural history. He knew a great deal about nature, but his cuckoos and his nightingales, his toads and his bees, are creatures of fable and not of fact (page 37).

Although Professor Raleigh expresses the rather venturesome opinion that Shakspeare's "continued vogue upon the stage is the smallest part of his immortality," he recognizes more clearly than most commentators the central fact that it was for the stage of his own time that Shakspeare composed his plays. He sees plainly that Shakspeare, intending his dramas to be performed by actors in a theatre and before an audience, had perforce to adjust them to the actors of his company (page 38 and page 102),—to fit them to the conditions of the rude playhouses of his time, with the bare platform jutting from under the gallery from which hung the arras ready to be looped back when need was to show the interior of a tent or the like (page 119),—and to take thought constantly about the likings and the prejudices of the groundlings and of the gallants who crowded to see the acting of his plays (page 26). Just as Sophocles made his great dramas to hold the interest of the Athenians seated along the curving hill-sides of the Acropolis and just as Molière sought to win the favor of the fun-loving burghers of Paris, so Shakspeare had to "study the tastes and expectations of his audience and indulge them with what they approve."

It may be questioned whether Professor Raleigh is quite as full as might be wished in his consideration of Shakspeare's dramaturgic craftsmanship, although he does show a keener appreciation of it than is common among Shaksperian commentators. After all, it must ever be kept in mind, that Shakspeare, even if he is a poet, a philosopher and a psychologist, is primarily a playwright, making his living by writing plays for the theatre of his own time. It is in his consideration of Shakspeare as a poet and as a creator of character that Professor Raleigh is seen at his best. He has not the full appreciation of the Elizabethan background revealed so richly in M. Jusserand's history of English literature; he lacks the interest in the mechanism of play-making which made Professor Barrett Wendell's analysis of the successive plays so suggestive; and he does not reach up to the loftier insight into tragic form which lifted Mr. A. C. Bradley's "Shaksperian Tragedy" far above the level of such ordinary critical

comment as was to be found in Mr. Stopford Brooke's recent volume of essays.

BRANDER MATTHEWS.

"VICTOR HUGO'S INTELLECTUAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY."*

SHORTLY after the death of Victor Hugo, in 1885, was begun the publication of his posthumous works, the stately volumes falling from the press with a frequency that filled the world with amazement at the productive power of the Titan—an amazement that was quickly succeeded by indifference. Outside of France, the greatest name of nineteenth-century literature fell into a kind of premature semi-neglect rather than semi-oblivion; the rest of the world, frankly speaking, had received more of him than it cared for. What it retained of him was his earlier work, and of this chiefly his prose, which, being translatable, alone could hope for that kind of international popularity which works its way downward among the masses. To-day only "*Les Misérables*" is found there, as is but natural in an age of ever-growing social unrest, but even that classic has been left behind by the spirit of the day. "*Notre Dame de Paris*" still keeps it company, but "*Quatre-vingt-treize*," "*Han d'Islande*," "*Bug-Jargal*," "*L'Homme Qui Rit*" and "*Les Travailleurs de la Mer*" are forgotten.

Hugo's poetry, by far the nobler part of his literary work, has shared among the international few the fate that has overtaken his prose among the international many. It has been relegated to the class-rooms of colleges, and to the library of the special student of French literature. It is not kept in the company of Homer, Shakespeare, Dante, Goethe on the shelf of the lover of immortal literature, a familiar friend to be taken down at odd moments for solace and profit and stimulation. Whatever the ultimate verdict of literary history, the present generation has relegated Victor Hugo to a place in the second rank, because, with all the sonorous majesty of his strophes, the inexhaustible wealth and beauty of his imagery, he lacks a consistent, profound, original philosophy of life—what the Ger-

* "Victor Hugo's Intellectual Autobiography." Translated, with a Study of the Last Phase of Hugo's Genius, by Lorenzo O'Rourke. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

mans so felicitously term a "*Weltanschauung*." It is its content that makes poetry immortal, not mere form, however grandiose, nor adornment, however dazzling. Victor Hugo has been called the Michelangelo of literature by headlong enthusiasts, its Turner by more impartial critics. In the perspective of a quarter of a century, the comparison with Gustave Doré appears to be the most exact of all.

These observations are called forth by the enthusiastic introductory "Study of the last Phase of Hugo's Genius," which Mr. Lorenzo O'Rourke has prefixed to his translation of the poet's "*Postscriptum de Ma Vie*," just published in this country under the title of "Victor Hugo's Intellectual Autobiography." The book, which dates from the exile in Guernsey, was withheld from the public, so we are given to understand, for many years by Hugo's own directions—exactly why, one fails to see. It was issued in France on the occasion of the celebration of the centenary of his birth, in 1902. The work will detract nothing from Hugo's fame, it will certainly add nothing to it. These eleven essays on literature, art, God, religion, the soul and immortality are characteristic of his artistry, of his consummate mastery of the majestic phrase, of his fertile fancy, of his luxuriance of powerful image and arresting metaphor, of his facility of grasping and elaborating the ideas of the moment "in the air," but also of his poverty of deep original thought. The literary essays, which open the volume, are, in the final analysis, but thinly disguised directions for posterity to follow in the formation of its final judgment of the genius of their author—directions pointing to Homer, Æschylus, Dante and Shakespeare, which Mr. O'Rourke has gladly followed. They will be found in the chapters on "Genius and Taste," "Genius" and "The Utility of the Beautiful." The religious and philosophic chapters that follow bear the intellectual stamp of their period, and by it are relegated to the past—the stamp of the middle of the last century, with its religio-evolutionary uncertainties and questionings, long since reconciled in the simplest minds, and laid to rest by the thinking world. Here the absence of vigorous independent thought is most strikingly seen. It is all reflected from without, and throughout visualization takes the place of interpretation, numerous and gorgeous images that of speculation. The whole book is but a last illustration of Hugo's incomparable

gift of phrase-making, of his self-consciousness, his egotism, his reliance upon a superb, but purely external, literary gift, upon a craftsmanship that apparently never was in close communion with its possessor's essential inner self, which, instead, always looked abroad for stimulation to the intellectual, social or political preoccupations of the hour. Victor Hugo sought, first of all, fame, not self-expression. One can apply to him Lowell's characterization of Gladstone as "a gentleman who can extemporize lifelong convictions." He was ever a *poseur*.

He posed, also, as a man of prodigious erudition. Whether he was or no, it would be difficult to decide: there have always been two opinions on the subject. We may safely assume that he thoroughly knew, and loved, and understood, and appreciated Homer, Æschylus, Dante, Shakespeare; that was but part of his craft. But one finds here numerous instances of what can only be described as the scholarly pose. In the essay called "*Promontorium Somnii*," for instance, there occurs obscure illustration after obscure illustration of the superstitions of classical antiquity and the Dark and Middle Ages, unknown customs and names never encountered before, and never to be seen again by any but the most specializing of special students. No wonder that the translator occasionally betrays his bewilderment. What are *alungles*, *asproles*, *unguliques*, *spurgeflex* and *voultes*? Hugo, in his large way, does not stop to explain such familiar inventions of mediæval diabolism. And does not "*Berbiquier de Terreneuve du Thym*" look gorgeously erudite? One is glad to learn that he "used to pass his time in catching demons between two brushes which he would violently rub together." But when one discovers in the end that all this display of learning is lavished, not upon a study of demonology, ancient and Gothic, but upon an elaboration of the quite familiar fact that the superstitions of the Pagan world were not dissipated by Christianity, but survived in far more forbidding, crasser forms, one suspects that it was all "read up" for the purpose, to be forgotten the moment it had served its turn. But, for all that, these pages have the grand manner that distinguishes every line written by this master hand.

Of the remaining contents of the book, little need be said. They are mere sketches that might better have been left unpublished and untranslated. That on "Great Men"—Shake-

speare, La Fontaine, Voltaire, Beaumarchais—is utterly unimportant; from the “Thoughts” that close the volume nothing can be taken worth preserving, except, perhaps, “Change your opinions, keep to your principles; change your leaves, keep intact your roots.” The essay on the French Revolution, a mighty subject, indeed, turns out to be but another image, of a flood of miserable humanity bearing the barge of autocracy on its lacerated bodies, and ultimately dashing it upon the rocks.

A final word about Mr. O’Rourke’s introduction. It is not a study, but an unqualified panegyric, in the spirit of Swinburne’s extravagant homage, and, as has already been said, in that of Hugo’s own complacent, if indirect, suggestions. “He is a primitive genius appearing at a modern period, and confronting the age of science. . . . He is a primitive genius of the Homeric strain,” these are phrases taken bodily from him. Mr. O’Rourke is suggestive when he deals with Hugo’s artistry; he claims too much when he denies all limitations to his talent. He is clear-eyed enough to see, with Swinburne, that “it is as a lyric poet that Victor Hugo has distanced all rivals”; he elaborates very ingeniously the proposition that Hugo saw life, not in colors, but in light and shadow, in black and white; but, when he claims the most exalted inspiration from within as the cause of that “auto-intoxication” which Hugo displays in so much of his poetry and his prose, he enters upon debatable ground. The psychology of Victor Hugo is too complicated, and it has been too little studied thus far to allow of such an offhand decision. Hugo had trained this power of self-intoxication to such a degree that it had become an almost mechanical trick. Hence, in his work, a not infrequent lack of proportion between treatment and theme, ever the one majestic sweep of giant wings, the same soaring at the same great height, however close to earth his subject. A genius he was, but he made the genius serve the craftsman, not the craftsman the genius. Mr. O’Rourke would place him, at his own suggestion, beside Homer, Dante, Shakespeare. Let us leave him, instead, in this period of the neglect that apparently always follows a great writer’s death, and precedes the determination of his definitive place in literature, in the company of two immortals of still uncertain ultimate standing on the mountain-top—Molière and Goethe.

A. SCHADE VAN WESTRUM.

WORLD-POLITICS

BERLIN: WASHINGTON.

BERLIN, *July, 1907.*

THE development of the domestic situation in Germany, and the success or failure of Prince von Bülow's experiment of governing with a Liberal-Conservative *Bloc*, hinge upon the extent to which the Government is able or willing to fulfil its programme of social and economic reforms. The essential features of this programme are still as vague as they were when the new Reichstag assembled before Easter, and its fulfilment is far too dependent on the sincerity of the Government's professions of Liberalism to be forecast even in outline.

In the mean time the resignation of Count Posadowsky, who for ten years has presided over the Imperial Home Office, has not reassured Prince von Bülow's Liberal and Radical supporters with regard to his willingness or ability to keep faith with his new majority. The ex-Secretary of State for the Interior was by far the ablest of the Imperial Chancellor's coadjutors in the government of the Empire. His unrivalled grasp of the multitudinous affairs of his department and his assiduity, combined with an infinite capacity for taking pains, made him the ideal type of the official which the Prussian bureaucratic system was intended to produce. Conscientious and invariably self-informed, he was a minor Providence to the nation, and in Parliament a tower of strength to the Government. By birth a nobleman and a member of the landed and propertied classes, he nevertheless managed during his forty years of continuous public service to keep abreast, and sometimes ahead, of modern requirements and ideas. If the tinge of paternalism which characterized the majority of his social proposals betrayed the training and traditions of their author, they were redeemed and inspired by a

fine and sympathetic spirit of intelligent Liberalism which was universally recognized. Even the uncompromising opposition of the Social Democracy was partially relaxed in Count Posadowsky's favor. But he was no courtier or carpet knight, like Prince von Bülow, and his undivided attention to the details of his department, which he controlled in all its branches, won for him in the highest quarters the unenviable reputation of a pedant. In addition to his commanding intellect, which made the Chancellor's more superficial arts and crafts seem small by comparison, Count Posadowsky labored under the disability of differing from his official chief on questions of political and Parliamentary tactics. The latest occasion upon which this divergence manifested itself was at the dissolution of the Reichstag last December, which Count Posadowsky regarded as an act of temerity. Perhaps he realized too keenly the artificial character of the theatrical campaign against the Centre party, and he may have apprehended the truth that, in reality, the Chancellor had staked his political existence in order to defeat a powerful Court clique, which had set itself to undermine his position in the Emperor William's favor. If all that has been said and written about this so-called camarilla during the last few months is only approximately true, the history of its intrigues forms one of the most instructive documents in modern German politics. In countries where the process of government is conducted in public, machinations of this kind would be impossible, even on the part of competent and experienced politicians. But the camarilla has been exposed, and in the event Prince von Bülow was so far successful that, although he completely failed to weaken the Parliamentary Centre party, against which the dissolution was ostensibly directed, he inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Social Democrats by a questionable appeal to "national" sentiment.

But the Imperial Chancellor's triumph entailed a number of obligations, the fulfilment of which demanded the whole-hearted cooperation of the Government, and in particular of the Imperial Secretary of State for the Interior. Count Posadowsky, however, remained sceptical as to the ultimate success of Prince von Bülow's experiment, and his attitude even in Parliament implied a doubt as to whether it would be possible to "mate the Liberal with the Conservative spirit" without detriment to the development of social policy. So long as the Conservative and

Agrarian element remains preponderant in Prussia, scepticism as to the possibility of developing social and economic policy on Radical or even Liberal lines in the Empire is justified. Prince von Bülow has tried to bridge over the difficulty by investing the new Imperial Secretary of State for the Interior with the functions of Vice-President of the Prussian Council of Ministers. But the difficulty remains, and is still further intensified by the fact that, whereas in the Empire and in the Reichstag Prince von Bülow, as Imperial Chancellor, is trying to govern against the Centre party, in Prussia and in the Diet the same statesman, as Prussian Minister-President, has to rely upon the Centre in order to conduct his policy in its most important branches. The situation is Gilbertian and untenable. As Count Posadowsky was unable to lend the experiment his whole-hearted support, he was compelled to resign. Through Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, the promoted Prussian Minister of the Interior, and by the prospective creation of a new Imperial Labor Office, Prince von Bülow is hoping that he has found the solution of this complicated problem. In order to compensate the Liberals for the dismissal of Count Posadowsky, the Imperial Chancellor has also sacrificed Dr. von Studt, the Prussian Minister of Education, who has long been the *bête noire* of intelligent Liberalism in Germany. But an equally acceptable successor in the eyes of the orthodox Conservatives has been discovered for the post.

A by no means negligible advantage which accrues to the Imperial Chancellor from the delegation of a large number of his duties, both in the Empire and in Prussia, to the new Imperial Secretary of State for the Interior, is to be found in the fact that this arrangement allows Prince von Bülow to devote himself more exclusively to foreign affairs. Foreign policy is the Chancellor's peculiar domain, and he has never, not even when his physical and intellectual energies were unimpaired, exhibited any marked aptitude for assimilating the great principles of social and political economy of which Count Posadowsky was so preeminently master. The task with which Prince von Bülow is confronted is no mean one, and it will require all his diplomatic talents to overcome the difficulties of the situation to the satisfaction of his critics in Germany.

The belief that Germany is a "sated" Power may have been true of the quarter of a century which immediately succeeded

the war with France. But since that period forces have arisen which have gradually tended to shake this belief. During the last decade Germany has been impelled into activity, partly by the force of her own industrial and commercial evolution and partly by the force of international factors. The first has imposed upon her obligations and responsibilities far beyond her boundaries in Europe. The second, on the other hand, has been called into being by the political deductions which she has attempted to draw, not only in Europe, from her victories in the wars against Denmark, Austria and France, but also in *Welt-politik*, as the result of her commercial expansion. That Germany has kept the peace for more than a generation redounds to her credit, in so far as the maintenance of peace has depended upon her discretion. On the other hand, the direction which has been given to German policy, and the attributes, material and moral, with which it has been invested by the Emperor William and his Government have suggested inferences which Powers jealous of their own standing could not possibly ignore. Just as the Franco-Prussian alliance was intended to redress the Continental balance of power after the consolidation of Germany, so the Anglo-French *entente cordiale* and its ancillary agreements have been designed to restore the equilibrium of Europe, after the defeat of Russia in East Asia, and the consequent reassertion of the preponderance of the Triple Alliance. While this readjustment assures the continuance of normal conditions, it also acts as a salutary curb upon any aspirations which Germany may be tempted to entertain. There is abundant evidence that Germany is chafing under this restraint. Prince von Bülow is inordinately fond of repeating that "pressure is bound to create counter-pressure," and at the same time the assurance is reiterated that Germany has no ambitions outside the commercial sphere. It would be interesting to know why, if she cherishes no aspirations which are incompatible with the interests of the Western European Powers, the Anglo-Franco-Spanish exchange of guarantees is wantonly interpreted as a menace to her position. The attempt to undermine the Anglo-French *entente* by raising the so-called Morocco "question" proved a failure. The reception which has been accorded in authoritative quarters in Germany to the new agreements between England, France and Spain shows that German statesmen are beginning to realize the

futility of trying to break up the understanding between these Mediterranean Powers. If Great Britain is to be displaced from her position athwart the path of German ambitions, the attack will have to be delivered in another quarter. There are an increasing number of indications that German policy is casting about for some means of counterbalancing what the German reptile press habitually calls the "anti-German Trust." Exactly half a century ago the late Prince Bismarck described Prussian foreign policy in his day as "a passive aimlessness (or an aimless passivity), which was only too glad to be left alone." To-day, after the lapse of fifty years, there is much the same kind of passivity, but there are signs that definite aims are shaping themselves. For the present, *l'Allemagne se recueille*. The question is how long the domestic situation will permit or compel the Government to remain inactive, and how long German prestige can afford to abide natural and spontaneous developments.

Germany, it is frequently repeated, is strong enough to stand by herself. To all practical intents and purposes this boast is justified. But, at the same time, the growth of potent factors in world-politics, like America and Japan, and, above all, the comprehensive network of *ententes* which a far-seeing British policy has created, have robbed "isolation" of much of the splendor which formerly attached to this condition. The value of a purely Continental insurance policy like the Triple Alliance, moreover, tends to depreciate in proportion as German interests expand beyond Europe. From the moral point of view, again, the disadvantage of being identified with purely reactionary forces, like the Tsar, the Sultan and the Pope, has long been keenly felt in Germany. The prospect of a *rapprochement* between England and Russia, combined with the latter's defeat by Japan, the repeated shocks which Mohammedan confidence in Germany has sustained, and the estrangement of German Catholicism in the Empire itself have considerably weakened Germany's second line of defence in Europe.

If the necessity for a change of policy, as a result of the growth of oversea "interests" and the decline of traditional alliances and friendships be conceded, the field within which this change can be effected is restricted. After the unfortunate experiences of recent years, it is extremely improbable that, whichever party may be in power, Great Britain should again allow herself to hew

wood and draw water in the service of German *Weltpolitik*. France again, quite apart from her sympathetic understanding with England, cannot be counted upon to stultify herself so far as to enter into intimate relations with Germany upon the mere strength of assurances which have repeatedly been dishonored in the past. Progress in this direction, if it is to be permanent, must necessarily be slow. There may be financial cooperation between the two Powers, and disputed questions outside Europe may ultimately lead to a Franco-German colonial understanding; but for the immediate future no closer relationship can be contemplated. In view of these considerations, there are not a few people in Germany to whom an understanding either with America or with Japan has presented itself as an alternative. The realization of this object, however, admittedly postulates that England and France should be kept in check, and that their suspicions should be lulled until the end in view has been attained.

So far, there is no good reason for believing that Germany has yet made up her mind in either of these directions. Indeed, the choice is no easy one, and the difficulty is still further enhanced by the belief, which is steadily gaining ground in Germany, that a conflict between America and Japan is sooner or later inevitable. An extraordinary interest is being displayed in the various phases of the diplomatic exchanges which have recently characterized the relations between the two Pacific Powers. Every effort is being made to conceal this interest and to neutralize, as far as possible, the effect of a compliment to one of the parties by a tribute in honor of the other. Even the semi-official press has been instructed to deny a suggestion, which has never been advanced in any responsible quarter, to the effect that Germany has in no way fomented the differences which have arisen between the two Powers. Symptoms of this kind sufficiently indicate a sensitive interest which the outside world may be excused for interpreting upon the one hypothesis. Delicate as the discussion of the subject may be, it is perhaps noteworthy that a good deal of attention has been attracted in Germany by a statement that America has declined an alleged offer of good offices on the part of France in the present state of friction between the United States and Japan. Whether Germany cherishes aspirations of her own, in welcoming the elimination of France as a rival for the good graces of America, it is too early to say. But

England still remains to be dealt with. In the case of England, however, there is, from the German point of view, the added difficulty that she is at present on equally good terms with Japan as with America. And Japan, as it is reluctantly acknowledged, is quite capable of becoming useful to Germany, especially if the latter proposes to develop her interests in East Asia. Those who witnessed the reception at Kiel, a few weeks ago, of a Japanese squadron and the attentions which have been showered upon Admiral Baron Yamamoto and other distinguished Japanese visitors, will have reflected that times have changed since the Emperor William issued his pictorial appeal to the nations to guard their holiest possessions against the "Yellow Peril." The question of, it may be, the near future will be whether Germany proposes to await the issue of a conflict which is widely predicted in the German press as inevitable, in order that she may make her terms with the victor, or whether at the critical moment she will openly range herself on the side of America. The completion of the Panama Canal may find the German navy in a sufficiently advanced stage of development to permit of a conclusion.

The efforts which have recently been made to infuse a measure of cordiality into Anglo-German relations, and upon which the Emperor William's forthcoming visit to England is designed to set a seal, are eminently characteristic of the new development in German policy. If Germany is to succeed in her attempt to place England in a position in which the latter might eventually be compelled to choose between America and Japan, it is necessary to gain time. There is, too, the further consideration that the semblance of good relations with England would materially facilitate German efforts to gain the friendship of America. Until Germany's object is attained, she is quite capable of playing off one against the other. England has already, at a previous period, served as the pivot of manœuvres of this kind, in the days when Germany was more intent upon inveigling herself into the favor of Russia than she is at present. The experiment may be repeated with America as the objective. The temporary advantages which America stands to gain from a working *entente* with Germany might prove to be considerable. If America, for example, were to find herself irresistibly drawn into a struggle for supremacy in the Pacific, the presence of a capable watch-dog in Europe might free her from certain conceivable anxieties.

It is difficult to say how far Germany is seriously dallying with this idea, but both in this country and in America there are classes to whom the prospect is not distasteful. Foreign visitors to Germany, especially if they enjoy a measure of distinction at home and are reasonably unacquainted with the language, are tempted into undertaking singular excursions into the domain of politics, and the echo of their voices pursues them back to their native land in an unrecognizable form. The Germans celebrate, and frequently deserve, cheap triumphs in this direction. Unfortunately, however, the hospitality which is bestowed upon the visitors is largely of that prearranged variety which precludes fair judgment. The newcomers are duly impressed with the stucco-fronted modernity of German development, with the model solicitude of the State for its citizens from the cradle to the grave, and with the progressive notions which are cheapest in the quarters where they are most inveterately ignored. The underlying principle of this artificial structure is apt to escape attention. The essential character of the German State will not be changed either by reason of the patronage of science and of approved branches of art, or as a result of the advancement of learning and of the encouragement of social policy. Neither will practical proposals at the Hague Conference, to compensate for the decided opposition to disarmament in any form, nor plausible attempts to improve German relations with England and France, avail to change the fundamental principles for which Germany stands to-day. Those who have carefully studied the development of modern Germany and who have traced German policy to its springs, are not satisfied that intimate relations with the German Empire are compatible with the interests of any essentially democratic community.

WASHINGTON, *July, 1907.*

ALTHOUGH, at the hour when we write, neither President Roosevelt nor a single member of his Cabinet remains in the Federal capital, it is safe to say that there are more veteran and expert politicians left in Washington than could be found in a dozen of the United States. Dozens of ex-Representatives, ex-Governors, nay, ex-Senators and ex-diplomatists are scattered through the Departments, so that, even in midsummer, there is no lack of keen observers and shrewd commentators. They have

plenty of leisure, too, for retrospect and forecast, since the driving wheels of the Executive machinery are no longer running under a full head of steam. What are the topics that just now command the attention of these salaried onlookers, who, perhaps, see more of the political and international game than they did when they took a hand in it? The topics of most interest are three: first, the extent to which the relations of the United States and Japan are likely to be affected by the signs of grave trouble for the last-named Power in Corea; secondly, the prospect of securing acceptance of any of the proposals made by the United States at The Hague Conference; and, lastly, the question whether there is the faintest ray of hope of Democratic success in the next Presidential election.

As for the attempt of German, French, and some American newspapers to excite apprehension that a war may be the outcome of the treatment of Japanese sojourners in San Francisco, it may now be said to have miscarried. Even the reported intention of our Navy Department to send, some months hence, all of our first-class battle-ships to San Francisco has failed to provoke any official protest on the part of the Tokio Government, although one of our best friends among the "Elder Statesmen," the Marquis Ito, now Resident-General at Seoul, has suggested that the demonstration of our sea-power in the Pacific might be looked upon as ill timed and as tending to arouse unfounded expectations on the part of the disaffected Coreans. It is obvious, indeed, that Corea is the vulnerable point of the Mikado's Empire. Nor can it be denied that the Corean Emperor was guilty of a personal breach of faith and of a flagrant violation of treaty obligations, when he authorized a delegation to proceed to The Hague and there request the recognition by the Peace Conference of Corea as an independent Power. The request was rejected, because the representatives of Japan had no difficulty in showing that, so far as international relations were concerned, the Corean sovereign had renounced the status of independence, and could no more lay claim to it than could the Queen of Madagascar after she had formally assented to her deposition at the hands of France. It is true that, by a protocol signed at Tokio on April 25th, 1898, the Governments of Japan and Russia severally recognized the sovereignty and entire independence of Corea, and reciprocally engaged to refrain from any direct interference in the

internal affairs of that country. If that protocol were still binding, the demand of the delegates of Corea for admission to The Hague Conference could not have been refused. It was superseded, however, by the agreement between Japan and Corea, signed on August 22nd, 1904 (about six months after the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War), which provided that the Seoul Government should employ as diplomatic adviser to the Department of Foreign Affairs a foreigner recommended by the Japanese Government, with the understanding that no important matters concerning foreign relations should be dealt with except after his counsel had been taken. The agreement also provided that the Seoul Government should consult the Mikado's Ministers before concluding treaties and conventions with foreign Powers. Finally, on November 17th, 1905 (about three months after the conclusion of the Peace of Portsmouth), the Seoul and Tokio Governments entered into an agreement that thereafter the Japanese Department of Foreign Affairs should have control and direction of the external relations and affairs of Corea, and the diplomatic and consular representatives of Japan should have charge of the subjects of interest to Corea in foreign countries. By another article of the same agreement, the Corean Government formally pledged itself not to conclude thereafter any act or engagement having an international character, except through the medium of the Government of Japan. In view of the documents here reproduced in substance, it is clear that the Corean Emperor had no right to despatch a delegation to The Hague Conference, and it is not surprising that, having been convicted of perjury, he should now be called upon by the head of his own Ministry, backed, of course, by Resident-General Ito, to abdicate in favor of the Crown Prince, who, it is known, would be a puppet in Japanese hands.

While, however, the Japanese have a treaty right to object to the despatch of a Corean delegation to The Hague, there is reason to believe that, if the Corean sovereign should be visited with the penalty of deposition, and of deportation to Tokio, not all but many of the inhabitants of Corea would be wrought to an exasperation that would find vent on the first favorable occasion. Now, in the Corean Empire, there are said to be no fewer than twenty million inhabitants, while, as yet, only about 50,000 Japanese are even alleged to have settled in the peninsula. Un-

der the circumstances, it is obvious that if the Japanese, being beaten at sea, should find their communications with Corea interrupted, they would find it impossible to retain a foothold in the peninsula for any extended period. They cannot, therefore, afford to confront the risk of a contest with all the first-class battle-ships of the United States, for they would have incomparably more at stake than would their opponents. The continued possession of Corea is of vital moment to Japan, whereas we could lose all our insular possessions in the Pacific without suffering any pecuniary detriment. Indeed, it would be money in our pockets to let the whole of them go, though, of course, our national dignity would not permit us to let them be wrested from us by force.

Although we have sent to The Hague a delegation of exceptional prestige and influence, headed as it is by ex-Ambassador Choate and ex-Ambassador Porter, the situation seems unfavorable to the accomplishment of any of our principal aims. We desired, first, to establish the principle of the inviolability of the private property of the subjects or citizens of a belligerent at sea; secondly, to forbid the collection by force of contractual debts, until the claims should have been adjudged valid by The Hague permanent Court of Arbitration, and until the debtor-State should have refused to comply with the decision of that tribunal. In the third place, we wished to extend materially the scope of The Hague Court of Arbitration; and, finally, we were prepared to second England's request for a substantial reduction of military armaments. The inviolability of the private property of a belligerent at sea, which we urged upon European Powers at the time of the Declaration of Paris (1856), was earnestly advocated at The Hague by Mr. Choate, who succeeded in rallying to its support almost two-thirds of the delegates belonging to the appropriate committee, who, moreover, represented a population exceeding by scores of millions that of the countries arrayed in opposition to his proposal. The ostensible success, however, can have no practical result, since the countries that he failed to convince will continue to repudiate the desired principle, and among these are such great maritime Powers as Great Britain, France, Japan and Russia.

As for our effort to enlarge the powers of The Hague permanent Court of Arbitration, much will, of course, be effected

in that direction if we can persuade the Conference to prohibit such a collection by force of contractual debts as was practised by Great Britain in the case of Egypt, and by Great Britain, Germany and Italy in the case of Venezuela—until, that is to say, the validity of a creditor's claim shall have been certified by impartial arbitrators. There is, as yet, grave doubt whether the principal creditor-Powers will tolerate the introduction of such a change in the law of nations, a change which is viewed askance even by some solvent Latin-American republics, like Brazil and Mexico, who are accustomed to pay their debts punctually, and are loath to see their present excellent credit on the European stock-exchanges impaired in the slightest degree, as it might be, if the validity of a claim had to be left to the adjudication of The Hague tribunal.

With regard to the prospect of Democratic success at the next Presidential election, most of the astute observers in Washington think that if the Democratic National Convention were held this autumn Mr. William J. Bryan would be made the nominee by more than a two-thirds vote; not that the delegates would have any hope of electing him, but because, as yet, he has no active and popular competitor. We have learned, indeed, whom Colonel Watterson, of the Louisville "*Courier-Journal*," had in mind when he said that he could name a Democrat living west of the Alleghanies and north of the Ohio to whom the Bryanites could have no objection, and yet who would have a fair chance of securing a majority of the electoral votes. He referred to John A. Johnson, now for a second term Democratic Governor of Minnesota. It is a remarkable fact that in 1904, although Mr. Roosevelt carried Minnesota by 161,464, Mr. Johnson, as the Democratic candidate for Governor, secured a plurality of 6,352. That Governor Johnson gave satisfaction to his fellow citizens is evident from the fact that, last year, he was reelected by a plurality of 76,633. Being of Scandinavian parentage, he would naturally have a strong pull on all the Scandinavian population of the Northwest, which is by no means concentrated in the single State of Minnesota. This, at least, may be urged on behalf of Governor Johnson, that he is far more likely than Mr. W. J. Bryan to carry his own State. As yet, however, the former's reputation is purely local, and there is scarcely time enough left before June, 1908, in which to make him a national figure.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

MONDAY, *July 29.*

The Esperanto Congress.

SEVEN centuries ago Roger Bacon, monk and philosopher, startled the conservative citizens of Oxford by announcing strange facts in the sciences of chemistry and physics, and by making wild prophecies of wonderful engines, horseless carriages and the like. For a Franciscan monk this was worse than madness, and by consequence Bacon suffered much ignominy and years of imprisonment. To-day the denizens of Mongolia and remote Siberia, as they catch sight of the motors now racing "from Peking to Paris," are probably just as incredulous as were the Oxford men seven hundred years ago, and only a fuller experience could convince them that the horseless carriage is a fact.

In the same manner for centuries past there has been talk, more or less vague, concerning a world-language, a universal tongue, that all nations could learn, and thus commune with facility like men and brothers. As in every other field of invention and discovery various attempts have been made to construct such a language—attempts that the years have swept away with the flotsam and jetsam of mortal endeavor. But one of these attempts, Esperanto, has not only survived, but by its substantial merit and vitality it has gained the faith and adherence of an ever-increasing multitude in every part of the globe, and to-day hundreds of men and women from every quarter are gathering at Cambridge, England, to be present at the Third International Esperanto Congress.

The English are avowedly the most conservative of peoples. They are not given to believing on mere hearsay. But had Roger Bacon brought a horseless carriage before them and demonstrated its utility they would have honored him duly. And likewise the Congress that is to open at Cambridge on the 12th of this

month may bring home to them what Professor Ostwald, of Leipzig, in a recent address called the "culture value of an auxiliary language." In Professor Ostwald's opinion the adoption and general use of an auxiliary tongue among the nations, for purposes commercial and scientific, is one of the most important of all "culture" problems for humanity at the present and in the immediate future.

Culture, according to Ostwald, simply means economy of energy. A scientist at present can, in a few days, make discoveries and establish facts that some decades ago would have required years of toil, only because to-day he has instruments and devices that the scientist of an earlier date would have been compelled laboriously to construct for himself. Further progress depends upon avoiding waste of energy. The value of an international auxiliary tongue lies in the fact that the effort and time devoted to the study of foreign tongues for scientific and commercial purposes can be devoted to the solution of other problems that humanity has still to contend with. For the educative value of foreign language study in the schools to any but those linguistically gifted is of doubtful significance. So irregular and difficult are the historical languages that the inherent logic of the child naturally rebels against them. The general adoption of Esperanto would do away with these difficulties. And now the English people will have the opportunity to see the practical working of Esperanto.

Hundreds of Esperantists representing every civilized nation on earth will listen to speeches, make speeches, hold meetings, enact plays, all in Esperanto. They will meet at divine service, at meals, picnics, games, on excursions, using only Esperanto, to which very few of them probably have devoted over three months of actual study. Already England has gone far to recognize the merit and value of Esperanto, which has recently been adopted by the London Chamber of Commerce. The Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University and the Mayor and Town Council will give an official reception to the delegates, and the Corporation of the City of London has offered to the Congress the use of the Guild Hall for a meeting on August 19th. The press of England and America, it is to be hoped, will present some interesting accounts of the Congress. Mr. Henry James Forman will represent *THE REVIEW*.

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POE, COOPER AND THE HALL OF FAME.

BY EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN (ONE OF THE HUNDRED
ELECTORS).

THE picturesque village of Cooperstown has devoted a week's round in this last month of summer to the centennial celebration of its settlement at the foot of Otsego Lake. Its citizens look upon the name and fame of James Fenimore Cooper as the chief glory of the place where one whom they pronounce "the greatest of American writers of romance" lived, worked and died. At his grave the village children sang and scattered flowers, while not inconceivably the shades of Uncas and Natty Bumppo hovered near, and the heroic ghost of Long Tom Coffin ventured thus far inland to share in the rites. The eloquence of Professor Matthews panegyricized the novelist of his adopted State—and this is well, for our champion of the spelling cohort has been one of the doughtiest defenders, since Cooper, of American letters against foreign misconception. Cooper plainly is not without honor in the glades of his own legendary. But no tablet bearing the name of the author of "The Pilot" and "The Pioneers" has been unveiled in the pavilions of our metropolitan Hall of Fame.

The capital of Virginia has raised ten thousand dollars for a

memorial of Edgar Allan Poe, whose boyhood was passed in Richmond. Last spring, Baltimore awoke to the belief that there can be no fitter addition to the structures from which she derives her titular epithet than an impressive monument, of some kind, to the poet and romancer whom Tennyson considered "the literary glory of America." It was in Baltimore that Poe won his first start; there, too, he met his last mischance, and lay distraught upon his deathbed; there his remains are guarded by the modest tomb erected, through the efforts of a woman, almost three decades after their interment; and in the same city still dwell the clansmen of his name. Baltimoreans applaud the project for an adequate memorial, and doubtless the subscription will soon be under way. As yet, however, the votes cast for Edgar Allan Poe by the electors of the Hall of Fame have fallen slightly short of the number required for inclusion within its colonnade.

Public opinion concerning our temple on the Heights has gone through several stages. The announcement of the conception of such a shrine, and of the fact that means had been supplied by private munificence for its realization under the auspices of New York's junior University, was received with some urbane yet not unkindly lifting of the eyebrows at the conscious or unconscious audacity of the undertaking. Could it seem otherwise than supereminently Hesperian to our kin across sea whose Westminster Abbey came not as a birth, but "just growed"? Could any awe invest a Pantheon established neither by a National Assembly nor by that divine right of royalty which created off-hand the Walhalla of the Danube?

The genesis of the institution doubtless was more unabashed, and also less seriously scrutinized, than if its sponsor had been one of the older seaboard universities. To cut in is after all a way of doing things, and the world has few barriers to assurance *plus* energy. Both traits were displayed by the management of the college whose resources were scanty, yet equal to obtaining the grandest of sites for future expansion, and to making itself at once conspicuous by so notable a memorial. It soon was apparent that to the plain people there was something effective in the plan set forth. Those who had received their schooling since the adoption of statutes requiring the national flag to be unfurled above every schoolhouse, and who knew by heart "My Country,

'tis of Thee," showed an interest which tempered the cynicism of an exclusive class. The resulting tolerance extended by our arbiters of taste was confirmed, with American gallantry, from the moment when the rumor went about that to the patriotic impulse of a young countrywoman, whom all held in affectionate honor, the coming shrine would owe its endowment.

Next came an interval of curiosity as to the working of the scheme. Would it be as wisely guided as it had been cleverly adventured? Could it maintain the dignity of its attributes, or would it be a thing for passers to wag their heads at, and say: "Aha, aha! our eye hath seen it." Manifestly, however, Chancellor MacCracken in any case would be able to render his antiphonal: "Aha! even the ancient high places are ours in possession." When the columned hemicycle began to show around Stanford White's beautiful edifice, on that lofty site, the Chancellor's vantage-ground was indisputable; and when, ere long, the result of the balloting, in 1900, for a possible fifty famous Americans became known, it was admitted that the test of an initial election had come out fairly well. The country at large had made nominations and was discussing the returns; it had been taken with the idea of such a foundation in the city which every American visits, and in which, as in Washington, he seems to have a certain share. In fine, this first election, conducted with much circumstance and precision, advanced the enterprise to the status of achievement: not necessarily a Pantheon such as well might have been founded at the national capital, but at least the peer in location and pretensions of Munich's Ruhmeshalle—from which it appears to take its name.

This virtual acceptance of the Hall as a public institution brought with it the right of citizen censorship which has been exercised *Amerikanisch*, with all degrees of seriousness and humor. The election of only twenty-nine from the nominated list showed that even the greatest of democracies has not yet produced fifty heroes beyond all cavil—stars of such magnitude that no differences of faith, opinion, temperament, among the electors, could prevent a common recognition of their light. On the whole, twenty-nine was a goodly number to begin with, and there might have been worse happenings than the reservation of twenty-one vacancies for the arbitrament of after time and discussion. The election of Lee by a two-thirds vote proved the catholicity of the

judges. The debarment of Hamilton by his alien birth was keenly felt; probably I was but one of the electors who expressed regret, when rendering their ballots, over his ineligibility.

Nevertheless, the failure to elect two or three of the nominees seemed, upon consideration of the relative rank of several among the chosen, a palpable sin of omission. It was to me a cause for bewilderment. I had committed the error of supposing that my own judgment was so naturally shared by discerning men that the success of these candidacies was inevitable. And should not the electors, though one of their own number say it, be reckoned as discerning? Imbued, then, with respect for the breadth and acumen of the twenty-five "college presidents," the twenty-six "professors of history and scientists," the twenty-six "publicists, editors, and authors," and the twenty-three "chief justices," with whom I was associated,—and to whom so honorable a function had unexpectedly been entrusted,—I confess that I was quite taken aback to find that only thirty including myself had voted for Cooper, and that Poe, with presumedly the South behind him, had received but thirty-eight of the ninety-seven ballots returned. Then, too, possessed by a reverence acquired in youth for the Father of American Song, and a belief that a man's eminence should be measured by its ratio to his own era, I thought it surprising that the *nomen venerabile* of Bryant was not upon the bead-roll, although he had lacked but 2 votes of the required 51.

The case of Cooper seemed peculiarly inexplicable, and now, since the second test, in 1905, it would seem as much more so as the square of the additional years, but for conditions which it is the purpose of this article to examine in the hope of their amelioration. That Washington Irving should have received the large percentage of eighty-three out of ninety-seven votes, standing eleventh on the list, could not be criticised. But if Irving, why not his great compeer—that other romancer, who, if the less classical and refined of the two, was the more creative, the more American, and is to this day "equal in renown"? Above all, why but thirty votes for him, to Irving's eighty-three? Both were founders of a native school, and side by side the vansmen in our sixty years' march for international copyright. Were there fewer than a third of the electors uninformed concerning the worldwide vogue of Cooper, and the unceasing sale of his works; were

there so few who could recall experiences like that of the present writer, who, with a zest excited in boyhood by a chance acquaintance with but one of Cooper's novels, had trudged a league for each successive other, until the whole enchanting series had been assimilated? Had then the lapse of years made so unfamiliar to my colleagues those opening stanzas of Halleck's "Red Jacket"?—

"Cooper, whose name is with his country's woven

First in her files, her Pioneer of mind—

A wanderer now in other climes, has proven

His love for the young land he left behind;

"And throned her in the senate-hall of nations,

Robed like the deluge rainbow, heaven-wrought;

Magnificent as his own mind's creations,

And beautiful as its green world of thought."

Were there no more who had appreciated the survey of Cooper's life and work afforded by Professor Lounsbury's contribution to the "Men of Letters" series? Recalling to mind that biography, a classic in its way, and therewith the estimate placed by Mr. Brownell in a masterpiece of criticism upon our rugged celebrant of frontier and ocean adventure, I felt that in respect of the romancer's inalienable claims to such apotheosis as can be bestowed by official commemoration I was willing to be "in the right with two or three."

If the vote for Cooper gave cause for wonder, what of the insufficient tally scored for Poe, whose manes probably will never cease to be vexed by a witling class of followers, but concerning whose place in imaginative literature the world at large has not the slightest doubt? As a writer he was among the first to recognize the powers of Hawthorne; both were idealists, and if the one produced no sustained romances like "The Scarlet Letter," the other gave voice to no lyric melodies such as "Israfel" and "The Haunted Palace." These artistic, beauty-haunted compeers were twin orbs in their nineteenth-century constellation. And as for the matter of renown—of a place in the Hall of Fame—what, then, is fame? On your conscience, fellow judges, whether you are realists or dreamers, jurists, scholars or divines, pay some slight regard to that voice of the outer world, which one of our own writers termed the verdict of "a kind of contemporaneous posterity"; note that there is scarcely an enlightened

tongue into which Poe's lyrics and tales have not been rendered,—that he is read and held as a distinctive genius, in France, Spain, Germany, Italy, Russia, Scandinavia,—that the spell of his art is felt wherever our own English speech goes with the flags of its two great overlands. Fame! Is there one of us still unconscious of Poe's *fame*?

“Not hear? When noise was everywhere! it tolled
Increasing like a bell.”

Those who have given their votes for Franklin and Hamilton surely have not demurred on ethical grounds to one against whom no charge of immorality can lie, seeing that his life, like his handiwork, was chaste as moonlight. That he was poor and headstrong is true; that he was the congenital victim of an abnormal craving for stimulants, now accounted a disease, is true; but what of all this beside the gift that made its shining way against such odds—beside one's gratitude for his crystallization of our inchoate taste and for the recognition which his poetry and romance did so much to gain for the literary product of his native land.

Thus I thought and think, and the blanks on the bulletin of 1900 would still seem inexplicable, and far more so their persistence after the second election—in which, though Cooper advanced to a count of forty-three, and Poe to forty-two, Bryant fell off to forty-six—were it not that I have begun to see a light. Meanwhile, public opinion concerning these shortcomings has been outspoken, and barbed with the sarcasms of a justifiably ironic press. It has been intimated, for example, that Poe and Whitman are *taboo* by senatorial edict. Plainly this cannot be so as regards Poe, for his name has twice been squarely presented on the roll of nominations, and nine more votes would have given it a majority on the second trial. In relation to Whitman it should be noted that to put a name before the electors requires, under the constitution, nominations “from the public in general—seconded by any member of the University Senate.” It is true that after an election is decided a veto-power may be exercised against an elect, but only “by a majority of the nineteen members of the New York University Senate.” This veto would simply “return the name for future consideration. The electors might again approve it by an emphatic vote.” The fact is that

the name of Whitman was not eligible, under the ten-year limit, until the election of 1905, nor had there been any so general an advocacy of it as to constitute a definite public estimate of his fame—nor, so far as I am aware, any preliminary effort made by its most ardent votaries. Any elector had the right to add it to the list submitted for supplementary nominations, and if even a few of the Hundred had done so, I very much doubt if it would have failed to appear upon the “revised” roll containing the full and final panel.

The priority, by a generation, of Cooper and Poe, and of Bryant—whom Whitman found so satisfying—is manifest, and that any name is not submitted at the first available date hardly constitutes a grievance. As one never deaf to Whitman’s large utterance, and whose early statement that he and Emerson and Poe were our poets from whom the world “had most to learn” has long been vindicated, I foresee a lustrum when he will be ushered to the Hall by the equity of time; yet I conceive that even his chartered renowners would not care to have him enter before he comes as a conqueror.

With light gained, then, from the returns of 1905, which elected Lowell and Whittier, but no historian or other author, and not a single scientist or great inventor, it is plain that the rules thus far adhered to block the way to reasonable coordination. An otherwise good system surely may be amended in such wise as to produce results more in accord with national expectation. This belief is here expressed because it may well be said that the judges themselves should not rest content with the mere transmission of their votes. For one, I should have made some unofficial effort in 1905, in behalf of certain names, but unforeseen events put it quite beyond my power. Another election will take place in 1910, but I do not assume to count upon a surer or more serviceable time than the present for lightening the concern upon my mind.

I have used the word “associates” in speaking of the hundred judges, but—and here I reach the gravamen of the complaint—we have been, after all, associated no more actively than the gargoyles of Notre Dame or the saintlier marble images of the Milan Cathedral; perhaps still less so, for it has not seemed beyond conjecture, in the fancy of our pasquinaders, that the statued sages of a Supreme Court House, or Mr. Ward’s alle-

gorical impersonations within the Stock Exchange pediment, may confabulate at the mystic midnight hour. I am myself the possessor of a generous bowl which I piously believe—like Gil Blas unquestioning his children's paternity—to be of the true Imari ware, and which mayhap was often brimmed with votive blossoms before its departure from the Far East. For me and mine it serves the office of a punch-bowl, though too fragile to be lent in the fashion of Holmes's silver transmittendum from the "Mayflower," nor setting up any claim to have come hither in the "Powhatan" with the first Japanese embassy. Yet 'tis not without the dignity of years, and is treasured all the more for its spacious fragility. Now, grouped in a council ring within its inner surface—*τὶ θεῶν δαίδαλμα*, "some cunning work of the gods"—are the sages of Nippon, they whom we traditionally denominate the Hundred Wise Men. More than once I have essayed to count these dignitaries, but the refulgence of their shorn and shining heads is confusing, and one can only make sure that their tally falls somewhat short; certain of them must have tarried behind, like those laggard judges who withheld their ballots in the University election of 1905. It is true that after a liberal enjoyment of the service which my bowl renders upon occasion the count is enlarged, or even doubled. Between two extremes it is pleasant to regard the Wise Men as present in full quota—a legendary Hundred; and as to their wisdom, do not their reverend faces, their attire—judicial, sacerdotal or scholastic—reveal this beyond a doubt?

How often, since the inception of our Hall of Fame, I have reflected enviously upon the superior advantages for counsel enjoyed by our prototypes within the hollow of this bowl—this coracle so vastly fuller of wisdom, and more enduring, than that which sank beneath the weight of only three wise men of Gotham!

Under our electoral system a real cause for surprise is that the enshrinement of forty immortals has been already effected, and has called forth so few expressions of discontent respecting the selections actually made. Consider the limitations imposed. Once and again, a period of five years intervening, the university and college presidents, the chief justices, the professors of history and scientists, and the publishers, editors and authors have not been disobedient to the vision from the Heights. They have received the representative lists of the famous dead, and have

underscored the names of those whom they, each for himself, have thought most entitled to mural consecration. Possibly some of the justices have been able to confer, in full bench, before reaching their decisions, but as for the publishers, editors and authors, they have voted in cabinets as separate as those in which cardinals are immured for the election of a new Pope. Few of them have had the opportunity, after receiving in late springtime the official "roll of names" from the Chancellor, to compare views with their colleagues; still fewer have exchanged written communications. If some plan had been devised whereby a goodly number of us might have been in conference for a single day; if we could have bumped heads and grazed shoulders, like the Hundred Wise Men of the East; or, if the Chancellor, in the exercise of his prerogative, had acquainted the electoral body, by means of an inclusive circular No. 3, with arguments submitted to him by any judges in support of any nominees, there would have been a basis for reconsideration. If, then, a supplementary vote had been permitted in the cases of those names which had come within a half-score ballots of the needful fifty-one, it seems probable that from five to ten more names would have been added to the eleven (of all classes) successful at the more recent election.

As it was, Holmes received the large number of forty-nine votes, although it was the first occasion of his eligibility; Bryant received forty-six, and a like number was accorded to Patrick Henry, Calhoun and Andrew Jackson, respectively. Motley reached forty-seven. Among famous Americans of foreign birth, Hamilton had the votes of eighty-eight out of the ninety-five cast, and was the only one elected, although Roger Williams, of the same group, lacked but five votes of a majority. The test of a supplementary ballot might well have been applied to nominees most nearly obtaining the requisite count, and if it had been extended to the candidacies of Poe and Cooper,—which had gained new supporters since 1900,—I think they would have been "of the company" whose tablets were unveiled last Decoration Day. Nothing, of course, could be more fantastic than a choice made *peine forte et dure*. The electors are no members of a Sacred College, to be returned again and again to their boxes, nor jurymen sent back to quarters to prevent a mistrial, nor delegated for extended balloting as under the

two-thirds rule of a Democratic convention. Yet a system is defective that goes "to the other extreme," as Astor Bristed said when Bentley changed the title of "The Wits' Miscellany" to that of "Bentley's Magazine."

A single ballot is permitted at each recurring fifth year, and while, in 1905, there were twenty-six vacancies in the native American class alone, there was but the hit-or-miss chance of obtaining fifty-one votes for any name at all. The fundamental trouble is to be sought among the rules upon which the Chancellor lays most stress in his attractive and perspicuous "Official Book of the Hall of Fame"—issued, one notes, in 1901, when their practicability had received but a first trial. "There is no obligation," he says, "upon the Board of Electors in any given year to agree upon any name or number of names," and certainly none could wish there should be were it possible. When he adds, not without dignity, that "their opinions are sought once only," experience justifies the response that the opinions of the Board well might be sought and intercommunicated, and weighed in preparation for an eclectic supplementary ballot and the final closure of the polls. Last spring an Academy of the Fine Arts, voting in actual conclave for the admission of new members, egregiously failed to carry out its avowed inclinations, electing but three of many laudable candidates recommended by its council. Suppose that the seventy-one voters had been distributed throughout the country: is it likely that even those three could have passed the ordeal of an unrenovable vote by mail? As it was, a supplementary session set matters right.

It is quite as commendable a function of the public to take part in the primaries as to pass judgment on the returns. The proselyting sisterhood have shown the way, enshrining three famous and eligible women, by means of unceasing admonition to the electors. Their zeal would have triumphed only in the case of Mary Lyon, had not the University Senate so construed the rules that forty-seven votes—of the eighty-six cast by those who "actually considered the names of women"—should elect, instead of a vote of fifty-one out of ninety-five as required in all other classes. By this construction the Senate seemingly conceded that what it terms the constitution is, after all, not more sacrosanct, nor less subject to amendment, under unforeseen conditions, than, for instance, the masterpiece devised by the

Philadelphia Convention of 1787. Outside of the feminine propaganda not much direct influence was exerted, except by the special advocates of denominational worthies, counter-claimants, names hardly of the universal class. The fact that the press alone spoke up for Poe and Cooper doubtless reflected a general assumption that their fame was so secure that direct appeals in their behalf would imply distrust of the electoral intelligence. It now appears that such appeals should have been made. Personally I should have valued a license to give Poe the triple vote that Mark Twain proposed to cast for Mr. Jerome, and certain fellow writers were similarly inclined. All the same, it is not fully evident that if there had been a National Academy of Letters, to which his name could be referred, the affair would have come out much better. The literary vote for no author was larger than that awarded by some other judicial group, and was relatively smaller as given for Holmes, Parkman, Poe and Whittier. The function of such an Academy which Mr. Benson thinks its best excuse for being—namely, “to draw a line”—was freely exercised by the voting *literati* in relation to their own guild.

It is already perceptible that few observances of the Republic's most poetic holiday will be thought more expressive than the quinquennial dedication, in the Hall of Fame, of tablets to those who have bequeathed us their renown, and

“who still rule
Our spirits from their urns.”

On the occasion of last May, thinking it perhaps my only chance to witness the ceremony, I was of the many who crossed Washington Bridge with that intent. The day's blend of air and sunshine was auspicious for the superb plateau of University Heights. I followed intelligent throngs inspecting the grounds, the college buildings, the Hall and its Museum, and I foresaw, as none can fail to do, the growth and expansion made possible by the University's transmigration. The scene, the gathering, the ceremonies of the colonnade, were unquestionably effective. I listened upon the terraced lawn to Chancellor MacCracken's justly confident address; to Governor Hughes's characterizations of Quincy Adams, Madison, Hamilton, General Sherman, Lowell, Whittier, and others whose panels were unveiled; and to the patriotic

speech of the visiting Governor of the old Bay State. One was aware that the emotions of the typical assemblage were not out of keeping; that few thought to scrutinize the authority investing a foundation so visually realized, and that in all likelihood a new generation will view it through that perspective which tends to make equal in time and honor institutions established earlier than one's remembrance.

Its appeal, then, to the aspirations of American youth is fairly well assured. But this year's unveiling, while lengthening a classified roll of famous Americans to the twoscore mark, pointedly accentuated the slight put upon two or three names as well entitled to precedence as any of the author class thus far commemorated. Inasmuch as whatever reproach this implies is divided between the electoral Board and the custodians of the endowment, I thus respectfully ask the Senate of the University to consider the need of an improved working method. In this heyday of executive supremacy the Chancellor-Chairman would be forgiven for taking a hint from the example of a reform Governor bent upon carrying out the wishes of a generous public. It is my trust that in his heart he will not disfavor this behest, that the press, as the electoral year approaches, shall not slacken, but increase rather, its admonitions, and that all loyal Americans shall do likewise; and that all manly youths shall speak up for their wholesomest and most virile old-time recounter; and that our innumerable fiction-writers shall recall their obligations to him who founded a native school, and to that romancer whose wonder tales brought the short story to its first artistic perfection; and, lastly, that all bards and bardlings, though now a secondary division of this army with banners, shall lift their voices for the lyrist "whose heart-strings are a lute," and for the austere and gray-beard minstrel who, with harp in hand, began their Parnassian procession. And that these adjurations may be humbly reënforced, I pray those of my judicial colleagues who, in 1910, retain their incumbency to underscore upon their ballot lists names too long unhonored, and in this wise further justify the confidence bestowed with their electoral charge.

EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN.

THE DESIGNER OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY HANNIS TAYLOR.

IN a recent issue of the Chicago "Record-Herald," Mr. William E. Curtis, after looking over the antiquities of Hartford, presented an interesting sketch of Noah Webster, in which he said, among other things, that "his most notable lecture was entitled 'Sketches of American Policy,' and it was published later in pamphlet form. It contains the first definite proposition for a constitution of the United States, as a substitute for the Articles of Confederation, which he criticised in his lecture as imperfect and insufficient." In that hopelessly indefensible statement Mr. Curtis has embodied a too popular misunderstanding of a vital fact of American constitutional history, in regard to which there should not be the slightest doubt or obscurity. Noah Webster has no claim whatever to the honor attributed to him. It belongs to Pelatiah Webster, who was the original designer or architect of the present Constitution of the United States. He it was who first proposed in a public way the calling of the Convention in which the present Constitution was made; he it was who presented, in thirty compactly printed pages, the first outline of the plan upon which it was formed; he it was who gave to the world the path-breaking idea of a Federal Government operating directly upon the citizen and not upon the States as corporations. To him alone belongs the title of "Father of the Constitution," a title resting upon written documents accessible to every one. And yet, in the face of such evidence, his very name is known only to a handful of his fellow countrymen; no monument has ever been raised to his memory; few encyclopædias mention him at all, and such as do pass him by in a way that indicates an utter lack of comprehension of his real importance.

Noah Webster's essay, referred to by Mr. Curtis as containing "the first definite proposition for a constitution of the United States, as a substitute for the Articles of Confederation," was published at Hartford in 1785. On February 16th, 1783, Pelatiah Webster had published at Philadelphia his epoch-making tract entitled "A Dissertation on the Political Union and Constitution of the Thirteen United States of North America," in which he advocated, not only the creation of a supreme Federal Government, with a national assembly of two chambers instead of one, with power to enact laws and to enforce them on individuals as well as on States, but also the creation of permanent courts of law and equity, and a stricter organization of the executive power. Noah Webster's essay was simply a warming over, an elaboration, of the great work which the path-breaker had done nearly two years before. As a founder of the existing Constitution, Pelatiah Webster stands second to Washington alone. When the originality and the far-reaching consequences of his contributions are considered, they surpass by far those of any man who sat in the Federal Convention of 1787, a body which simply worked out the plan he had drawn. While devising that plan he was so impressed with the magnitude of his task that he exclaimed, "May almighty wisdom direct my pen in this arduous discussion!" Some years after the work of the Convention was over, he calmly contrasted the result with his plan, published four years before it met, in the following terms:

"At the time when this Dissertation was written [February 16th, 1783], the defects and insufficiency of the Old Federal Constitution were universally felt and acknowledged; it was manifest, not only that the internal police, justice, security and peace of the States could never be preserved under it, but the finances and public credit would necessarily become so embarrassed, precarious and void of support, that no public movement, which depended on the revenue, could be managed with any effectual certainty: but though the public mind was under full conviction of all these mischiefs, and was contemplating a remedy, *yet the public ideas were not at all concentrated, much less arranged into any new system or form of government, which would obviate these evils.* Under these circumstances, I offered this Dissertation to the public: how far the principles of it were adopted or rejected in the New Constitution, which was four years afterwards [September 17th, 1787] formed by the General Convention, and since ratified by the States, is obvious to every one."*

* The foregoing is a note appended by Pelatiah Webster to his plan of 1783, when it was republished at Philadelphia in 1791. See p. 228.

Pelatiah Webster perfectly understood his own case and stated it with lucid simplicity. He said: Here is the plan of a federal constitution I published four years before the Convention of 1787 met; here is the federal constitution that body made; contrast the two, and the truth "is obvious to every one." There is nothing so marvellous, so unaccountable, in our history as the failure of the American people to do justice to the man who contributed the one basic idea which made our existing Federal Constitution possible. The writer fondly hopes that his humble presentation of Pelatiah Webster's case may at least make his name a little more familiar to his fellow countrymen.

Pelatiah Webster, who was born at Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1725, died at Philadelphia in 1795. After graduating at Yale in 1746, he studied theology and preached in Greenwich, Massachusetts, in the winter of 1748-9. In 1755 he removed to Philadelphia, where he became a prosperous merchant, and in due time an ardent supporter of the patriot cause in the War of the Revolution, aiding with pen and purse.* The former was first devoted to the subject of finance. As early as October, 1776, he began to write on the currency, and in 1779 he commenced the publication at Philadelphia of a series of "Essays on Free Trade and Finance." In one of these he made the first public call for a general convention, to be armed with power to devise an adequate system of federal government. The following account of that performance is taken from the writings of Madison:

"A resort to a General Convention to remodel the Confederacy was not a new idea. It had entered at an early date into the conversations and speculations of the most reflecting and foreseeing observers of the inadequacy of the powers allowed to Congress. In a pamphlet published in May, '81, at the seat of Congs, Pelatiah Webster, an able tho' not conspicuous citizen, after discussing the fiscal system of the U. States, and suggesting among other remedial provisions, including national Bank, remarks that 'the Authority of Congs, at present, is very inadequate to the performance of their duties; and this indicates the necessity of their calling a *Continental Convention* for the express purpose of ascertaining, defining, enlarging and limiting the duties and powers of their constitution, . . . In 1785, Noah Webster whose pol. and other valuable writings had made him known to the public, in one of his publications of American policy, brought into view *the same resort* for supplying the defects Fedl System."†

* He was captured by the British and imprisoned for over four months.

† "Writings of James Madison," 1783-1787, vol. II., pp. 401-3.

Madison thus makes it plain that he considered Noah Webster's essay simply as a repetition by a second-hand thinker. It is beyond question that Pelatiah Webster, in his financial essay of 1781, made the first public call* for a convention to create an adequate system of federal government. That honor is, however, comparatively a small one. His right to immortality rests upon the fact that, in his paper published in 1783, he drew the outlines of the unique fabric created at Philadelphia in 1787, basing it, as he did, upon the epoch-making idea that a federal government should operate directly upon the citizen and not upon the States as corporations. That was Pelatiah Webster's personal contribution to the science of federal government, for which the world had been waiting for more than two thousand years. In a note prepared in 1791, heretofore quoted, he tells us that, when he drew his plan in 1783, "the public mind was under full conviction of all these mischiefs, and was contemplating a remedy, yet the public ideas were not at all concentrated, much less arranged into any new system or form of government." The outlines of the "new system" came from his brain like a bolt from the blue.

From the days of the Greek Leagues down to the making of the present Constitution of the United States, all federal governments had been constructed upon a single plan, at once clumsy and inefficient. The most perfect of the Greek Leagues was the Achaian, of which the founders really knew nothing, as we learn from that writer in the "Federalist" who tells us that, "could the interior structure and regular operation of the Achaian League be ascertained, it is probable that more light might be thrown by it on the science of federal government than by any of the like experiments with which we are acquainted."†

The only federal governments with whose internal organizations the builders of our Federal Republic were really familiar, and whose histories had any practical effect upon their work, were those which had grown up between the Low-Dutch communities at the mouth of the Rhine and the High-Dutch communities

* The fact that "Alexander Hamilton made the same suggestion in a private letter to James Duane, September 3, 1780," is of no importance. It was not a public act, not even a public declaration. See Gaillard Hunt's "Life of James Madison," p. 108.

† "Federalist," XVIII. Such knowledge as the framers did possess of Greek federalism seems to have been drawn chiefly from the work of the Abbé Mably, "*Observations sur l'Histoire de Grèce.*"

in the mountains of Switzerland and upon the plains of Germany.* Down to the making of our present Federal Constitution, the Confederation of Swiss Cantons, the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and the German Confederation, really represented the total advance made by the modern world in the structure of federal governments. Such advance was embodied in the idea of a federal system made up of a union of states, cities, or districts, representatives from which composed a single federal assembly whose supreme power could be brought to bear, not upon individual citizens, but upon cities or states as such. The basic principle upon which all such fabrics rested was the requisition system, under which the federal head was simply endowed with the power to make requisitions for men and money upon the states or cities composing the league for federal purposes; while the states alone, in their corporate capacity, possessed the power to execute and enforce them. The first advance made by the English colonies in America in the path of federal union ended with the making of our first federal constitution, embodied in what is known as the Articles of Confederation. Up to that point, nothing new had been achieved; the fruit of the first effort was simply a confederation on the old plan, with the federal power vested in a single assembly that could only deal through the requisition system with the states as states. As one of the financial advisers of the Continental Congress during the war, the mightiest of all the Websters clearly perceived that no system of credit could be constructed without the national power of coercive taxation. He therefore sounded the key-note when, in his famous paper of 1783, he declared:

"They [the supreme power] *must therefore of necessity be vested with a power of taxation.*† I know this is a most important and weighty truth, a dreadful engine of oppression, tyranny and injury, when ill used; yet, from *the necessity of the case*, it must be admitted. For to give a supreme authority a power of making contracts, without any power of payment—of appointing officers, civil and military, without money to pay them—a power to build ships, without any money to do it with—a power of emitting money, without any power to redeem it—or of borrowing money, without any power to make payment, etc.,—

* "Federalist," XIX., XX.

† The ancient system of requisitions, resting on the taxing power of the states, was to be superseded by a system of national taxation extending to every citizen, directly or indirectly. He thus proposed a scheme of federal taxation entirely new to the world.

such solecisms in government are so nugatory and absurd that I really think to offer further arguments on the subject would be to insult the understanding of my readers. To make all these payments dependent on the votes of thirteen popular assemblies, who will undertake to judge of the propriety of every contract and every occasion of money, and grant or withhold supplies according to their opinion, whilst at the same time the operations of the whole may be stopped by the vote of a single one of them, is absurd."

In the place of the lifeless federal system of absurdity embodied in the Articles of Confederation, Pelatiah Webster proposed to substitute a self-executing and self-sustaining national system, based on the following propositions, stated in his own language:

"The supreme authority of any state must have power enough to effect the ends of its appointment, otherwise these ends cannot be answered and effectually secured. . . . I begin with my first and great principle, viz., *That the constitution must vest powers in every department sufficient to secure and make effectual the ends of it.* The supreme authority must have the power of making war and peace—of appointing armies and navies—of appointing officers both civil and military—of making contracts—of emitting, coining and borrowing money—of regulating trade—of making treaties with foreign powers—of establishing post-offices—and in short of doing everything which the well-being of the Commonwealth may require, and which is not compatible to any particular state, all of which require money, and cannot possibly be made effectual without it. . . . *This tax can be laid by the supreme authority much more conveniently than by the particular assemblies,* and would in no case be subject to their repeals or modifications; and of course the public credit would never be dependent on, or liable to bankruptcy by, the humors of any particular assembly. . . . The delegates which are to form that august body, which are to hold and exercise the supreme authority, ought to be appointed by the states in any manner they please."

After describing the qualifications of members of Congress, he proceeds to define a part of the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States by saying "that the supreme authority should be vested with powers to terminate and finally decide controversies arising between different States." Then comes the climax:

"The supreme authority ought to have a power of peace and war, and forming treaties and alliances with all foreign powers; which implies a necessity of their also having sufficient powers to enforce the obedience of all subjects of the United States to such treaties and

alliances with full powers to unite the force of the States, and direct its operations in war; and to punish all transgressors in all these respects; otherwise, by the imprudence of a few, the whole Commonwealth may be embroiled with foreign powers, and the operations of the war may be rendered useless. . . . I think the soul that sins should die, *i.e.*, the censure of the great supreme power ought to be so directed, if possible, as to light on those persons who have betrayed their country, and exposed it to dissolution, by opposing and rejecting the supreme authority, which is the bond of our union, and from whence proceeds the principal strength and energy of our government. I therefore propose that every person whatever, whether in public or private character, who shall, by public vote or other overt act, disobey the supreme authority, shall be amenable to Congress, shall be summoned and compelled to appear before Congress and, on due conviction, suffer such fine, imprisonment, or other punishment, as the supreme authority shall judge requisite."

Here at last we have the great thought of which neither Thucydides nor Polybius ever dreamed—the thought of a supreme federal government acting directly upon the subject or citizen, and not upon the cities or states composing the league. About this path-breaking idea (*bahnbrechende Idee*) there does not hang the perfume either of the spelling-book or the lexicon. It is living, seed-full fruit—Pallas from the brain of Zeus. In formulating his conclusions as to the supremacy of federal law acting directly on all citizens, he said:

"1. No laws of any state whatever, which do not carry in them a force which extends to their effectual and final execution, can afford a certain or sufficient security to the subject: this is too plain to need any proof. 2. Laws or ordinances of any kind (especially of august bodies of high dignity and consequence) which fail of execution, are much worse than none; they weaken the government; expose it to contempt. A government which is but half executed, or whose operations may all be stopped by a single vote, is the most dangerous of all institutions. I take it that the very existence and use of our union effectually depends on the full energy and final effect of the laws made to support it; and therefore I sacrifice all other considerations to this energy and effect, and if our union is not worth this purchase we must give it up."

Around that fundamental concept all lesser things cluster. Such a national government as Webster planned must of necessity be strictly organized. He therefore proposed:

"That the Congress shall consist of two chambers, an upper and lower house, senate and commons, with the concurrence of both necessary to

every act; and that every state send one or more delegates to each house: this will subject every act to two discussions before two distinct chambers of men equally qualified for the debate, equally masters of the subject, and of equal authority in the decision."

After thus proposing a federal assembly on the English bicameral plan, which was adopted by the Convention, he proceeded to outline the executive and judicial departments as follows:

"These ministers will of course have the best information, and most perfect knowledge, of the state of the Nation, as far as it relates to their several departments, and will of course be able to give the best information to Congress, in what manner any bill proposed will affect the public interest in their several departments, which will nearly comprehend the whole. The Financier manages the whole subject of revenues and expenditures—the Secretary of State takes knowledge of the general policy and internal government—the Minister of War presides in the whole business of war and defence—and the Minister of Foreign Affairs regards the whole state of the nation, as it stands related to, or connected with, all foreign powers. To these I should add judges of law and chancery. I would further propose that the aforesaid great ministers of state shall compose a Council of State, to whose number Congress may add three others, viz., one from New England, one from the Middle States and one from the Southern States, one of which to be appointed President by Congress."

His pet hobby seems to have been to create a Department of Commerce in close touch with Congress.

"I therefore humbly propose, if the merchants in the several states are disposed to send delegates from their body to meet and attend the sitting of Congress, that they shall be permitted to form a chamber of commerce, and their advice to Congress be demanded and admitted concerning all bills before Congress, as far as the same may affect the trade of the states."

The recent creation of a Department of Commerce and Labor has at last effectuated that idea. Webster's plan was a complete symmetrical whole, and of it he said in conclusion:

"This vast subject lies with mighty weight on my mind, and I have bestowed on it my utmost attention, and here offer the public the best thoughts and sentiments I am master of. I shall have all the reward I wish or expect, if my dissertation shall throw any light on the great subject, shall excite an emulation of inquiry, and animate some abler genius to form a plan of greater perfection, less objectionable, and more useful."

The "abler genius" did not come; he was not needed; the original architect had outlined the general plan; modifications and improvements only were necessary. The most important subsequent suggestion came from Jefferson, who in a letter to Madison, written from Paris, December 16th, 1786, used this language:

"To make us one nation, as to foreign concerns, and keep us distinct in domestic ones, gives the outline of the proper division of powers between the general and particular governments. But to enable the federal head to exercise the powers given to best advantage, it should be organized as the particular ones are into legislative, executive, and judiciary."*

As an assistant architect, Jefferson gave more distinctness to Webster's plan at a vital point. It thus appears that the architects of our present Federal Constitution, who never sat in the Convention of 1787, completed the plan before it met. Mighty as were the members of that body, they were only master builders who worked within the lines of a carefully prepared plan—they were not architects.

When the final analysis is made, it appears that our career as a nation has so far given birth to only three basic political ideas, which may be considered as original contributions to the Science of Politics:

(1) Constitutional Limitations on legislative power, a state creation, from which resulted the power of courts to declare legislative acts null and void. The ultimate outcome of that invention, which has no personal author, was the Supreme Court of the United States, the only court in history ever armed with the power to pass on the validity of a national law.

(2) Interstate citizenship, an invention without a personal author, which originated in the Articles of Confederation. That principle infused itself into the constitution neither of the old German Empire, nor of Switzerland, nor of Holland. From the Articles of Confederation it passed into section two of article four of the present Constitution, which provides that: "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States." The consummation is embodied in the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment, which has no personal author, declaring that: "All persons

* See "Jefferson's Correspondence," by T. J. Randolph, vol. ii, pp. 64, 65.

born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside."

(3) The idea of a supreme federal government, strictly organized, and operating directly on the citizen, and not on the States composing the federation, was the invention, without doubt or cavil, of Pelatiah Webster, a native of Connecticut, an adopted son of Pennsylvania, and a graduate of the University of Yale. Has any one of those great communities ever produced in any other person so great a son? His grandeur is equalled only by the neglect of his fellow countrymen. In *McCulloch vs. Maryland*, Chief Justice Marshall said:

"A constitution, to contain an accurate detail of all the subdivisions of which its great powers will admit, and of all the means by which they may be carried into execution, would partake of prolixity of a legal code, and could scarcely be embraced by the human mind. It would probably never be understood by the public. Its nature, therefore, requires that only its great outlines should be marked, its important objects designated, and the minor ingredients which compose those objects be deduced from the nature of the objects themselves."

Pelatiah Webster drew the "great outlines" of our Federal Constitution; he set up the framework of governmental timbers, leaving the inner construction to be completed by the members of the Federal Convention of 1787, and by the power of defining the law vested in the Supreme Court of the United States. Marshall's reward for his part of the work is world-wide fame and an imposing monument at the door of the Capitol. And yet without Pelatiah Webster John Marshall's work would have been impossible. He simply gave vitality, through the judicial power, to the new national fabric which Webster had evolved.

Not long ago, the good people of Philadelphia, ever proud of their worthies, took, with pomp and circumstance, all that was mortal of James Wilson from his lonely grave at Edenton, North Carolina, and gave him tardy sepulchre near the scene of his triumphs; while, by a brilliant pen, he was presented to the world as "a nation-builder." Great, prophetic, patriotic, cultured, as James Wilson really was, how small his achievements really are when contrasted with those of the real founder, the real "nation-builder." The day cannot be far distant when fair and impartial

criticism must award to Pelatiah Webster his place, so long withheld, as the original designer of our Federal Constitution, made in the Convention he was the first to propose. His fame rests upon clear documentary evidence, which neither envy, nor malice, nor injustice, nor indifference can always ignore. His original and complete plan of the existing Federal Constitution is embodied in the thirty compactly printed pages of the epoch-making paper of February 16th, 1783, whose form is as good as its substance. Like the great Papinian, he was as lucid as a Greek and as terse as a Roman. Political philosopher, financier, patriot, man of affairs, he possessed every qualification for his great task, which he executed in a state of mental exaltation that seems to have been almost supernormal. In both of the scanty and stingy biographical notices of him in the leading American encyclopædias, the statement is made that his plan "is mentioned by James Madison as having an influence in directing the public mind to the necessity of a better form of government." Bancroft, in his "History of the Constitution,"* states, in his cold, colorless way, that:

"The public mind was ripening for a transition from a confederation to a real government. Just at this time Pelatiah Webster, a graduate of Yale College, in a dissertation published at Philadelphia, proposed for the legislature of the United States a congress of two houses which should have ample authority for making laws 'of general necessity and utility,' and enforcing them *as well on individuals as on states*. He further suggested not only heads of executive departments, but judges of law and equity."

While the great invention of a federal government acting directly on the citizen, for which the world had been waiting for more than two thousand years, is thus languidly admitted, it wins less acclaim from this arctic historian than would be awarded to-day to the inventor of a non-explosive tire for an automobile. The great and acute author of "The American Commonwealth," who seldom overlooks anything, gives no sign that he has ever heard even the name of the original designer of the Constitution of the United States. For this marvellous and cruel neglect of such a man, by a patriotic people ever handy with monuments, only one explanation can be given. When the Convention of 1787 adjourned, its members seem to have been overcome at the

* Vol. i, p. 86.

close by the grandeur of an achievement they assumed to be all their own. When the masses of the people had the opportunity to examine its provisions, and to feel the practical benefits which it wrought in their political condition, they too became imbued with a spirit of intense admiration; they put it upon a pedestal and made it a popular idol; as a German historian has expressed it, the new Constitution soon passed through a process of canonization. In that way the idea crystallized that the new idol was manufactured, out and out, in a convention of demigods who sat only four months and three days. That purely fanciful notion is fast giving way before the Historical Method, which looks behind written constitutions in order to ascertain the genesis of the ideas that entered into them. When scrutinized by students of that school, who believe that beneath every shell there is an animal, behind every document there is a man, Pelatiah Webster's claim to the personal authorship of the scheme of federal government embodied in the Constitution of the United States presents no difficulties whatever. According to all legitimate canons of criticism, his claim to the authorship of that plan, severed from details and considered as a connected whole, is as clear as Jefferson's to the authorship of the Declaration of Independence. Let us hope that the day is near at hand when the claim of the New England patriot and philosopher will be frankly admitted, and an imposing monument erected on some lonely eminence near the Capitol at Washington to the original designer of the unique plan of federal government embodied in the Constitution of the United States.

HANNIS TAYLOR.

SINN FEIN.

BY SEUMAS MAC MANUS, AUTHOR OF "A LAD OF THE O'FRIELS,"
"DONEGAL FAIRY-STORIES," ETC.

VERY quietly and silently, during the past decade, a change has been coming over the face of things political in Ireland, a change of which the outside world even to-day knows little. Yet the change is one of the greatest, most revolutionizing, that Ireland has known for a century—singular, too, among changes in Ireland, and all the more powerful, perhaps, because of the grim silence in which it has been wrought. While the outside world was looking to the Irish Parliamentary Party as the guardian of the national conscience of Ireland, a Young Ireland Party, determined, virile, thoughtful, idealistic and, strange though it may seem, practical, was gradually forming, becoming a power, sweeping away outworn ideas, preaching new and putting them into practice, and working wonders in the revival of a genuine national spirit throughout the country. It was not a party formed with malice aforethought, but one called forth by the exigencies of the times; a party, consequently, that existed long without form and without name. Some of its component units had been devoting themselves to stemming the tide of emigration; some to reviving industries; a greater portion studying, and making all whom they came in contact with study, the dying language of the nation; some working along political lines; some clamoring for the rearing of forests, and still others building creameries or bringing into the country new breeds of hens—but all driving to one goal, the regeneration of the Irish nation. Naturally, and very gradually, the various units gravitated toward one another; and, less than two years ago, under the guidance of a Dublin boy named Arthur Griffith, they elected a

National Council, and formed themselves into a party known as the "Sinn Fein Party," which included probably three-fourths of the national thinkers in Ireland. Since its inception, the Sinn Fein Party has been rapidly gaining power, raising itself upon the ruins of a fast crumbling Parliamentary agitation, and eventually leaping into greater popular prestige when, recently, the ludicrous Irish Councils Bill was submitted to the nation as the fruits of a generation of Parliamentary agitation.

"*Sinn Fein*" is Gaelic for "Ourselves." The doctrine of the Sinn Fein Party is that the salvation of a nation is to be wrought out by the people and upon the soil of that nation, and it holds that "God helps those who help themselves." It asks Ireland to cultivate, what for a long time it neglected, self-reliance, and aims at regenerating the Irish nation, not merely politically, but also linguistically, industrially, educationally, morally and socially. Almost all preceding national movements made the grave mistake of considering politics coincident with patriotism; the Sinn Fein policy provides for all-round upbuilding of the nation, and is successfully working along many lines on which no political movement touched before.

I said that the new movement was rising upon the ruins of the so-called Parliamentary movement. Not merely were thinkers slowly forsaking the old methods for the new, but practically no new material whatever has been going to repair the breaches in the old; for, as the young men and women of Ireland are reaching the age at which they take thought for their country, they are falling into the ranks of the new movement. There is absolutely no accession of new blood flowing to the old movement—nor has there been for five years past.

The case made by thinking Ireland against the rapidly dissolving Irish Parliamentary Party is, not merely that they have fallen away from the ideals which they cherished, say, in Parnell's heyday, and in weak moments, for mere temporary advantage, yielded some of the principles most cherished in Ireland; that they have shown the spirit of slavish complaisance and compromise, admitted into their ranks most unworthy, un-Irish, members, totally neglected many of the noblest national interests, and in some cases, as in their attitude toward the Gaelic League, actually adopted a spirit of cloaked hostility; and in consequence of this, and many other sins, that they have become

impotent, and the mere pawns of British parties who used them when they could be useful, and brushed them aside when they were in the way—not merely that Ireland spent in London, for the support of her Members, £25,000 annually, which was badly needed to build mills and give employment and help the Gaelic revival, or otherwise forward national interest at home; but, greatest objection of all, they have, says the Sinn Fein Party, transferred the scene of struggle from its rightful and profitable place, the soil of Ireland, to its wrongful and unprofitable place, the floor of a foreign House of Parliament. It is claimed that this fighting of Ireland's fight in the Parliament of the stranger not merely weakens Ireland's political case, but demoralizes the nation by lifting her eyes and her mind from off herself, and fixing them on that foreign Parliament, leading her to believe that salvation shall, and must, come to Ireland from Westminster, instead of causing her to realize that salvation must be wrought out in Ireland by Ireland; and that the means of salvation were, all the time, lying at hand, neglected and despised.

The Parliamentary Party committed a great crime against the nation when, during the long-sustained Parliamentary agitation, they, while they had the country as a unit at their beck, never asked the country to do the things which lay at hand for its regeneration. Seeing the flower of the country depart in shiploads that darkened the seas, they never cried out, "Stick by the soil." Seeing our industries languish and die, they troubled not to revive or save them. Seeing the education of the country mismanaged, they objected not. Seeing the demon of Anglicization overrun the land, they showed not the people to cast out the demon, as easily they could. Seeing the soul of the nation passing away with the passing language, they raised no voice in protest. Yet, with wonderful and heroic energy, did they fight for some doubtful boon which was named "Home Rule"; they seemed utterly to disregard the question, whether, when (if ever) that Home Rule should be obtained, any would be left in Ireland to enjoy it, or, if any were, whether they would be Irish or merely soulless nondescripts.

In the thirty-five years during which the Home Rule Party has been busy regenerating Ireland in the British Parliament, Ireland's Gaelic speakers decreased by a third of a million, her population fell away by more than one million, we were sending

out of Ireland an annual average of £13,000,000 for foreign manufactured goods, and 980,000 acres of land went out of tillage, while we sent an annual average of 60,000 of the fittest of our boys and girls abroad to seek employment—and never to return. The two things which thrived in Ireland during the same period were paupers and taxes. In that period the paupers increased by 32,000, or one for every square mile, and British Government taxes increased from £6,900,000 to £9,700,000.

The wresting from England of a something known by the magic name of "Home Rule" was far above all other national considerations of moment, far beyond that of the people's material and moral and national well-being. In the fierce thirty-five years' struggle—now ended—for a parish Parliament, the petty questions of saving to Ireland the outrushing youth of Ireland, of feeding the hungry mouths that remained in Ireland, of elevating them morally, or giving them ideals, could not be tolerated to distract the people's attention from the gladiator strife at Westminster. The people, with pathetic faithfulness to the Party, made all the sacrifices demanded,* fought the fight, bore the blows, paid the piper, and refused to do for themselves any one of the hundred things they might have done, lest such would interfere with the concentrated train of thought necessary for absent treatment—at Westminster—and, at the end of all is tendered to them the promised salvation in the form of an Irish Councils Bill, which, while it amused the giver and tickled the world at large, gave Ireland a rude awakening.

As generations of Parliamentary agitation have distinctly set back Ireland's cause, and as there is on the English Statute-Book, still unrepealed, an Act popularly known as the Renunciation Act, passed in 1783, when the combined terrors of a war of Independence in America, and a huge army of threatening Volunteers in Ireland caused England's heart to melt—an Act which states that the right of Ireland to be bound only by laws

* It must not be imagined that the Party had a royal time while the people were making sacrifices. To their great credit be it said that none made greater sacrifices than did the members of the Party. They never asked the people to do anything which they were not themselves prepared to lead the way in. Slander, imprisonment, police batons, overwork, ill-health—they cheerfully underwent all for sake of the cause that was near to their hearts, but which they were, unwittingly, running to ruin. I do not know any other country in which the leading political party was more upright.

enacted by the Parliament of Ireland "is hereby declared established and ascertained forever, and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable," the Sinn Fein Party in Ireland, following the example so successfully set by Hungary, under Deak, call upon the Irish people to hold England bound at least by her own solemn assertions; to withdraw their representatives from illegal attendance at England's Parliament; and to establish in Ireland, for the nation's guidance, a Council of the Nation. This Council should, as far as possible, pass laws, to be put in force by Arbitration Courts (a course not unknown to Ireland), and should plan how best to uplift the nation by the nation's own efforts—to regenerate it morally, socially, educationally, agriculturally, industrially, linguistically and politically; and also plan and direct the carrying on of a resistance (both passive and active) to all British law, and, as far as possible, to all British levied taxes, an agitation aimed at harassing England, and paralyzing England's efforts at every turn in Ireland, and—by alliance with other wronged peoples, in other parts of the world—outside of Ireland, too. This new policy would be both obstructive and destructive: while the energies of some would be turned to the good work (at present going on) of depriving England's Army and Navy of the recruits whom they have so long depended upon in Ireland, others would foster new industries; others, salaried out of the £25,000 a year saved to Ireland by the withdrawal of her Members from Westminster, would act as foreign Consuls, finding foreign markets for the output of our factories; and still others would be preaching and teaching Gaelicism. No nation can persist in governing another against the will of the governed. Ireland, if she will,—and I think she will,—can make it impossible for England any longer to govern her, at least unless England concentrates upon the governing of Ireland all the energies, moral and physical, which in the natural course she needs to distribute over her vast Empire: and soon would she realize that this does not pay. The harder England pushes the fight—and at the start she will push it hard enough—the more fuel will she add to the Irish fire. Our people never develop real gusto in a fight until the hardest knocks begin coming their way; and it is certain that the easiest method of vanquishing an Irishman is to leave him severely alone.

Many sensible, earnest people will at first sight claim that the

withdrawal of the Irish Members from Westminster will be disastrous to Ireland—pointing out all the good measures that, as it seems to them, the Irish Party in Parliament have won for Ireland. The good earnest people who think so are, unfortunately, not as thoughtful as they are good and earnest. Ireland is legislated for in the British Parliament, just as the British majority desire. While the Irish representation present have but the faintest effect in modifying this legislation, and never in directing it, still the fact that they are present, that they take part in it, that they haggle for tuppence-ha’porth more value at this point, for a little less repression at that, and for permission to call their souls their own at a third point, satisfies to itself the complaisant conscience of the British Parliament, and saves its face to the world. Whereas, if the Irish representation withdrew in a body, and threw the *onus* of all Irish legislation upon the British Parliament, the latter would be left in the position of the judge, who, coming to convict, but indiscreetly provoking the counsel for the defence into throwing up the brief, found on his shoulders the *onus* of the life of the man in the dock, and was thus forced for the most selfish of reasons to fight the case for the defence himself, charge the prisoner and set him free. Furthermore, it weakens our cause when, while proclaiming that Britain has no right to govern us, we send to her Councils, every year, the picked men of our country, to aid the wronger in the doing of wrong. Finally, it is a mistake to suppose that the withdrawal of the Irish representation from Westminster would be a loss to Ireland, “because the Irish Parliamentary Party has already wrung notable concessions from Britain.” That has not yet wrung from Britain as much of a concession as would pay deck-fare for the Party between Kingstown and Holyhead. All “concessions” wrung from Britain by Ireland were wrung by the people of Ireland, struggling for Ireland, on the soil of Ireland, making it impossible, or impracticable, for the English to get along without yielding the concession. The greatest concession of the century that has passed was the Catholic Emancipation Act of ’29. And then we had an Irish Parliamentary Party of—one! It will hardly be contended that he floored the British Government—brave man though he was. After the Emancipation Act was passed, the Tithes question was the burning one of the day in Ireland. The

people of Ireland, naturally, thought it unjust that they should pay Tithes to a Church to which they did not belong. In 1831, the Tithes agitation was convulsing Ireland. Dan O'Connell, assuring the people that he would get Parliament to rectify that, appealed to the Government to suspend the collection of Tithes in Ireland pending the result of a Commission that had been appointed to inquire into the subject. Parliament laughed at Dan for his pains. To the end of a dozen blue moons, O'Connell might have agitated this question in Parliament, to the continued amusement or boredom of the House, had not the people taken a more persuasive way of reaching the ear and the heart of England, by resisting the collection of Tithes even to bloodshed. Then England at once hearkened to Ireland's voice, and sent speedy order over the land that all collecting of Tithes must be immediately stopped. At the reopening of Parliament, the King of England, for the first time, begged his faithful Lords and Commons to give careful consideration to the question of Tithes in Ireland! And a Tithes Act followed. Dan O'Connell's great and continual agitation in Ireland was successful, because it was agitation for Ireland in Ireland. It would have been more successful had he not divided the people's attention by turning their minds at the same time to the British Parliament.

The other greatest Acts of the century were the Church Disestablishment Act of '69, the Land Act of '70 and the Land Act of '81. When the two former Acts were got we had no Irish Parliamentary Party whatever; Ireland was represented only by Tories and place-hunting Whigs. In a speech in Parliament, afterwards, Gladstone confessed that it was Fenianism which caused him to disestablish the Church. And Mr. John Redmond, the present Leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, confesses (in his introduction to Barry O'Brien's "Seventy Years of Irish History") that: "It was Fenianism that disestablished the Church and carried the Land Act of '70." Again, regarding the great Land Act of '81, Gladstone, in a speech after the event, said: "I am now free to confess, that if it were not for the Land League in Ireland, the Act of '81 would not be in the Statute-Book." And so, if, descending from the larger Acts, we were to examine the smaller, we should find in every instance that every concession wrung from England was wrung from her by the agitation of the people of Ireland, in Ireland, and that the se-

curing of these concessions was quite irrespective of the fact that there was or was not an Irish Party fighting for Ireland "on the floor of the British House of Commons"; and, furthermore, that the value of the concession was ever in direct proportion to the intensity of the struggle upon the soil.

There was one fight, indeed, put up for Ireland, and well and bravely put up, on "the floor of the House"—and there only. About a dozen years ago, a Royal Commission found, after exhaustive inquiry, that a paternal Government had accepted from Ireland a trifle of £250,000,000* over and above her just contribution to the Imperial purse. This fact awakened the slumbering patriotism even of the anti-Irish portion of Ireland, the Conservative, landlord and Orange classes, and both Nationalist and Conservative Irish Members of Parliament joined, for the first time, in demanding the redress of an Irish grievance in Parliament—asking that the sum unjustly taken from Ireland should be restored to her. This question was well and stubbornly fought, in *Parliament*, by a united Irish representation. Though there were many meetings on the subject in Ireland—meetings to a great extent organized and addressed by landlords and Conservatives, the titled and the well-to-do—the Financial Relations Question, as it was called, never took a hold upon the hearts of our people, and well and stubbornly though it was fought in Parliament, the Briton did not relax his grasp upon the millions which his own Commission confessed he had wrongly taken, nor yield a solitary cent in restitution. The Briton's proverbial sense of fair play, however, was exemplified in the fact that the Irish Nationalists, Unionists and Conservatives were allowed unstinted scope, and had even days set specially apart for airing the great grievance. Orating in Parliament, by the Irish Members, the Briton, on the whole, loves to encourage; it is a capital safety-valve.

The Young Ireland which has found form in the Sinn Fein Party is not a young Ireland of theory merely; it is a young Ireland of thought coupled with action. Recognizing that the language of a nation is a nation's dearest asset—the nation's soul, in fact—and seeing that its language was rapidly passing from Ireland, while as it receded a wave of Anglicization was oversweeping the land, the thoughtful ones set themselves to the

* In less than fifty years.

great, the seemingly hopeless, task of stemming this tide, and bringing back over Ireland the vanishing Gaelic tongue—knowing well that should they succeed in restoring to Ireland its tongue, with it would come all the good old Irish characteristics that the people had been fast losing, the characteristics that were their own, and that suited them, of course, far better than the characteristics natural to another very distinct people could suit them—characteristics from which, alone, their good qualities and their great qualities (if they had such) could be developed. Such was the shameful demoralization caused by Anglicizing influences in Ireland that our language, by all philologists admitted to be one of the world's rare linguistic possessions, had fallen from esteem; the well-to-do, grown English in mind, despised it, and the poor grew ashamed of it; it was practically banished from the schools, and had almost been silenced in the churches, while in the Courts of Law, poor mountain men, who knew too little English to warrant their taking oath in that language, were threatened with imprisonment for insisting upon the use of their own language. To all intents and purposes, it seemed to have become a language of the past, when the younger Ireland, taking thought, said that for the nation's salvation it must again be the language of Ireland. Twelve years ago, the language was being taught to, at most, a bare few thousand pupils, and the workers in the cause might be reckoned upon one's fingers: to-day the workers are reckoned by the thousand; between pupils of National schools, Intermediate schools, Convents and Colleges, and adults at night classes, there are a quarter of a million studying the Irish language. Irish Colleges for the teaching of pupils in Irish only, and for the training of teachers to teach Irish, have been established in the four Provinces. Many Railways and Banks have been compelled to recognize Irish: for thousands of positions to which Irish boys and girls aspire to-day, a knowledge of Irish has become an absolute necessity. Many District Councils, County Councils and some city Corporations have made it a rule that positions in their gift will not henceforth be awarded to any person who knows not his own language: scores of newspapers and periodicals give a portion of their space to the printing of Gaelic items in Gaelic type; there are some periodical publications printed entirely in Gaelic; and the output of Gaelic literature, in the form of fiction, poetry,

drama and history is great—some hundreds of thousands of Gaelic books being put forth by the press in each of these years. The Gaelic League has its network of Branches all over Ireland and in almost every corner of the world where bands of earnest Irishmen are to be found. After a hard fight with the Commissioners of so-called “National” Education in Ireland, the teaching of Irish was, in the primary schools, established on a fairly favorable basis, enabling and inducing a great portion of the teachers to teach it; and the fight for its proper recognition in the schools still goes on, and will continue until, with God’s help, it is made, as it should be, compulsory in every primary school in Ireland—made, at least, of equal importance with the English language, taught side by side, and step by step, with it. Ten years, at most, will see this latter fight fought and won; then will all the rising generation acquire the knowledge and the use of the Irish language, and in a quarter of a century from now, while a knowledge of English will still be with our people, our own language, the language that was thought dead, will once more be the language of the fireside, and—so far as it can—the language of the Church and the language of the Council and the language of our literature—the language of Ireland.

The revival of the language,—with its hundred beneficial results,—is only one of several planks in the platform of the new party. It recognizes, for instance, that a first necessity for, not merely a new and great Irish nation, but an Irish nation at all, is that the Irish people must be preserved to the nation. It recognizes that in seventy years Ireland, notwithstanding the beneficent influence of British rule, lost one-half of her population, while the small countries of the Continent, worse circumstanced than Ireland in many respects, but laboring under the blighting influence of their own rule, or, at worst, tyrannical Russian rule, have some of them increased by fifty, some by seventy and some by one hundred per cent. Emigration, of course, was the terrible drain upon Ireland. Want of employment was the root of the evil. This emigration, say the new party, must stop. Had we the right of governing ourselves, it had been an easy task to remedy it. But even without that right, say the determined young party, it can and shall be remedied by a little display of energy and of patriotism on the part of the Irish people. For the purchase of goods of foreign manufacture there is sent out

of Ireland, annually, thirteen million pounds—the greater portion of which could be kept at home, giving employment to many thousands who otherwise must go abroad to seek a livelihood. Anti-emigration and industrial movements are linked together. The industrial crusade is a live one, and one that is working wonders. In this as in other things the thinkers and workers of young Ireland do not depend upon precept alone for the instilling of their new doctrine—they practice what they preach. The thousands of workers in the Gaelic League and Sinn Fein clothe themselves from crown of head to sole of foot in articles of Irish manufacture, and use likewise, so far as possible, only Irish-made articles in their daily avocations and relaxations, even down to the matter of the match which they apply to their Irish-made pipe. The example by them set is spreading, not merely to those in sympathy with them in their political aspirations, but even to an important section of the pro-British body in Ireland, who, lacking a higher kind of patriotism, may always be reached by the patriotism of the pocket; for they, finding that their business has in many instances materially improved under the influence of the new industrial doctrine, have become convinced that it is a fine thing for Ireland, and have come to preach and practise it in their turn. The result of this particular portion of the movement is that all manufactures in Ireland have materially increased their output during the past few years. Some, notably weaving and paper-making, have doubled their output; and several new manufactures have sprung up to meet the new demands. Wages have materially increased in Ireland, employment is much more plentiful than it was and the necessity for emigrating much less. Of course, emigration has not ceased, as the necessity ceased. Let a great habit take possession of a nation, and you may not break it in a day, nor in a year, nor, maybe, in ten years. But remove the cause and, in addition, give a new mental attitude, and the habit must gradually disappear. Emigration from Ireland, on any important scale, will be, ere long, I think, a thing of the past; and immigration, which has hitherto been insignificant, will increase. I do not think this immigration will be of such notable extent as materially to affect the population figures; but, as Ireland gets more prosperous materially, brighter socially and more hopeful nationally, greater numbers of our people who have made fortunes in America will

return to settle down with us; and the coming again of these, to the home of their fathers, will have marked effect morally, if not numerically.

Still another practical work that young Ireland is and has been successfully performing, is the eradication of the drink evil. Though, as shown by statistics, and despite popular tradition, an Irishman drinks less than either the Englishman or the Scotchman, the Young Ireland Party are determined that, in the future, the Irishman's annual drink bill will not bear comparison with that of Englishman, or Scotchman, or Frenchman, or American. They hope by taking hold of the rising generation, and enlisting them in an anti-drink crusade, entirely to eradicate the drink habit here. The workers in the new movement are almost entirely non-drinkers; thousands of them have come to consider it disgraceful to enter a public house. Recognizing, too, that the treating habit in Ireland was responsible for far more drinking, and even drunkenness, than was love of drink itself, they adopted an anti-treating pledge, a pledge forbidding a man either to take a treat or give a treat, and have carried on, throughout the country, an anti-treating crusade, till now there are hundreds of thousands of people in Ireland pledged against treating, which, it is confidently believed, will fast fall into disrepute and disuse. The anti-drinking portion of the new party's programme cuts two ways: not only must it uplift the country morally and materially, but it may deprive England of a five-million-pound drink revenue, which has been annually going into the Imperial exchequer from Ireland.

The foregoing are, maybe, the more important of the many activities of the very virile Young Ireland that, pursuing the policy of Sinn Fein, is going to draw the world's attention to itself immediately. It is a more thoughtful Young Ireland, this, than any Young Ireland yet known to history. The new Party has the signal advantage over all predecessors, that it is not merely a political party: while a considerable portion of its forces carries on the war, offensive and defensive, with the enemy, another important body is nation-building, and the two bodies are capable of, and are, relieving each other. The struggle shall go on till Ireland's rights, complete, sovereign and independent, are wrung from the power that has so long held them wrongfully.

SEUMAS MAC MANUS.

THE YELLOW PRESS OF JAPAN.

BY A. MAURICE LOW.

SINCE the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Japan—in the yellow press of both countries—a curious idea has obtained currency in America. Japan having exercised during the war with Russia the most wonderful press censorship that has ever been known in the history of journalism; and the press of Japan having displayed unexampled patriotism by publishing only such news as might be of advantage to national interests, and having refrained from publishing a single word that might cause embarrassment, Americans have been led to believe that the censorship of the press in Japan is more rigid and more strictly enforced than in Russia even, and that nowhere in the world does the Government more autocratically exercise its power in controlling the press. To us of the West, Japan is a mystery, and its greatest mystery is the duality of its psychology—the dual personality of every Japanese, who in peace is simple, frank, light-hearted, singularly impressionable to color and form, and democratically independent; but in time of war is nothing, sees nothing, does nothing except as the incarnation of patriotism. This transformation, which affects an entire nation, is no more strikingly displayed than by the press.

The taunt used to be flung at the Japanese in the early days of the war with Russia that as imitators they were inimitable. The Japanese was clever, that could not be disputed, but it was the cleverness of mimicry, not that of creative ability. To that indictment the Japanese smilingly pleaded guilty, with a reservation. They had imitated, or, more correctly, they had assimilated, everything that was best, improved on it where it was necessary, and adapted it to their own peculiar needs. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Japanese Constitution, broadly

patterned on that of England, but in one respect, at least, more nearly resembling that of the United States, should contain a provision respecting the freedom of the press. The English Constitution is unwritten; it is statute law, and the law of precedent and custom; it is what the people and Parliament make it to keep pace with the spirit of the age; as rigid as the stone walls of the palace at Westminster, as flexible as a bow of steel. The American Constitution is a code narrow and defined. Japan's Constitution is written. The Constitution of the United States guarantees freedom of speech and liberty of the press in these terms: "Congress shall make no laws . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press." Article XXIX of the Japanese Constitution, in almost similar terms, provides that "Japanese subjects shall, within the limits of law, enjoy the liberty of speech, writing, publication, public meetings and associations."

The Marquis Ito, in his commentaries on the Constitution, says:

"Speeches, writings, publications, public meetings and associations are the *media* through which men exercise their influence in political or social spheres. In every constitutional country full freedom is granted in all of these particulars, in so far as there is no abuse of them by way of commission of crime or of disturbance of peace and tranquillity; and it is hoped that in this way interchange of thought may be promoted, and that useful materials may thus be supplied for the advancement of civilization. But as every one of these edged tools can easily be misused, it is necessary, for the maintenance of public order, to punish by law, and to prevent by police measures delegated by law, any infringement by use thereof upon the honor or the rights of any individual, any disturbance of the peace of the country, or any instigation to crime. These restrictions must, however, be determined by law, and lie beyond the sphere of ordinances."

The freedom of the press in England is part of the result of the long struggle between democracy and special privilege. With the invention of printing, the press was placed under the censorship of the Church, and in England became a royal prerogative; men were whipped and imprisoned and mutilated for printing without a royal license, until the force of public opinion drove Parliament to abolish the censorship of the press, and the famous letters of Wilkes and Junius brought about a modification of the drastic law of libel and laid the foundation of the real freedom of the press of England.

The "war powers" of Congress are unlimited, but undefined by the Constitution. To meet the extraordinary emergency of war, the Government of the United States has established a censorship of the press, and has suppressed newspapers guilty of treasonable utterances or that gave aid and encouragement to the enemy. Great Britain is governed by Parliament and ruled by the Cabinet, and whatever the Cabinet does is constitutional, but it has no power to exercise control over the matter a newspaper may publish. The contrast between the attitude of the press in Japan during their war and the English press during the Boer war produced such a profound impression upon many English public men that, last year, an effort was made to secure the passage of a law which would give the Government a certain control over the press in time of war; but the matter has not yet advanced beyond the stage of discussion. The framers of the Japanese Constitution, recognizing the menace of an unbridled and irresponsible press, when a nation is at war, with extraordinary foresight put a clause in the Constitution by which the press is rendered impotent to do harm in a time of national peril. The fourteenth article of the Japanese Constitution provides that: "The Emperor declares a state of siege. The conditions and effects of a state of siege shall be determined by law." Marquis Ito, in his commentaries, says that a state of siege is to be declared at the time of a foreign war or of a domestic insurrection, for the purpose of placing all ordinary law in abeyance, and of entrusting part of the administration and judicial powers to military measures. He continues:

"The present article expressly provides that the conditions requisite for the declaration of a state of siege and the effect of the declaration shall be determined by law, and that, in pursuance of these provisions thereof, it appertains exclusively to the sovereign power of the Emperor, under stress of circumstances, to declare or revoke a state of siege. By 'conditions' is meant the nature of the crisis when a state of siege is to be declared, the necessary limits as to territorial extent affected, and rules needful for making the declaration. By 'effect' is meant the limit of the power called in force as the result of the declaration of a state of siege."

By virtue of this article, at the outbreak of the war with Russia the necessary law was passed, and the press of Japan was brought under its provisions. It is probable that without such a

law the immanent spirit of patriotism that is such a marked characteristic of the Japanese people would have made them refrain from publishing anything that might have been of assistance to Russia, but the Japanese singularly combine the ideal with the practical. They take no chances when chances are to be avoided. The law was passed—drastic, ironclad, swift in its execution. No loopholes, no legal subtleties, no chance for delay. The press was under the heel of the military despot, as it is necessary that the press shall be when a nation is fighting for its existence.

But that was in time of war. In time of peace, Japanese newspapers do not materially differ from newspapers published in the United States or in England, in France or in Germany. There are responsible and respectable newspapers in Japan that pride themselves on their style, their accuracy and their moderation, precisely as do newspapers in the United States or in Europe; and there are yellow journals in Japan exactly as there are sensational papers in this country, and the ha'penny press in England, and the gutter rags of the boulevards in Paris. East and West, human nature is much the same. When Japan is at peace, there is little restriction placed on the press. It may publish what it pleases and what it thinks will suit its readers. There is the law of libel, which is the risk that every publisher must take. There is a law that prohibits the publication by a newspaper of confidential military, naval or diplomatic information. There are the laws protecting public morality. But of censorship, as it is exercised in Japan in war or in Russia at all times, there is none. The Japanese editor is as untrammelled as his American confrère. He may be ponderous or flippant, respectable or disreputable; dull or lively; he may defend the Government or attack it; he may be pro-American or anti-American; a trust-buster or a champion of the octopus, and he runs no risk of coming into conflict with the Government. With all their docility and suavity, the Japanese can be easily aroused to excitement, and in their politics they are as vitriolic and venomous as we proud Saxons, who in our conceit believe we possess a monopoly even of vices. In the whole of the Empire there is perhaps only one person immune from newspaper attack. The Constitution, recognizing that "the Emperor is sacred and inviolable," not even the yellowest paper ever discusses him except with pro-

found respect, and although that sanctity does not extend to the princes of the blood royal, as a matter of fact they are seldom the subject of criticism by the newspapers. But with those exceptions no man occupies a station so exalted or so humble that he can escape journalistic assault. In that respect, there is little difference between journalism in America and journalism in Japan.

There are twelve principal daily papers in Tokio, ten of them appearing in the morning only, and two having both morning and evening editions. These papers are "*Niroku*," or, in English, "The Whole Day" (these titles are transliterated rather than translated); "*Yorodzu-choho*" or "*Mancho*," "All the News Published in the Morning"; "*Hochi*," "Intelligence"; "*Miyako*," "The Capital or City"; "*Chuo*," "The Centre"; "*Jiji*," "Current Affairs"; "*Nichinichi*," "The Tokio Daily"; "*Asahi*," "The Morning News"; "*Yomiuri*," "The Crier or the Herald"; "*Kokumin*," "Nation"; "*Nihon*," "Japan"; "*Mainichi*," "The Daily." The first three—"Niroku," "*Yorodzu-choho*" and "*Hochi*"—are preeminently the yellow papers of Japan, and so long as they exist there is no danger of yellow journalism becoming a lost art. They play the game for all it is worth; they pose as independent in politics and as the champions of the people; but, as a Japanese public man remarked, they are the organ of anybody or anything that is popular and will increase circulation, and they are usually in opposition to the Government, because that is generally the popular side, and, of course, they give much of their space to politics. But they are shrewd enough not to be overweighted with politics, and space is liberally used in the publication of "unwholesome news," again to quote this Japanese public man—scandals in high and low life with as many salacious details as the public authorities will permit, accidents, horrors, sensations of every description, all done in the highest form of the art with broad saffron strokes so as to produce the most telling effects. "*Hochi*," being the yellowest of the yellow, is naturally more often quoted in the United States than the responsible newspapers—for the same reason that the newspapers of Mars which give columns to the report of a scandalous trial are better known to us by name than that distinguished scientific journal the "*Martian Canal*"—and is in some respects the most important and influential

paper in the Island Kingdom, dividing with the conservative "*Asahi*" the honor of having the largest circulation in Japan, estimated at about 120,000 a day. While "*Niroku*" and "*Yorodzu-choho*" profess to be independent in politics, "*Hochi*" is frankly the organ of the Progressive Party.

It is necessary here briefly to explain the party system in Japan. Although broadly modelled on the English system, with a ministry supposed to represent a majority of the electorate as represented in the House of Representatives, the Lower House of the Imperial Diet, Japan constitutionally is still in a transitional stage, and parliamentary government is as yet in its infancy. Instead of there being two great political parties in Japan, as there are in the United States and England, the Continental system of numerous groups exists, and in Japan as in France it is only possible for the Government to obtain a majority by the "*bloc*"—a coalition of groups forced to make common defence to escape being submerged by the Opposition. Speaking broadly, the Government's supporters at the present time, the Constitutional Party, are strict constructionists, while the Opposition, the Progressive Party, would decrease the constitutional power of the Emperor over legislation and increase the power of the Diet or the Parliament. The Cabinet is now really more responsible to the Emperor than to the people; and, although it may have forfeited the confidence of the House, it does not feel compelled to resign until the situation becomes in fact untenable. The Progressives would adopt the English system by which a Cabinet falls *ipso facto* when it no longer has a majority of the House behind it; and although nominally the Sovereign commands a certain man to form a Cabinet, in reality the Sovereign does not attempt to interfere with the free choice of the party leader, whose Cabinet, like his legislative programme, represents the party in a majority in the House of Commons. Since the promulgation of the Constitution in 1889, the Progressives have only for a very brief period fed at the flesh-pots of office, and they are now hungering and thirsting for power, which is an ideal situation for a party organ decked in yellow. American readers, therefore, should not become unduly alarmed when they read cabled extracts from the editorials of the "*Hochi*" or interviews in its columns, because its readers demand their daily meal piping hot and extravagantly seasoned.

Yellow journalism pays, in Japan as elsewhere, which proves that virtue must be content with its own reward rather than a bank account, and both "*Hochi*" and "*Yorodzu-choho*" have men on their staffs who write smartly and in a popular vein; and they keep correspondents in the United States and in England. Every Japanese newspaper of standing has correspondents in Korea and Manchuria because of the political and commercial interests involved, but it is only a few of the leading papers that can afford the luxury of regular correspondents elsewhere. It is interesting to note that, ten or fifteen years ago, "*Hochi*" was one of the most conservative papers in Japan and principally given up to politics; but, with the modernization of Japan, it entirely changed its character, and for business reasons found it more profitable to cease to be dull and heavy and respectable, and to become light, flippant and yellow. It has fallen a victim to that process of metamorphosis with which we are unfortunately familiar in another part of the world. Appealing to the masses, it makes a feature of fiction that from time immemorial has been read by a certain class—the story of the poor but virtuous girl, the heavy villain preying on virtue (in a shawl and a tattered skirt) and the rescuing hero. After all, the distance between the East and the West is bridged by a tawdry love-story in a penny paper.

Not yellow, but quite willing to be, succinctly sums up the character of "*Miyako*" and "*Chuoo*," neither of which is a paper of large circulation or great influence, although the latter at one time had a standing as the organ of Marquis Ito. It was perhaps occasionally made use of by that eminent statesman, but not of recent years, and neither to its utterances nor to those of "*Miyako*" need undue importance be attached. They are both more respectable than the recognized yellow journals, but neither is sufficiently impressed with the responsibility of journalism to be regarded as typically voicing the public opinion in Japan.

Undoubtedly the most influential and authoritative newspapers of Japan are "*Jiji*," "*Nichinichi*" and "*Asahi*," which are widely read for their news as well as their editorial opinions, and accurately reflect public sentiment; usually acting as a restraining influence and upholding the hands of the Government and authority, although with courage and vigor criticising

when the public welfare demands criticism. All three are known as independent newspapers; and while "*Jiji*" and "*Asahi*" have no party affiliations and cannot be influenced by political considerations, "*Nichinichi*" is really the organ of Mr. Kato, formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Coalition Cabinet and for a short time Minister of Foreign Affairs in the present Cabinet. If the American reader desires to obtain a fairly accurate idea of representative Japanese opinion, especially among the upper and more cultivated classes, he will read with care whatever he may see credited to "*Jiji*" or "*Asahi*" or "*Nichinichi*," remembering, however, that the latter is the organ of a politician who has held high office and is ambitious again to be in power, but who would not sacrifice national interests for selfish personal gains.

"*Yomiuri*," "*Kokumin*," "*Nihon*" and "*Mainichi*" are papers of the second rank, exercising some influence and having circulations of about from 50,000 to 70,000 each. "*Yomiuri*" is one of the oldest newspapers in Japan, and although its name has been Englished into "The Crier" or "Herald," its Japanese name recalls the old days when news was "cried" by boys going about the streets and calling out the paper's contents in tones not so very different from the raucous cries of the American newsboys shouting their "Extras; Horrible Accident; Fifty People Killed," but in marked contrast to the liquid calls of the Spanish newsboys, who make a one-syllable name musical by the rhythmic accent they give it in their full rounded throats, to whom a consonant is an abomination. At one time, "*Yomiuri*" was of greater importance than it is now, as it was the organ of Count Okuma, the leader of the Progressives, but "*Hochi*" is now generally recognized as expressing his views, and its larger circulation and more popular character make it a more valuable organ than the older and more staid "*Yomiuri*." This paper has always been noted for its literary reviews and criticisms, which it still makes a feature, and is a paper to which women are much attached; there is a flavor of the home and the fireside about it that appeals to them.

"*Kokumin*" is a semi-official paper—that is, it is used sometimes when the Government wants to disseminate news without doing so formally and officially, or when it is deemed advisable to send up a *ballon d'essai* to test the veering currents of public

opinion; consequently, news in the "*Kokumin*" may at times give a hint as to the Government's intentions; but it is not to be too implicitly relied upon, although edited with undeniable ability. "*Nihon*" is an independent paper calling for no particular comment, but "*Mainichi*" is owned and edited by Mr. Shimada, who is a prominent member of the House of Representatives. At one time, he was one of Count Okuma's principal lieutenants, but he no longer follows that leader so devotedly, although in politics he still remains a Progressive. As representing the personal opinions of a prominent politician, "*Mainichi*" may be read with interest, but it must not be accepted too literally, nor must the personal equation be forgotten.

There are two daily papers, both morning, published outside of Tokio that are of importance and exercise considerable influence in Western Japan. The Osaka "*Asahi*," which is owned by the same proprietors as the Tokio "*Asahi*," is practically the counterpart of the latter, in politics independent and maintaining the same high standard of journalistic ethics. The Osaka "*Mainichi*" is conducted with ability, but is not above resorting to sensationalism when fiction makes more interesting reading than a bald narrative of facts.

In connection with the press, I desire to say a few words about the political system of Japan, especially as there will soon be an election in Japan which may be of more than usual interest to Americans. The legislature is bicameral, the House of Peers and the House of Representatives, and the former is unique in its membership. In England the Upper House, the House of Lords, consists exclusively of hereditary nobles, but in Japan commoners as well as nobles sit in the Upper Chamber. Every male member of the imperial family on attaining his majority, which is eighteen, is by right entitled to sit in the House of Peers, and so are princes and marquises on reaching the age of twenty-five. The other nobiliary orders, counts, viscounts and barons, are represented in the Peers by members elected by their orders for a term of seven years, the representative peers not exceeding one-fifth of the entire number of their representative order. Any person who has reached the age of thirty, who has rendered distinguished service to the state or given proof of his erudition, may be created by the Emperor a life member of the House of Peers, but this creation does not, paradoxically, en-

noble him. A certain number of persons, elected by cities and prefectures by and from among the largest payers of direct national taxes on land, industry or trade, sit in the House of Peers and hold office for seven years. The Japanese House of Peers, it will be seen, is the most democratic assembly in the world under a form of monarchical government, and because of its peculiar composition it is probably of a higher intellectual average, and more representative of the "best people"—using that term to express intellect rather than birth or money—than any other second chamber. The members who sit there by the accident of birth are comparatively few; the representative peers are naturally those most prominent in their respective orders, and must have given evidence of wisdom, patriotism or other qualification to enable them to secure election; learning and services to the state are represented by the life peers nominated by the Emperor; but to prevent the Emperor from swamping the House with his own creations, the number of life peers may not exceed the number of hereditary peers; and wealth, inherited or acquired, has also its representatives.

The qualifications for the right of suffrage to be exercised at elections for members to the House of Representatives are residence in the election district for one year previous to the drawing up of the list of qualified voters; the payment of an annual land tax of ten yen (approximately, \$5) or more for one year previous to the drawing up of the electoral list; or the payment of an annual direct national tax, other than the land tax, of ten yen or more for one year previous to the drawing up of the electoral list; or the payment of ten yen a year in land taxes and other direct national taxes for two years previous to the drawing up of the electoral list. The suffrage is restricted to males, who must be twenty-five years or over, and able to write their own names and those of the candidates for whom they vote. No person is qualified to vote who is incompetent or quasi incompetent as defined by the civil code; who is an undischarged bankrupt or who has been declared by a court of justice as subject for liquidation or insolvency, and who has not finally recovered his rights; who has been deprived of public rights or whose public rights have been suspended; who is under suspension of sentence of imprisonment; who cannot comply with the required educational qualification. Men who are in actual

service in the army or navy, Government students, Shinto priests and all other priests and teachers of religion, teachers in the common schools, contractors for the Government, Government election officials, officials of the Imperial Household department, judges, prosecutors, the president and councillors of the court of administrative litigation, auditors, revenue officials and police officials are ineligible. These exceptions and the property qualification, it is estimated, restrict the electoral franchise to about 4,000,000 out of the 10,000,000 males of voting age in the Empire of Japan.

A. MAURICE LOW.

JUDICIAL NULLIFICATION OF ACTS OF CONGRESS.

BY PROFESSOR W. TRICKETT, DEAN OF THE DICKINSON SCHOOL
OF LAW.

A LAW is a rule which those to whom it is addressed are obliged to observe. Without the obligation, it would be mere admonition. To oblige one to observe a rule is simply to visit him with disagreeable consequences if he should disobey it. This includes investigation into the fact of disobedience, and, disobedience being ascertained, causation of the consequence.

In our political system, one body is set apart to lay down the rules, and other officers are created to enforce them. Since the probability of enforcement is necessary to law, it is evident that a so-called legislature is, in fact, not a legislature unless other officers concerned in administration and execution not only exist, but are purposed, to enforce its enactments. In short, the will of the executive converts the abstract declarations of the legislature into law.

When the Constitution of the United States declares in what way a bill shall become a law, it must mean to state when the wish of the lawmaking body shall become obligatory—that is, when it shall be sympathetically heeded, with purpose to enforce it, by the executive officers. In ordaining that a bill passing both Houses and approved by the President shall become a law, it ordains that it shall then become an obligatory rule of action; that is, that the executive agents of the United States, including the courts, shall enforce it.

Is there any indication that the makers of the Constitution intended that the Executive, in any of its branches, administrative or judicial, should have the right to abort a law by refusing to it the effects whose sequence only gives it the quality of law?

The debates in the Federal Convention are equivocal. It is evident that Gerry, Martin, Mason and Wilson supposed that the courts would be able to consider whether a law was constitutional or not, and, if they decided that it was not, to refuse to enforce it. On the other hand, Mercer, Dickinson and Gouverneur Morris denied to them such a power.

The action of the Convention is more significant than the imperfectly reported sentiments of a few of its members. The attempt was made, and successfully, to unite the Executive with the two Houses of Congress in the making of laws. No bill could become a "law" until submitted to the President, but a thrice-repeated effort to associate with him the Federal judges was decisively defeated. One or two delegates may have opposed their participation in part because they thought the judges could, in the business of execution, annul a law, and for this reason did not need to have it submitted to them at its initiation; but there is no evidence that this view influenced many in rejecting the proposed submission of bills to judges. Such a reason would have been equally good for denying to the President the right of veto. As an executive officer he could, when the occasion for enforcing a statute arose, have considered, like the judge, whether it was constitutional or not, and have refused to execute it if he thought it unconstitutional. A more reasonable interpretation of the acts of the Convention is that the majority did not intend the judges to have any right to elect which of the laws of Congress they would enforce.

That the Conventionists did not intend that the courts should be able to refuse enforcement to acts of Congress, is probably indicated by three striking circumstances. In declaring an act unconstitutional, a court would antagonize Congress to a degree, and might provoke reprisals from that body. The power of impeachment of judges was with Congress, and, as Hamilton concedes in the 83d "Federalist," they might be impeached for declaring acts of Congress unconstitutional. Is it credible that the people who ordained the Constitution intended that the court should have the duty of declaring acts unconstitutional, and yet should be left liable to the vengeance of Congress for so doing? If they had intended to impose on the court so serious a duty, is it not likely that they would have protected the court from assault by the body whose enactments it annulled?

Another significant fact is that the whole appellate power of the Federal judges, and, with the exception of a small number of cases, their whole original jurisdiction, are the creature of Congress. If Congress decides to avoid a decision adverse to its legislation, it needs simply to withhold, or to recall, jurisdiction. A flagrant case of this sort was that of *McCardle*. Arrested for trial before a military commission, he denied the constitutionality of the law and applied to the Circuit Court of the United States by *habeas corpus* for his liberation. This court refusing to liberate him, he appealed to the Supreme Court. A majority of the judges of that court were of opinion that the law was unconstitutional, but deferred pronouncing a decision in order to give Congress time to repeal the statute under which the court had jurisdiction. Congress repealed the act, and thus the court escaped the unpleasant duty of declaring the act of Congress unconstitutional. It is hardly thinkable that the makers of the Constitution, intending that the court should have the power and be under a duty to pronounce acts of Congress void, should have made that power withdrawable by Congress at any time.

A function so important as that of controlling Congress so as to compel it to observe the limitations of the Constitution, would hardly have been deposited with a court which Congress or any branch of it could control. But the Constitution-makers have given this control to Congress. The creation of the courts is with Congress. The definition of their jurisdiction is with it. If the mind of the court is so attuned that it will decide a measure of legislation unconstitutional, all that is necessary to secure a different mind is for Congress to increase the number of judges; so that the President may nominate and the Senate confirm such additional judges as, with the existing favorers of the measure, will constitute a majority of the court. Something like this, it is charged, was done in connection with the *Legal Tender* decisions. Whether it was in fact done or not, it is quite practicable, when the President and both Houses of Congress agree on the constitutionality and the desirability of a given piece of legislation. But is it likely that this power over the court would have been given to Congress and the President, if one of the court's functions requires it to control, and not to be controlled by, Congress and the President?

The Constitution makes careful and detailed provision for

submitting a bill to the President before it shall become a law—that is, before it shall become obligatory on subjects of the Government, and enforceable by executive agents. If the courts are to have the power to void statutes despite their passage through the Houses of Congress and their approval by the President, it is deeply regrettable that provision is not made for the regulation of the exercise of so remarkable a jurisdiction.

Ultimately, the Supreme Court exercises the power. But that court may be composed of three, six, nine, fifteen, twenty-five, fifty judges. The Constitution does not prescribe a number. Would the people have consciously given the court of three the power to annul an act passed by three hundred Senators and Representatives, and by a President? The court has never had more than ten members. It has now only nine. These nine men can quash the legislation of the representatives of ninety millions of people. The time is at hand when they will be able to quash the legislation of the representatives of two hundred millions of people, though that legislation were unanimously enacted and unanimously approved by the people.

Again, there is no definition of a quorum of the court. Small as the entire court is, a yet smaller number of judges may be present when a statute is annulled.

There is no rule as to the proportion of judges who are for to those who are against a decree of nullity of a statute. Acts of Congress have very seldom been pronounced void by a unanimous court. In a majority of cases there have been three or even four dissenters. Often the vote of the court has been cast practically by one judge. Did the makers of the Constitution contemplate this? If they had, would they have ordained that a majority of one in a court of nine should set aside the judgment of the minority of the court, of the two Houses of Congress, of the President who approved the bill, possibly of a practically unanimous people whom Congress represents? Propriety and respect for the judgment of a coordinate branch of the Government imperatively require that the small court which condemns the legislation of a numerous Congress, supported by a numerous people, should be unanimous. Would the wise men of 1787 have omitted to require unanimity, had they intended that a court should have this enormous power?

One of the most important prerequisites to law in a modern

state is that its existence and obligation shall be knowable. The Constitution-framers with much particularity tell us how a "bill" is to become a "law," but they intimate nothing as to the possible classification of "laws" into laws that *are* laws and laws that are *not* laws. Would not experienced statesmen, had they supposed that even after a bill had become a "law" it might not be a law, have invented some device by which people could recognize the law that was valid, or could early procure an enlightening decision from the court, before being involved in liabilities in case of mistaken judgment? A law is published. If it is constitutional, A must refrain from doing something which it would be highly useful for him to do. If it is unconstitutional, A can do this with impunity. He must take the risk of mistake in determining whether the law is valid or not, and the risk may be serious. That the makers of the Constitution were aware of the injustice of rules laid down after the fact is evident from their prohibiting *ex post facto* laws. But when a statute is voided from its enactment, by a decision delivered a year or five years afterwards, the law which it was intended to displace becomes practically *ex post facto* as to acts done between its enactment and the annulling decision. Why was no method invented by which immediately upon the passing of an act, and before hazard from obeying or disobeying it, a judgment of the court could be procured? Would the Constitution-makers have deliberately omitted to furnish it?

Various methods have been suggested by which a decision could be obtained within a comparatively short time. One has been an injunction by the court, pending the deliberation upon a bill in Congress, against its enactment. The suggestion of this method has been scoffingly repudiated. Another has been injunction or mandamus directed to the President, or the legal head of a Department or the Attorney-General, requiring him to refrain from taking steps to cause subordinate officers to execute the law, or commanding them to take steps to prevent the execution of the law. This method, so far as applicable to the President, has been rejected. The court has chosen to recognize, as valid for arresting action under void statutes, only the less comprehensive, prompt and efficient methods.

The makers of the Constitution, had they intended that statutes passed with all constitutional forms, should nevertheless be

capable of being voided by the courts, would probably have devised a plan for procuring as early a decision as possible, so as to disengage the public from fear and embarrassment. The courts have adopted the policy of postponing the decision of the constitutionality of an act to the latest possible moment. Nothing is more improbable than that the makers of the Constitution could have intended that even the decision of the highest court, as to the constitutionality of an act, should not be final, that persons relying upon it might yet be overtaken and involved in disaster by a second decision in a contrary sense. Yet, these inconsistent decisions, this absence of all finality, is a mark of American jurisprudence, as actually developed under the Constitution.

The judges are not selected by the people, nor answerable to the people. Appointed, they hold office practically for life. They are not removable, as are the judges in England and in several of the States, upon the address of both Houses of Congress, even were that address unanimous. This little group of nine men can apply an interpretation to the Constitution which no one outside of the court applies to it, and annul the will of people, Congress and the President, in the name of what they declare to be the will and intention of the dead men of 1787. Could it have been the will and intention of these men, that the opinion of them entertained by these nine should be stronger and more prevalent than that of all the nation besides?

The people who adopted the Constitution directly created Congress, and only indirectly created the court through Congress. The people directly elect the members of the Lower House, and by their State legislatures elect the members of the Upper House. They elect a President nominally through electors, but really directly. This President and the Senate appoint the judges. Could the constituent people have intended the creature of their Congress to be superordinate to Congress? Although Alexander Hamilton, in the 78th "Federalist," denies that a court which can annul an act of Congress is *ipso facto* superior to Congress, it is self-evident that, in so far as law can get enforcement only with the cooperation of a court, if the court exercises the right to say what law it will, and what it will not, enforce, the power of Congress to effect its legislative will depends on the consent of the court, and Congress is *pro tanto* inferior to it.

The people intended the Constitution to be obeyed, the grants no less than the restrictions of it. They attached as much importance to the former as to the latter. If a court had the power to define the restrictions, it would have the power to take away from Congress, by mistake or malevolence, that which the people gave it—that is, it might make the people incapable of doing through the legislators what they intended to be able to do. On the other hand, if Congress has the final judgment as to the power conferred upon it, it may exceed its intended legislative limits. Which of these possible evils is the larger? That of defeating the people's will by incapacitating them through Congress to legislate, or that of defeating it by making a wider legislation possible than was designed? Is it clear that the constituent people thought the former less objectionable than the latter? Where is the evidence? But to concede the power of the court to annul statutes is to incur the risk of the former.

Did the constituent people think that a body of six or nine would understand their Constitution better than their immediate elect, the House, and their mediate elect, the Senate, and the President? Did they think the intelligence to know their will as expressed in that instrument, would be more acute in six or nine than in two hundred or three hundred?

The court would be composed exclusively of members of one profession, all with similar mental habits, proclivities and ideals. Did the people think that these lawyers would understand their intention better than educated physicians, teachers, financiers, merchants, manufacturers, farmers, or their delegates in Congress? Did they intend to put in the hands of nine lawyers the power to paralyze legislation, thus bestowing on one profession a primacy quite unique in the world?

If a Congress and President enact what, in the judgment of the people, is an unconstitutional law, the people can correct the error, by agitating for a repeal, or by electing a new Congress pledged to repeal. But, if a constitutional law is annulled by a court as unconstitutional, the remedy is not so apparent and simple. Must the people acquiesce? Shall they agitate for a change of the court's decision? Shall they insist on an enlargement of the court, in order to "swamp" the judges who have pronounced the undesirable judgment? Shall the judges be impeached, removed and others substituted?

It is difficult to believe that the people took so humble a view of themselves, that they consciously abdicated, for themselves and their successors in all time, and for those of their officers whose appointment they could control, the right to interpret the Constitution, and vested it in a small body of one small profession, appointed for life, giving to this body the power to declare void legislation, though enacted by a unanimous Congress in response to the unanimous demand of the people.

If a President or the Congress may usurp power, so may a court. The President and Congress are responsible to the people. The court is practically responsible to nobody. Conviction on impeachment is very difficult; and, admitting the constitutional right of the court to pronounce acts of Congress void, conviction on impeachment for exercising this power would be iniquitous. The risk of possible and irremediable usurpation by a court is as great as of that by Congress. There is no trace in the work of the Constitution-makers of an intention to make a court a censor of the work of Congress, while furnishing no censor for the acts of the court. Hardly extravagant is the language of President Lincoln, in his first inaugural, that, when we recognize the sole power of the court to define the limits of constitutional executive or legislative action, "the people will have ceased to be their own masters, having to that extent resigned their government into the hands" of the Supreme Court.

Even Hamilton realized the inadmissibility of the doctrine that the court is the final judge of the boundaries of the respective powers of the Governmental departments, for, in the 49th "Federalist," he announces that encroachments by one department upon another are to be redressed by "an appeal to the people themselves, who, as the grantors of the commission, can alone declare its true meaning, and enforce its observance." But how do the people declare the meaning of the Constitution except through those whom they elect, the President and the Congress? There is no other way by which the people could declare their sense of the true meaning of the existing Constitution.

If legislation were the only evil, the dangers arising from the voiding of laws by a court would be tolerable. Experience, however, shows that most evils spring up apart from government, and that the function which vindicates the existence of government is that of curtailing and repressing them. Making impos-

sible this repression by narrow, sectarian, professionally biased, or class-biased views of the Constitution, applied in the annulment of statutes, is a great and unendurable prejudice to the public weal.

The power authoritatively to interpret the Constitution is virtually the power to make it. Practically, so far as many of the functions of government are concerned, the Constitution is made for us, from time to time, by the nine lawyers who are judges of the Supreme Court. They make it, while, like the Roman haruspices, they think, as do others, that they are only divining the intention of the Numen, the dead men of 1787.

W. TRICKETT.

THE JEWISH HOME.

BY PROFESSOR ABRAM S. ISAACS.

IN our rapid-transit age, pious sentiment has lost much of its potency, and cherished traditions that enforced certain vital truths disappear as surely as the trees that once gave beauty and shade to our city streets. We cannot pause by the way for quiet reverie; we dare not rest in our era of competition. The wheels must incessantly turn, the energies be urged ever at breakneck speed. Home, affection, family happiness, the household altar around which cluster such inspiring ideals, all must be imperilled, if not sacrificed, in the mad race for gold, fame, preferment. And the danger threatening that magic isle of safety, the home, can no longer be denied.

Undoubtedly, Jewish ideals suffer, like ideals in general, from the spur and strain of present-day conditions, and much that was for ages regarded as sacred and inviolable in character and custom has vanished in the change of clime and environment. Much, however, is still unaffected, so strong and time-proof are the olden foundations. Unlike the temple of Philæ, with its wondrous associations, which has been gradually submerged with the introduction of modern irrigation methods in Egypt, the Jewish home, with its memories as historic and venerable, continues practically unchanged in spirit, even in our American atmosphere. Its graceful lines are as clear, its inspirations as effective, its basic principles as potent as ever. Now, the American Israelite does not wish to be differentiated from his brother of another creed in all that pertains to citizenship, nor does he desire to be singled out for praise or censure as if he were an anomaly or an anachronism. Yet his home is certainly unique, and he need not be unduly sensitive if he be asked for the secret of that household's charm and vitality. What qualities give it undefinable power?

What formative influences are enshrined under its roof to make it one of the chief factors in the Jew's preservation? What subtle magic, even to-day with so many disintegrating tendencies, invests it with such strength and permanence? In other words, what does the Jewish home stand for?

1. It stands, first, for religion. That element is its basic principle, which enters as much into the home as into the synagogue, and in some respects is more prominent in the household. It associates religion with the daily life of the family and the individual, and blends ideal influences with the domestic atmosphere. On the very threshold, on the door-post of the house, is seen a rectangular piece of parchment, inscribed with two sections from Deuteronomy—a Mosaic command scrupulously observed for thousands of years—which embody the foundation of Jewish belief, the unity of God and the injunction to love Him with heart, soul and might, and to teach that belief to one's children—"and thou shalt write them on the door-post of thy house and on thy gates." With such a symbol ever present, the religious environment is undeniable. The historic festivals are scenes of family reunion. Sabbath eve is welcomed by a special ceremonial—when the Sabbath light is lit, emblem of happiness, and the double loaf of bread adorns the table, to signify the double portion which the Israelites of old were to gather in the wilderness on the sixth day, so as to keep the Sabbath holy. And even if in our keen competitive era a closed Saturday is impossible among the large majority of employees and employers, some distinction is preserved, the women and children attend service, household work is lightened. Each festival has its appropriate greeting, in whose message young and old share. There is blessing after meals, with traditional songs and melodies for all. There is nothing harsh or repressive in such an atmosphere—it spells joyousness, mutual affection, domestic peace. The home is in the shadow of the Almighty, who is no tyrant, but Father, Counsellor, Friend. It is an altar, with the parents as priest and priestess, and the impression is never lost on the children.

2. It stands for the historical consciousness of the Jewish people, being thus a school of knowledge and loyalty. Each prayer and ceremony, each festival and traditional observance, all have a meaning and history which the parent is commanded to make known to the child as the highest duty. These recall the past

with wonderful vividness and become eloquent object-lessons, as scenes of defeat or triumph, of the glory of national independence or the shame of exile are depicted. The race-consciousness is thus early developed and has something ennobling in its call to loyalty and sense of kinship with the leaders who have passed away. From childhood thus the boy and girl learn the story of their people. As they witness the Passover ceremonies, the centuries of serfdom in Egypt—a dim forecast of later serfdom in modern lands like Russia and Roumania—flash before their vision, and how genuine is the feeling of gratitude! As they learn the graceful lessons of Tabernacles, the harvest festival, when, amid thanksgivings for the fruits of the season, they were to remember the lowly huts wherein their ancestors sojourned when emigrants from Egypt, are they not taught humility and the law of modest living? When they light the lights on the feast of Dedication, the era of the Maccabees is brought close to our time, inspiring them to be loyal to their religious duties, whatever the obstacle. Hence the home is both place of worship and of instruction.

3. It stands for the unities of family life—those essential virtues which bless humanity and sanctify the home. Nothing can surpass the affection, the mutual helpfulness, the sentiment of reverence that unify the typical Jewish household. Parents and children vie with each other in intensifying and deepening the atmosphere of love. Under such conditions, happiness can result even if there is an absence of wealth and glitter, and the quiet, gentle life is preferred to social extravagance. The spirit of domestic love which permeates "The Cotter's Saturday Night" unconsciously suggests the Jewish home—the ties that bind parents and children are enduring in childhood and maturity, stretching out through every experience. In the ambitions of their sons and daughters, in their tasks and troubles, the parents show the keenest sympathy, always their patient and kindly advisers, ever spurring them on in their studies and pursuits, and placing before them the loftiest ideals. And, in turn, the child has respect and reverence for the parent, makes rapid progress in school, largely because of parental interest, and develops steadily along helpful lines under the impetus of a cultured home.

Need it be surprising, then, if the Jewish home stands for such vital factors that its influence should be so unmistakably

reflected in the status of the Jew—in his character, aims, acquirements, ideals? If in the past that home was a preservative, nourishing and shielding the most beautiful virtues, and furnishing examples of domestic peace and purity in ages when courts were dissolute and people were given over to coarse amusements and degrading superstitions, is it to be wondered at that its influence proves so salutary in our era? It still has power to preserve from fashionable vices, to insure marriage sanctity, to inculcate habits of self-restraint and self-control. The most formidable of present-day evils are intemperance and divorce, and these have reached proportions that are ominous for the future. Now, there are no statistics as to intemperance among Jews, simply because cases are so infrequent; and it may safely be affirmed that a Jewish drunkard is a rarity, and still rarer any instance where a home has been destroyed by a drunken parent. There is an innate horror of excesses and vicious living—the home example has instilled the lesson of self-control and moderation. Undoubtedly the dietary laws have accustomed the Jew to habits of self-restraint. It must not be imagined, however, that his home atmosphere is one of repression, of gloom, of asceticism; it is just the reverse, and hence there is little danger of swinging to the opposite extreme in later years. As to the divorce evil, here, too, there is a suggestive absence of data for generalization; but instances are exceedingly rare, especially where traditional principles are essentially maintained. No apprehension need be felt, under such safeguards, that the evil can ever gain a firm foothold in representative Jewish circles.

The subject now presents itself as to Christianity's influence on the Jewish home, and as to any recognition of its worth. The thoughtful, intelligent Jewish home cannot but acknowledge elements in the Christian religion and practice which make for human betterment, and which here on American soil have such magnificent expression in agencies that uplift and refine. Of course, this is a matter which, if discussed at too great length, might lead one into the labyrinth of theology and Scriptural interpretation. Without hesitation, the Jew accepts the spirit of the new movement which emphasizes the central unities of all religions, whatever are the points of disagreement that set the creeds apart. He has too long suffered from the narrowness of others to cherish the narrow outlook. He feels the borderland

widening and does his duty, when he consistently can, to bridge over the chasm and soften old-time asperities. The Ghetto was not originally a Jewish creation, but was forced upon the Jew with the gabardine and the yellow badge; and he is held responsible for an exclusiveness that is not inherent in Judaism, for a hateful and bigoted point of view which is to be credited to the persecutor, not to the persecuted. To-day the Jewish home is as open as was Abraham's tent in the legend. There is no uplifted spear at the portal, no hostile air within, but the spirit of the Mosaic command; "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and of the Hebrew prophet's declaration, "My house shall be a house of prayer for all nations." The broad teachings of the Jewish home, its kindly attitude towards mankind, find eloquent expression, not in mere sentimental phrases, but in the growing tendency of Israelites to bequeath gifts to education and charity, without distinction of creed.

In this analysis of the principles for which the Jewish home stands, there has been no conscious exaggeration. Traits have not been idealized, nor doctrines too broadly interpreted. In fact, a certain restraint has been felt, as if one were reluctant to describe its atmosphere, for it courts no publicity or recognition—a restraint, perhaps, which has often led to a want of requisite emphasis here and there. The genial culture that prevails, the refinement and simplicity which are characteristic, it has been shown, are combined with a notable breadth of view. It is more than a mere dwelling, a place to eat and sleep which is often regarded as a synonym for home—it is school, altar, shrine. Here the child is taught reverence and his elder self-control. Here education is held to be the truest and most permanent form of wealth, and life considered but preparation for higher existence. Here religion is associated with daily conduct and some self-sacrifice is demanded. Here it is constantly taught that all religions which make for goodness are divine and the pious of all creeds are sharers in future bliss. The universal elements in the olden faith are emphasized in the broadening and more helpful tendencies of the time. Certain picturesque elements when the environment was more exclusive may have passed away, but enough survives to make it a permanent factor for good and an object-lesson to the stranger without the gates.

ABRAM S. ISAACS.

DESIGN AS APPLIED TO CITIES.

BY SAMUEL PARSONS AND WILLIAM RUDOLF O'DONOVAN.

THE charm and picturesqueness of most of the older cities is a result of accidents of growth rather than of effort of design. It is the absence of design, considered in the sense of art, that produced effects dear to the artist, the archæologist, and generally stimulating to the imaginative observer. Pleasing as these effects may be to the onlooker of artistic or philosophical temperament, they may involve conditions which are, in many respects, quite unpleasant, inconvenient, and even unbeautiful to the citizen, as well as to the stranger who is more than a passing visitor. The much-regretted mediæval Paris, expunged by Baron Haussmann and Louis Napoleon, with its narrow, malodorous streets, was picturesque; but it was not nearly so beautiful, nor so charming a place to live in, as the more commodious city which was made to take its place. The first requisite of a city, indeed, as of a house, is that it shall be fit to live in, according to prevailing standards, and possess all requisite conditions, first, of health and comfort, and then of luxury and taste. It is the experience of those who have tried it that it is much easier and much less expensive to design and construct a new house answering these requisites, than to make over an old one. It is true that a house that has grown bit by bit to suit the convenience of its occupants from time to time may be made as comfortable, and is often more picturesque, than many a new one creditably designed; but it can scarcely have the beauty possible in a structure planned to fit harmoniously a definite place.

The older cities of the world have, of necessity, grown under diverse circumstances from their beginnings as fortified or walled towns into their present status of great centres of commerce, finance, manufacture, and consequent wealth, power, fashion, and

luxury, learning, art, and they have adjusted themselves to changing purposes through stress of necessity—through accidents of fire, flood, siege, sack, and pest—with less regard for beauty than may be reasonably expected in the future: reasonably expected, because modern discoveries and inventions have made many things practicable which could not be accomplished in earlier times. Walls have gone long ago; and steam and electricity are distributing populations over large areas, with the inevitable consequences of wider streets, parks, private gardens, sunlight, air, which conduce to health, cleanliness and beauty, and should make the city of the near future, of all places, the most desirable for residence. In fact, in this country, vast as it is, the rural population is fast coming to be suburban and urban, with all the advantages of increased means of civilization, enlightenment, good manners, urbanity and taste. Increased, and still increasing, knowledge of sanitation and the public necessity for it are doing away with the baleful sort of picturesqueness sometimes found in slums, the breeding-places of diseases, physical and moral, which inevitably spring from filth and spread contagion throughout a whole community, retarding to a great extent the influence of our multifarious agents of education.

It is said of Nero that, in order to rid the narrow streets of Rome of temples and shrines held inviolable through superstition, and to obviate disputes of experts as to valuations of condemned property, and to avoid interminable lawsuits, he solved these difficulties by having the city set on fire and burned. With us no such benevolent despotism is possible. We must depend for improvement either upon dishonest and grasping public servants, such as was the Tweed ring in New York, or upon more enlightened, honest and faithful officials, such as we may hope to have always with the help of a reasonably active and enlightened public opinion and press. Not even the arbitrary methods which enabled Haussmann, under the Empire, to transform Paris from a noisome mediæval city into the most beautiful and commodious capital of Europe, at a vast expense and in the face of hostile public opinion, would be possible there now, nor in London, nor in an American city. In France, in England and in the United States, power now is with the people, except at such times as through inertia they allow it to slip from them. It is true that, under the Tweed régime and under that of Sheppard in Washington, much was

accomplished for municipal improvement. Out of extraordinary activity of all kinds some good must come, as in cases of fire, pest, war, speculation or other disastrous visitations; but we should use all possible means of meeting the exigencies forced upon us by the quickening power of invention with less violence and waste. Eternal vigilance, it is said, is the price of liberty, and it may be as truly said that it is the price of all else that is of much worth in life.

Experienced men and women of good sense do not expect that the mere employment of the best attainable domestic servants will secure for them the best possible service without some exercise of vigilance on their own part. They must watch as well as pay; and the same applies with equal force to our public servants, who, being fallible, need help, and the spur of public opinion from every citizen. Fortunately, means of bringing such opinion to bear are, in these times of newspapers which find it to their interest to be interested in such matters, vastly increased, but even in this the people may not rest with security, nor delegate their power and prerogatives.

The great city of New York, which has increased within a century from a population of about one hundred thousand to one of over three and a half millions, and from an area of about one square mile to nearly 360, is growing along lines laid down by a Commission in 1807, according to a plan perfunctorily made, without proper regard either to utility or to taste—simply a grid-iron system of streets running from nothing to nothing, with no other purpose than monotonous directness, and necessarily without reference to topographical conditions. The same may be said of Philadelphia, of San Francisco, and indeed of almost all our cities.

Now, by such a method nothing is gained in point of utility, and certainly everything is lost in point of beauty. Obviously, neither utility nor economy is served by cutting a street straight through a hill when it might better, in all respects, be made to go round and up the hill, but that is done in New York as well as in other cities.

It was thought by the Commission which laid out New York a century ago that provision for public parks was needless, because on either side of the island were two great rivers which would afford ample breathing-space, and it has been through the utmost effort of campaigns of education, strenuously waged by an en-

lightened minority against short-sighted citizens and officials, that the now fine, but still inadequate, system of public parks in that city has been attained. The fact that public parks in all cities have proved astonishingly profitable investments has widened by so much the scope of the practical man's vision, the belief is thus encouraged that after a while he may be able to see the value of beauty as a money investment. In time, possibly in a short time, the utilitarian who serves not wisely but too well the useful purpose of a check upon æsthetic improvements, may be brought to a recognition of the fact that if, in structural things, usefulness falls short of beauty, the full value of the money expended upon them is not obtained.

There is, of course, in straight streets a certain element of use or convenience; but where straight streets are so made as to lead up to, or from, points of interest, as in the case of the avenues radiating from the Capitol at Washington, or from the Great Arch at Paris, the pleasure of their use is enhanced by the interest and beauty which they create and conserve.

That curved streets, even where they are not necessitated by the character of the ground, have a certain graceful dignity of their own, is illustrated by Regent Street, which forms one of the most pleasing parts of London.

The fact is that the underlying principle of structural beauty in the ground-plan of a city must rest in utility. That is to say, the streets must be so ordered that they shall lead up to a centre consisting of a public building, a railway station, a market, a bridge entrance, a park, an opera-house, or any point that may serve as the end of a vista. The root of it all is as old as the primitive town, or *tun*, of the progenitors of the English people in their German birthplace. Dwellings were built around a tree or a hill which was used as the town meeting-place, the whole being surrounded by a common or neutral ground and ditch, which was to become later the wall, and, when that was razed, the boulevard, as in Paris, in Vienna, and other old towns of Europe, forming now such pleasing features of interest, convenience and beauty.

The foregoing will indicate what is desirable, in a general way, in the ground-plan of a city—that is to say, the simple element of design which forms centres, with streets radiating from them, and fits them in all cases to irregularities of the ground. By these

means that variety which comes of fitness is invited on the part of the architect who has now little enough of inspiration, and finds it difficult to be rid of monotony where there is nothing but interminable straight streets, with few places from which a building may be seen from a distance.

In the circumstances invention is taxed to the utmost, and the impulse to be rid of the shackles of uniformity too often leads to the introduction of an architectural type from somewhere else into a place it does not fit.

We hear a great deal about the lack of a truly American art, and ways of arriving at it are constantly being devised and urged by more or less ingenious writers, and by societies for the promotion of art. As a matter of fact, if any art expression is serious and right, it is all that is desirable; if in all cases it is individual, it must in the aggregate be American, English or French, as the case may be. While any individual work of art should be considered as an entity, it must be conceded that the aggregation of streets and houses which make a city is of the greatest charm when it suggests or expresses the character of the people who have made it and live in it.

Having thus generally indicated the principles which should be applied to the further growth and extension of cities to adjust them to the quick and quickening means of movement, the means of having them applied are next to be thought of.

In New York there is a Municipal Art Commission, composed of representatives of the arts of Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, two lay members and presidents of two institutions of art, together with the Mayor *ex-officio*. For each place on this Commission three names are presented to the Mayor by ten Federated Art Societies, which embrace in their membership almost every architect, painter and sculptor of note in the United States. The powers of this Commission are restricted to veto. That is to say, it must pass upon all designs for public works in architecture, painting and sculpture. The power of refusing sites, within its jurisdiction, for statues or memorials rests with the Landscape Architect of the Department of Public Parks. In addition to this, the present Mayor of New York has created the New York City Improvement Commission, embracing representatives of Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Landscape Architecture, Engineering, Transportation, Finance, Sanitation and Municipal Govern-

ment. This Commission has merely an advisory function, without power of any kind save what may be given it as a court of first instance by public opinion.

With these means at hand, it would seem that New York may be in a fair way to cure some of the bad features of the plan of 1807, which applies to the whole of Manhattan Island, and is repeated in the added boroughs of the Greater New York, and thus impress upon other cities and towns a valuable object-lesson.

Possibly the more valuable and practical object-lessons may be worked out and illustrated in the smaller cities, which are less unwieldy and have a distinctively local pride. Indeed, in many of them—such as Chicago, Boston, Buffalo and Cleveland—much has already been done which the great metropolis may emulate to advantage. It may be considered one of the happiest auguries for the future of America that its metropolis has not a monopoly of taste, enterprise and invention, and that the metropolis is not above taking advantage of suggestions afforded by what is being done in lesser towns. Above and beyond all, hope of improvement rests in means of rapid movement, which of itself primarily impels improvement in much of all that makes life, for all people, of all conditions and kinds, comfortable, desirable and refining. Those who are more particularly interested in art by reason of professional work should make every possible effort to impress upon the public in general the fact that it is economy, and the conservation of means, to carry public utilities along into the uses of beauty, and that to fall short of this is sheer waste of means. There is no reason why the extensions of towns now being forced by rapid transit should not be along streets ordered with reference to the natural features of the ground; why they should not be made sightly in the character of their houses, as well as sanitary and comfortable; why parks should not be provided, street trees planted and properly cared for, as well as private gardens, large or small, as the case may be. That these things should be effected by comprehensively and artistically devised plans, to be made as soon as practicable, is of the utmost importance, as will be admitted when it is recalled that no end of depressing ugliness and incalculable expense has resulted in the past from lack of such enlightened forethought when means of expansion were but a fraction of what they are now. In no period in the development of the race has the most unimaginative utilitarian objected

to beauty in anything when it could be demonstrated to be entirely practicable, without additional expense. Now that experience has proved, for example, that public parks are a paying investment, the hard-headed part of all communities will not oppose the investment of a thousand dollars for land for a park, which would inevitably cost ten times as much after the region has been built up. A well-ordered structural house costs no more than a badly devised and ugly one. In fact, if one but looks around in any urban or suburban district one may find many houses that have been made quite unsightly in a laboriously expensive way, doubtless in most cases at the instance of the owner rather than of the designer. If in a certain district the fashion is set by a house planned in good taste, that fashion is more than likely to be followed until it is the prevailing mode, and the value of property in that neighborhood becomes thereby greatly enhanced. Now, when people living thirty miles away from their business are about as near it, so far as time is concerned, as they were a few years ago when five miles away, there is no economy in crowding them into narrow and ill-ventilated streets, and it is obviously to the interest of property-owners to insist that their values shall not be depressed because somebody, a dozen or a hundred years ago, devised a plan that officials are not willing to change.

That the proper ordering of streets in places not built up is, next to rapid transit itself, the most pressing need in present urban conditions cannot be questioned, and the fact that such ordering is to the present and future interest of every one concerned—and every one is concerned—should be kept in view, or much of the benefit of rapid transit will for the present be lost.

Of experienced, trained and even imaginative, creative, architects, we have many; and the number and efficiency of such may be confidently expected to increase in the ratio of demand for their services. The same may be said of landscape architects, to whom the designing of ground-plans of cities and public and private parks must be entrusted. Notable and beautiful as has been the work of Olmsted and Vaux in the parks of New York, of Boston, of Chicago and other cities, theirs is still with us, as elsewhere, an art in its beginnings, which may find fuller, more dignified and graceful expression as need of it is better apprehended.

SAMUEL PARSONS.

WILLIAM RUDOLF O'DONOVAN.

THE PASSING OF A PROPHET.

A TRUE NARRATIVE OF DEATH AND LIFE.

BY CHARLOTTE OSGOOD MASON.

I.

THROUGHOUT the centuries of human growth death has been as a nightmare to the heart of man—a king of terrors, crowned with fear and panoplied with grief. No race or soul might evade this king's dominion; none but must feel his influence and power. There have been sturdy folk who mocked him outwardly; there have been those in whom the very fear of him bred a superb and vaunting courage; there have been those who called on Faith to help them—invoking her mystic powers against his own; but all alike have felt his influence and have paid tribute to him.

Those pagan cults whose strength was rooted in the primeval element of sex dealt in the mysteries of procreation and of birth, striving thereby to solve the riddle or to break the spell of death. The accentuation of the sex idea, which was the badge of early Semitic thought, and probably characterized originally the thought of all nature-peoples, while it served as a stupendous factor in their evolution, served, when uncorrected by other elements, as an equally stupendous factor in their decay. Not even the fearless, joyous Greek emerged unpolluted from its influence. The nature-gods of the Orient, passionately adored for their fertility, were no less passionately mourned when their fertility was past. The grape was crushed in the wine-press; the god of life had shed his blood for his votaries: let the world lament. Moreover, the accentuation upon sex developed as its correlative the sense of possession, and in both its human and material phases no other passion breeds so tempestuous a fear of death. These waste elements in the sex ideal, elements which

have done their work and are now a menace to healthfulness and life, our civilization still blindly propagates.

With relation to the problem of mortality, Christianity as an Institution, in its various forms of asceticism, has annihilated the fear of death by annihilating equally the claims of life. In the same particular, Christianity as an Emotion has largely concentrated itself in poignant grief and ecstasy upon the figure of the suffering Christ dead upon the cross. Christianity as a Life did neither of these things.

To-day there is a reaction against the dead weights of the past. Man is exacting from the Universe his freedom in this world and in the unknown world to come. And between the two worlds the bridge is death.

With the aid of truer concepts of history, of ethics, of religion, we are beginning to see that the bridge, once shrouded in darkness and sentinelled with terror, may be a bridge of light, a rainbow over which humanity may pass to its Walhalla.

Even the physical sciences are teaching us this hope. Chemistry calls death but a translation of life occurring within the realm of chemical reactions, which reactions underlie the progressive alterations of the body during life. Death, then, goes with us in all the processes of being, from birth to the end of the body's existence. This is no strange and terrible conqueror, exacting sudden tribute, but an ally upon whom we have unconsciously depended for wise counsels and support. Biology delves into the ocean of primeval being and brings forth a pearl. Death, we are told, is not coincident with the first appearance of life. The simple cell lives on indefinitely by the mere division of itself into two perfect entities, but when nature in her wisdom discarded fission as a means of reproduction, and introduced the rudimentary forms of sex life which were destined to evolve the subtle physical and psychic organisms of man and woman, there entered into the universe the possibility of death. With the specialization of cells and their functions came also the interdependence of one cell or individual upon another cell or individual, and the consequent possibility of inhibition, gradual decline and death. In the evolution of species the appearance of death for the individual is thus linked with the possibilities of highest life for the whole. In the spiritual world of men and women the experience becomes conscious and beautiful in

proportion as the outlook of the individual is one of unselfish, joyous abandonment to the possibilities of greatest growth.

We are come within sight of a truth that shall uplift us, but to few of us as yet has it been given to live and die in accordance with the laws of truth. For the most part we still postpone the thought of death, harboring secretly the ancient terror, and perpetuating the ancient tribal symbols of lamentation and despair.

It would seem better that we should teach ourselves and our children to recognize the relation of death to the world of life.

Were we, for instance, to teach our child that Selfishness and Death must meet in battle; that the triumph of Death would mean victory for all the Father and Mother love in their child; that the triumph of Self would bring disaster and grief: that child would link death with the thought of conquering, and the very word would be robbed of the associations that make it terrible. We can only uproot the old idea of death by recognizing as death some of the elements we know to be most beautiful and beneficent in life. Thus we shall find the relation of things one to another. Those intense desires to achieve or possess that once filled us: of what significance are they to us later on? The passion becomes a dead thing; it falls away from our life; what once we longed for we would on no account possess. We ourselves live still, with finer ambitions, perhaps, and better purposes, and the desire has fulfilled its end. If we can but free ourselves from the controlling influence of passions that centre in our personal mechanism, intellectual or physical, we shall no longer fear that the passing of that mechanism will bring extinction to life itself. Such freedom makes us conquerors with God in our life and death experiences, and makes the death of the body a triumphant expression of the soul's supremacy.

Again, death and failure are of one blood—children of the same parent thought. Yet each exists that something finer may be born in us of our grief. A complete failure in the eyes of the world is often a glowing success in the universe of God; and, even if the failure be in the essentials of life, it will have vibrations powerful enough to sweep the experience into the realm of victory if the soul so wills. The force that produces the failure is ours to distribute into other channels. Such victories mean the death of the ignoble; they are victories wholly of the

spirit, and until manifested in the flesh, in a man's face or in his deeds, we of the world still treat the soul as if it had not been reborn.

Thus each day, in the growth of character, death may be the vanquisher of corruption, and an ally of life. Then let every attribute of our being depart if those attributes remain at the expense of our divine harmony with God. It is those of us in whom such changes never take place who truly suffer death. Mere existence is the deadliest foe to life. The people who merely exist live in a nether world, where the divine light does not penetrate. They have no power over inherited tendencies; devils and disease possess them, and only through suffering, the great revealer of failure, do they live vitally at last. There must be death and annihilation in some attributes of being before man can live to the highest.

No one can work out his ideal of himself without a real and healthy understanding of the place of death in the world. For the ideal of each one of us should include some conception of his own rebirth into the spheres—the rebirth of a soul, with little thought of sex. To think of the life here as a period of gestation—a formative, experimental phase—to think of each day as an opportunity to recreate our conception of ourselves, and to work out this ideal creation of our spirit, this should mean that we command, in a measure, at least, the forces of matter and of spirit, and that we are filled with beauty and radiate wisdom and love. Such preparation for the rebirth into a larger life should be the conscious and joyous accompaniment of our existence—a part of our effort to view life and death “under the aspect of eternity.” Such preparation would give us freedom from the mastery of desire. We should be reborn free, pure, without inherited tendencies from the past to be overcome in the unknown future. We shall learn in time to have equal reverence for birth and for death, and to prepare for both with holy and uplifting offices of true spiritual purification. To a life so ordered the moment of physical death could never come as a tragic interruption. When the hour of rebirth approaches, the soul intelligently breaks its bonds; quietly and consciously it severs the cord that binds it to the womb of the Earth-Mother, and goes forth into the spheres!

If there is to be majesty, if there is to be peace in the great

hour of birth, through death into life, the one who goes forth and those who remain must alike come into harmony with God. No intermediary gods can help us here. In the hours of greatest need it is not our friends, even the dearest, who are able to suspend or prevent the fate that tears us. Intermediary gods are for the quiet seas of life, not for the tempest and thunder-storms of the soul. When the shattering is past, our spirit must glow with the revelation of God's own majesty that is like the unfolding of the radiant heavens in the sunset hour when the storm is done. Little comfort may come to us from without save as we are at peace with the Master of Souls. Unless we have harmonized ourselves to His law, all else we may meet is dissonance which hurts and from which we flee.

Where there is harmony, where there is peace with God and His laws, there are many symbols whereby that harmony and peace may be made to speak to others, and it is for us to see to it that the freed spirit be not misrepresented by the rites and customs made easy—yet in truth how difficult—by habit and convention.

If we pour out our tears in grief they will dim the light of God that should shine from us now as at no other time. Grief may not dominate us: we must give freely to Wisdom the patience and moderation that Time will exact. We must do our own conquering. Let us bear aloft the Winged Victory and not entrust the conquest of our grief to Time. For us this is the hour of leadership. Is the one reborn into the Universe? We would be reborn upon the earth, and if the union of souls has been intimate and near, be assured that each in some holy and mysterious way knows the condition of the other and gives heed. It is to those who overcome that God gives consciousness of the powers of life and death.

II.

The plant that has rested under the warm mantle of purity throughout the winter bears the most perfect and fragrant flowers in the spring. So he, in that last winter, before the releasing springtime, folded about himself a mantle of purity and faithful trust such as only those may wear who, living in the divine attributes of their being, are yet strong to go on with the material life.

The hearth of the home was cold. Strong winds had threatened its fires, and the embers gave forth neither warmth nor light.

Yet was the daily round of duties done with energy unflagging. The woman companion on that highway Godward sought constantly for some quiet temple in the woods where the altar of the home might be set up and its fires rekindled. She dreamed that she should find and bestow upon the man at last the rest that no prophet of God has yet been granted in this world. But the winter snows spoke to her of the beautiful life of which they were the guardians, and never had the prophecy of spring so stirred in her mother-heart as now. Life must come from a silence so profound, a dedication so deep and pure! Yes, the home that she saw before her gaze held rest and peace and glory for the enfolding of that faithful one for whom she planned and labored. If inward voices whispered that the rest, the peace and glory were to be not of this world, she silenced them and would not hear. God sent His own voice, mighty and compelling, across the wilderness, but to her it seemed the trumpet-call to her own faith and courage. The dove of Hope spoke to her heart, and from the topmost branches of the forest poured the first bird-notes of spring. All life sang a song of faithful love to God and man. But the dear one bent a little lower and hurried to complete his task.

It needed but the touch of the divine finger for the miracle of spring to be wrought out. Already the atmosphere was charged with the divine life and love. To those who listened for the inner voice God revealed His presence and His purposes.

The wooded country yielded no temple for the resurrection of the home; the woman found a ruin at the end of every pathway that led to what had seemed a homestead in the vision of her hope. Only then did she stop and wait upon that divine inner voice, the voice that had been sounding in her ears since the sap had begun to rise in the trees.

As the unborn babe stirs with the prophecy of fuller life, so his spirit that was to be born into a life beyond stirred and made ready to be gone. While all life-forms renewed themselves he wandered into the solitary vales of his own being, there to find in some gentle resting-place within the forest the spring that would refresh his spirit. There he loosened the garments of earth: there, beneath the guiding hand of Death, he fashioned his garment of transfiguration.

Throughout his life he had tasted the bitter with the sweet.

For he was born under the Christ-Star in his mother's heart, and in her gentle faith the Christ triumphant meant Christ crucified. The vision of the conqueror triumphant in the world of men, because he triumphed in the world of spirit, had not yet dawned for her, and for her son it dawned not as a reality, but as a well-loved dream. The treasures of the earth that he had earned and would have blessed were sometimes seized by other men beneath whose touch the treasure turned to vanity. Yet, with the bitter, he had known the sweet, and he had grown consciously through each experience. He loved all forms of beauty; none was obscured to him: the beauty of the pure bodily joys of healthy manhood; the beauty of nature; the beauty of pure science, of religion, of companionship, of service. All the arts nourished him,—music he heard in all things, and if he could not find the divine harmony sounding in the souls of those who walked with him or passed him he was grieved. In all the forms of life and beauty that sustained him he saw God and worshipped. Yet to the temples reared by man he seldom went. His mission was to heal the sick—the sufferers in body, mind and spirit. He conceived that the loving soul of man could reach out and give aid to its fellows in ways of which a materialistic science takes no heed. It was his triumph that he stood squarely for this truth, reaching thus beyond the prescribed limits of his profession, yet retaining always the respect and faith of those who could not see as yet the path to which he pointed. In his work of healing he was a pioneer and a follower of Christ.

When to this man came the signal to prepare for the final hours of travail through the mystery of rebirth into fuller life—when the message of the spirit came to him, as it ever comes, in majesty and silence—he was ready to obey. In his soul reigned the beauty of holiness.

III.

The woman and the child stood enfolded in unseen warmth and strength. The consciousness of his presence was like the recognition of another sense. It brought a peace that was almost visible radiance. Together they watched the passing of the spirit: together they looked upon the quiet form relaxed and tender as a child's body. Even the habitation bespoke the purity of the life. The soul had not desecrated its beautiful home. Peace and Majesty rested upon the brow; Strength and Love

stood sentinels on either side of the fine mouth. It had weathered many storms, that well-trying home of three-and-seventy years; It had proved itself worthy of all honor and tenderness; yet had the soul flung wide the doors to the miracle of spring and had gone forth.

The loved ones who remained, standing there in the full sunlight of God's truth, were born into a larger consciousness. Never again would death be to them aught but one of the processes of the soul's life. No mere words could now convey between their souls and his the recognition and experiences of which each one was conscious. Yet the recognition held; the consciousness of an immortal love brooded above them all. The living looked still upon God's work; they knew that the creation was good, and that they might trust God and wait for the fuller revelation.

In the days that followed that strange hushed sense of recognition never failed. The room in which he had done his work, where lay the beautiful form that had contained his spirit, became the centre of the quiet life that still moved on. As he had always shared and led in all the great moments of the family life so now he led and shared. The letters were written at his desk and by his side, while the sunshine and sweet air that he had loved filled all the cheerful room. Friends came and were welcomed there. Only joy and beauty reigned in that sanctuary. It was the abode of holiness and peace—the peace that is born when life is lived in the consciousness of God. Terror and fear never entered in. The passion of rebellious grief found nothing upon which to feed. So quiet and so mighty had been his victory that sorrow lay at peace in the hearts of his loved ones. Few came into that Presence who were not caught up into the recognition of God's majesty. The others, if there were such, passed like shadows to whom it was given neither to see nor to be seen.

All these days the pure white draperies hung lightly about the resting form. The serene and noble face lay upturned to the light. So it was on the day of the last solemn fête. The same white draperies enfolded him; tall roses leaned against his couch, like the little children who used to crowd about his knee while he unfolded to them, with help of microscope or flower, the tender mysteries of God's world. A great branch from an apple-tree bloomed gloriously above his head, and everywhere were flowers.

There were no signs of mourning, for this was the festival of his rebirth, the festival of spring. The woman and the child greeted with radiant faces the friends who came. From the simple service, whatever did not declare the beauty of holiness and the love of God was carved away. The finite world pronounced with awe and reverence God's benediction over the habitation of that spirit that had passed into the infinite. Then the wonderful temple for the worship of God was restored to the elemental world. No long and terrible stage of material decay had part in that release. Consciously and lovingly the temple was given over to the most purifying of nature's elements. Because man's will was in accord with nature's own, nature did quickly and generously what in the end she must have done—but grudgingly and slowly.

IV.

Later, by some days, the woman received into her arms a precious burden. She bore it through the highways thronged with unknown men and women who were all unconscious of what it was she carried. She even stopped for a moment and shared in their activities. But all the while her whole being was filled with a surging tenderness, and with a sweeping sense of the power that is vested in us either to glorify or desecrate the experiences of life and death. She carried the burden out to that wooded country where she had hoped to found again the home.

While the summer was yet young the woman, again carrying the sacred burden, led three pilgrims up the steep leaf-covered pathway of a quiet wooded hill. Upon the western slope the woods gave way before an open field, and at the margin grew a straight young oak tree. From the hillside one beheld a vision of God's world, sun-bathed and beautiful, stretching away, it seemed, into the infinite.

Close to the oak tree the pilgrims halted, and there with reverent, unhurried fingers the woman and the child uncovered to the light the precious contents of the jar. There had been an instant of uncertainty and wonder—a wonder that knew not fear, because the past had barred fear quite away; but the heart had questioned silently, and had prepared itself to suffer. Dear God! There was no need. Within the shrine was only beauty, the same merciful and tender beauty that had healed and comforted at every turn. These fair white fragments touched with the

opalescent colors of the world were but the broken shells of human existence washed up by the great ocean of Eternity and Life. As she gazed upon them the woman thought that she looked down into the mysteries of earth's creative life, and saw how nature had given of her richest treasures to the building of a man.

And the woman spoke:

"Thou material form that we found beautiful living among us, we find thee beautiful still. Here we are gathered to give back to Mother-Earth all that she gave: all that is material we here give back to-day." The woman raised her head with the radiance of an inspired love upon her, and she spoke to the spirit that had passed: "If in thine own wisdom and knowledge of the processes of life—if, in the greater development, the fuller harmony with highest truth that now has come to thee, thou knowest a way to send the vision of that truth across the horizon of the waiting, seeking world—send it. To nature we give back the earthly form.

"Here are the oak trees that thou didst love so well; here are the wild roses and the song of birds; yonder the mountains and the horizon where the sunlight blends our world with that which is unseen. Here thy great spirit could have aspired. Here do I give back this fragmentary form to the great nature that thou didst love."

She stopped beneath the oak tree, and, with filled hands, reverently and tenderly she strewed the fragments at the oak tree's base. The other pilgrims followed in her lead.

The woman turned to them with shining face:

"We have given the material form itself to the oak tree—each of us. Now let us scatter all that is left to the winds—yes, let us give it to all the world, even as he sought in life to strew his strength and goodness wide over all. From everything in life there is an overflow, an effulgence that reaches into space. And as the spirit radiates, so radiates also the material form. We have given all that had shape to this sacred spot beneath the oak tree; now let the overflow reach all the world." She lifted both full hands. "Come, let us go together to the edge of the hill; we will sow it like grain," she said.

"United we give these ashes out upon the winds. May all those who loved him be with us now in spirit: may they, too,

share in the gift of this to all the world. When they are come to the invisible gateway, may they, too, pass through in majesty and peace.

“And now, O Thou Infinite Spirit, fill us with that divine strength which unites us with Infinite Life, and with all its manifestations helpful to others and to ourselves wherever that Life is. Help us to live so in touch with the Eternal and Infinite that we may give out all that we see of truth,—broadly, truthfully and tenderly. This was his aspiration, this is for what he lived. And so we in this hour dedicate ourselves to Truth.”

The woman bowed her head and silently withdrew with backward steps, her face still turned to the horizon.

Such is the message of Death and the Rebirth.

CHARLOTTE OSGOOD MASON.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY CLAYTON HAMILTON AND CAROLYN SHIPMAN.

"SAPPHO AND PHAON."*

CONSIDERED as a poem to be read, Mr. Percy Mackaye's "Sappho and Phaon" surpasses all his earlier productions. Considered as a play to be acted, it does not pass beyond their ineffectiveness. In this age of specialization, it is, perhaps, presumptuous to expect a man to be at once a poet and a dramatist. The art of literature and the art of the theatre were wedded in the spacious times of great Elizabeth; but conditions have changed since then, in the playhouse and out of it; the two arts have grown divorced; and not even in the work of Mr. Stephen Phillips have they been completely reconciled. In all of his work thus far, Mr. Mackaye has shown talent as a poet and lack of talent as a playwright. He seems to sense his themes as narrative, instead of drama; and he writes in closet-verse, instead of theatre-verse. Even "Jeanne D'Arc," which evoked considerable commendation when performed by Miss Marlowe and Mr. Sothorn, was a transitory panorama of narrative and lyric episodes; instead of a firmly builded play, marching through a clash of character on character to a culmination and a consequent catastrophe. Mr. Mackaye will never be an effective dramatist unless he learns to appeal to the mind of the multitude instead of the mind of the individual; unless he learns to care more for his people than for his poetry; unless he learns to write for the sake of his scene rather than for the sake of his writing; and unless he learns to build for the spectator instead of for the reader.

The greatest fault of "Sappho and Phaon" as a play to be

* "Sappho and Phaon." A Tragedy. By Percy Mackaye. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1907.

acted is its greatest merit as a poem to be read. This merit or this fault (according to the point of view) is elaborateness—elaborateness both of structure and of style. The tragedy is set forth in a prologue, an induction, a prelude, three acts, two interludes and an epilogue; and it is written in prose, trimeter, tetrameter, pentameter, hexameter, and the Sapphic stanza. One trembles for the producer who will undertake to set and for the actors who will undertake to speak the lines of such a play. But verdict on the piece as a theatrical production must be reserved until the curtain rises in the fall; and henceforth in the present paper I shall consider it merely as a work of literature, and call attention chiefly to its merits, not its faults.

The elaborateness of the author's mechanism is occasioned by the historical imagination with which he approaches the main business of his story. At some future time, an American archæologist named Medbery is engaged in the excavation of an ancient private theatre in Herculaneum. In the players' quarters he discovers a make-up box and certain stage properties which were used in B.C. 25 by the actor Actius and the mime Nævoleia in a special performance of a tragedy by a Roman poet, Varius; and he discovers also the manuscript of the play. Dreamfully then the scene, without changing its place, shifts its time backward through the centuries to a moment just before that special performance, when Varius brings his poet-friends Horace and Virgil to a colloquy with Actius. Then follows the production of Varius's tragedy, "Sappho and Phaon," with pantomimic interludes between the acts; and when at last the tragedy is melting to a close, the scene reverts again to the future, with Medbery musing over the deep discovery of the subterranean world.

In this novel and imaginative way, Mr. Mackaye furnishes his ancient-seeming tragedy with a reason for existence. With Medbery's enthusiasm the reader delves among antiquities until he finds himself spectator of the play; and thus by easy stages he makes his journey to the old Ionian isles. It must be admitted, however, that the induction seems designed for no more dramatic purpose than merely to introduce the personalities of Horace and Virgil. Yet, both are admirably sketched—Horace, with his small talk about "the ample voluptuous scallop" and "the lush, lascivious oyster," and Virgil, with his bucolic calm,—

"I think the view
Behind your villa, Varius,
Is beautiful: Vesuvius
Raising its quiet dome of green
Above us in the blue; below us
The red roofs of Pompeii, and
The sea—a blazing shield."

But Actius's defence of the player's calling, which is introduced gratuitously into the scene, seems to me inferior to others in our elder literature,—that, for example, which Thomas Heywood prefixed to his "Apology for Actors" in 1612.

Although the reader moves with interest through the intricate inductive labyrinth, it is hard for him to feel, when the tragedy is finally disclosed, that it is (as he is asked to suppose) the work of a Roman poet. For the play is modern in thought, in method and in style. In tone, it is romantic and not classic. It is Greek only in the purity of its artistic purpose, in the passionate simplicity of certain passages, and in its occasional employment of rhythms out of the Anthology. It observes the unities of action, time and place; but it is constructed without a chorus, and its nemesis is not fatality (the classic motive for tragedy), but attitude of character toward life (the modern motive).

Sappho, the poetess of Lesbos, is beloved by Pittacus, the tyrant of Mitylene, and Alcæus, the lyric poet. She is cold to both of them; for she loves Phaon, a public slave and fisherman. Phaon is married to Thalassa, a slave woman, by whom he has two children. We may suppose that he is beautiful of body; but he shows neither beauty nor ability of mind, until Sappho influences him and he mirrors the fire of her own poetic passion. With her he flees from the habitable world; but the inertia of the commonplace commands him to return. His younger child has died of neglect; and now in the dark he mistakes his elder child for Alcæus, and slays him. Thus bereft, he trembles from his eminence of passion, and returns to Thalassa. Sappho hurls herself into the sea.

It will be seen that the leading motive of this story is the conflict, within Sappho's bosom, between liberty of passion and the restraint of social law. This is a modern motive. Glorious at first in the ecstasy of individual emotion, she cries of "the teeming, terrible maternal sea,"—

"I will be free of her!
 Her ways are birth, fecundity, and death,
 But mine are beauty and immortal love.
 Therefore I will be tyrant of myself—
 Mine own law will I be! And I will make
 Creatures of mind and melody, whose forms
 Are wrought of loveliness without decay,
 And wild desire without satiety,
 And joy and aspiration without death."

But tamed at last by drear experience of actuality, she prays to Poseidon,—

"God of the generations, pain and death,
 I bow to thee.—Not for love's sake is love's
 Fierce happiness, but for the after-race."

(A New England commonplace which the imagined Roman Varius would not have written.)

"Yet, thou eternal Watcher of the tides,
 Knowing their passions, tell me! Why must we
 Rapturous beings of the spray and storm
 That, chanting, beat our hearts against thy shores
 Of aspiration—ebb? ebb and return
 Into the songless deep? Are we no more
 Than foam upon thy garment?—flying spume
 Caught on thy trident's horn, to flash the sun
 An instant—and expire? Are we no more?"

But, although the play is modern both in thought and in method, it is in spirit synchronous with antiquity. And it is without surprise that the reader comes upon such echoes of the actual ancient Sappho, as this lovely fragment,—

"Soon shall the moon on the waters
 Sleep, and the Pleiades; midnight
 Come and the darkness be empty,
 I in the silence—be waiting:—"

or as this ultimate Sapphic stanza,—

"Beautiful Sister, goddess of desire,
 Come to me! Clasp me in your wings of sunrise
 Burning, for see! I go forth to you burning
 Still.—Aphrodite!"

There is noble poetry in these passages, and in many others. At times the verse is too carefully patterned, both in rhythm and in literation; it calls attention too flauntingly to its author's verbal talent. But oftener it is simple, sensuous, impassioned. And the mood of the whole poem is richly imaginative.

As I suggested at the outset, I doubt that "Sappho and Phaon" will prove of interest to the average audience when it is presented on the boards by Mr. Fiske, with Mme. Kalich in the leading rôle. But in its present aspect as a poem to be read, it is very worthy work. Seekers for an evening of loveliness will do well to muse upon it, quietly.

CLAYTON HAMILTON.

WILLIAM JAMES'S "PRAGMATISM."*

ACCORDING to their individual temperaments, philosophers are broadly divided into rationalists and empiricists, the "tender-minded" and the "tough-minded," to use Professor James's distinction. The rationalists are believers in abstract and eternal principles; they are intellectualistic, idealistic, optimistic, religious, free-willist, monistic, dogmatical. The empiricists are lovers of facts, sensationalistic, materialistic, pessimistic, irreligious, fatalistic, pluralistic, sceptical.

These distinctions appear to be so radical as to array the followers of the two systems of thought irrevocably against each other. Yet they can be reconciled, and it is pragmatism that is the mediator.

What is pragmatism, and what is its value to philosophy?

Briefly, it is (1) a method whose essence is action, (2) a genetic theory of what is meant by truth. It represents the empiricist attitude, which turns its back on fixed habits, abstractions, verbal solutions and finality in truth, and faces towards facts, concreteness, action, possibilities of nature and power. It has no dogmas; it does not stand for special results, because by the very connotation of the term, absolute, final results are impossible. Empiricism presupposes endless experiment and progress, the conclusions of one generation of thinkers giving way to other and better deductions based upon new facts,—not the

* "Pragmatism. A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking." Popular Lectures on Philosophy. By William James. Longmans, Green & Co.

closed circle of the rationalistic philosopher, whose world is immutable, and without relation to individual minds and their efforts.

Pragmatism maintains cordial relations with positive religious constructions as well as with facts. It is a *via media* capable of satisfying the demands both of religion and of science. Its temper is diplomatic; listening, observing, weighing, concluding, with mind set towards the future, and always open to conviction, ever ready for fresh truths founded on old ones; "an attitude of orientation . . . looking away from first things, principles, 'categories,' supposed necessities, and looking towards last things, fruits, consequences, facts." It is a method of interpretation of metaphysical questions by tracing practical consequences.

Its ever-recurring question is, What *difference* does this or that belief make? What is the *concrete consequence*, the "cash value," as Professor James puts it?

The Italian pragmatist, Papini, describes it as lying in the midst of our theories, like a hotel corridor. In one room is an atheist writing; in another, a mystic praying; in a third, a chemist experimenting; in a fourth, an idealistic metaphysician expounding his theories; in a fifth, another philosopher refuting the metaphysician's arguments. But they all share the corridor, and must use it to communicate with one another.

The method is not new. It was used by Socrates, Aristotle, Locke, Berkeley and Hume, but fragmentarily. Schiller, the Oxford exponent of the theory, calls it Humanism,—the doctrine that the world is plastic; "it *is* what is made of it," and therefore our truths are "man-made products," like law and language. They *make themselves* as we go.

Such bold statements are bound to antagonize the rationalist, whose nature it is to rise in revolt against anything that disturbs the old order of things. The purely rationalistic type of mind cannot admit new ideas. To him reality is ready-made, and he accepts it, without a murmur, as he finds it. To him the words "God," "Matter," "Reason," "the Absolute," are names upon which he can rest. To the pragmatist, a word is merely "a programme for more work," with a practical "cash value" if it is worth anything. To him, theories are merely instruments, not answers to enigmas.

Just as the orthodox Christian turns with most interest to that

chapter in the Unitarian belief which treats of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, so the rationalist studies with searching, and often scornful eye, the pragmatic conception of certain metaphysical problems, *e. g.*, Substance, God, Design, Free Will.

The scholastic notion of Substance is a something behind the attributes of an object in which they inhere, and through which the Substance is made known to us. The pragmatic idea of Substance is precisely Berkeley's: the sensations of matter, *e. g.*, color, form, hardness, etc., are its sole meaning for us. We need not concern ourselves with the vague "something" behind those sensations. The presence of matter means those sensations; its absence, the lack of them.

The only instance in which the Substance *per se* has any pragmatic application is the Eucharist, granting "the real presence." Since the attributes of the wafer do not change, the divine substance must be miraculously substituted for the bread substance.

Transcendental idealism postulates an absolute, a mind which creates a universe by thinking it, and which embraces all things in itself—evil and good, finite and infinite, each of the pair necessary to the existence of the other. The God of traditional theism is an exalted monarch who lives on as high a plane of abstraction as the other.

Professor James criticises both of these "majestic conceptions" on the ground that they have no relation to concrete experience and are too remote from this world of sordid conditions. A belief in the presence of the Everlasting Arms, he says, furnishes comfort to a most respectable class of minds, but "it substitutes a pallid outline for the real world's richness."

To a student of Spencer's "First Principles," who has sat outside the door of that philosopher's unknowable, trying with strained, tired eyes to peer into the inner darkness, where not even a flitting, amorphous fragment gave evidence of things not seen, the following characterization of Spencer will prove impressively picturesque:

"His dry schoolmaster temperament, the hurdy-gurdy monotony of him, his preference for cheap makeshifts in argument, his lack of education even in mechanical principles, and in general the vagueness of all his fundamental ideas, his whole system wooden, as if knocked together out of cracked hemlock boards—and yet the half of England wants to bury him in Westminster Abbey."

Just here the personal equation comes in. Religion and philosophy are largely a matter of temperament, even of physical condition. Undoubtedly if the Father of Pessimism had not been a confirmed dyspeptic, the history of philosophy would have been quite different in respect of Schopenhauer. Conservatives in temperament will always be formalists,—rationalists, Romanists, mystics, etc.; radicals will always seek to burst the bonds of convention. Professor James admits that if belief in Absolutism affords any degree of comfort to any one, it has so much "cash value" and must be duly considered, since "true is the name of whatever proves itself to be good, for a definite reason, in the way of belief."

To the theologian, Design in nature proves the existence of God. To the pragmatist, "Design" is what Professor James calls a blank cartridge, as it carries no consequences. *What* design and *what* designer? are the only questions that concern him, and the answer can be found only in the study of facts. Confidence in the future because of a "seeing force that runs things" is the only pragmatic justification for belief in design.

Free-will, to consider another metaphysical problem, is regarded by rationalists as a virtue, the possession of which gives peculiar dignity to man, thereby making him more admirable. But the belief in Free-will is really founded on pragmatic grounds, since it implies novelties in the world, a future which does not absolutely repeat the past. It has no meaning pragmatically unless as a melioristic doctrine, says Professor James, with improvement as a possibility,—a cosmological theory of promise, not a petty doctrine involving punishment and rewards of merit. Pragmatism here spans the gulf between the two extremes of rationalistic free-willism and empiricist fatalism. Like the athlete whose final triumph in the race is determined by the rigor of his daily training, so the individual, at an ethical crisis (I take it), acts in accordance with his nature at the moment of his "decision" (determinism), that nature having been fortified by mental effort along the desired lines (free-will).

There are three classic stages in the career of a theory, says Professor James. First, it is attacked as absurd; then admitted to be true, but obvious and insignificant; finally it is seen to be so important that its adversaries claim to be its discoverers. The theory of pragmatism is slowly advancing from the first to

the second stage, and perhaps there lives no better exponent of the open-mindedness, concreteness and vitality necessary to get it into the third stage than Professor James. "Better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied; better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied," said John Stuart Mill, to whom this book is dedicated as to one who might be the leader of Pragmatism were he alive to-day.

Pragmatism is not a philosophy of dissatisfaction, but it is a revolt against a universe "with a tight belly-band," where all metaphysical questions are forever settled and shelved by thinkers whose opinions are no more worthy of consideration than their opponents'.

The belief in rationalism is like acceptance of Romanism. Once you are in the ship you're safe, but you're also anchored. If you embark on the vessel of Pragmatism, you sail out into a world of promise, in the spirit of adventure which says, "If I lose, I do but lose. If I gain—what enormous possibilities!" You accept the mutability of all things (including truth) as you would the prospect of storms. It is the major premise of your syllogism.

I know personally the fascination of transcendental idealism. Its spell is potent at the age when one wishes to see the universe written down in terms of finite and infinite. Its authoritative-ness seems a brilliant answer to the riddle of the universe, like the glittering ball which the hypnotist holds before his subject. But it doesn't get you anywhere! From the pragmatic point of view, the noble heights of contemplation and the rarefied air of speculation and theory have use only as they provide strength for the contests in the valleys below; abstractions are all right if they carry you anywhere, says pragmatism.

From the point of view of mere interest, then, pragmatism is infinitely superior to either rationalism or materialism, for according to this theory, the world is malleable, and eternally incomplete; beliefs are merely rules for action, and the only value of thought is dynamic. No one can deny, says Professor James, that to believe ourselves creators of reality would add to our dignity and to our responsibility as thinkers. The tonic effect of such a belief is the same as one feels in leaving the close, incense-laden air of a cathedral for the pure, invigorating air of the moors.

CAROLYN SHIPMAN.

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: ST. PETERSBURG.

LONDON, *July, 1907.*

ENGLAND has followed with an interest not wholly free from disquietude the rumors and counter-rumors of American naval changes. Whether Mr. Metcalf was making an unauthorized stroke off his own bat, whether he spoke with the approval of the President and the Naval Board, whether, in short, the contemplated voyage of the main American fleet from the Atlantic to the Pacific is really to take place, we over here do not definitely know. Nor are these the only points on which our information is meagre and confused. Assuming that the move has been officially determined upon, we are wholly at sea in guessing whether it is merely a temporary disposition, "simply a matter of routine in the management and drill of the navy," as Mr. Loeb declared it to be, or whether it foreshadows a permanent redistribution of the American naval forces. Is it of no more significance than the familiar cruises of American squadrons in European waters, or is it, as the London "Outlook" surmises, "a political and a strategical event of the first moment—the most important event of its kind since our own concentration of naval strength a year or two ago"? What is its objective? Is the Atlantic seaboard to be denuded of battle-ships simply that the citizens of San Francisco, who, so far as is known in England, have not of late done much to deserve the favors of the Federal Government, may be regaled with a sight of the most powerful fleet that the United States has ever assembled? Is it the official intention that the twenty-odd men-of-war, after their sixty days' voyage, shall merely burn a certain amount of coal off the Golden Gate, and then return whence they came? Or will they, when they leave San Francisco, point west instead of south, cross the

Pacific and drop anchor in Manila Bay? Or will a sufficient number of them remain off the western coast of the continent to form the nucleus of a permanent Pacific squadron? Are we to understand that the voyage marks the beginning of the systematic assertion of American power in the Pacific and hints at what will prove to be the final disposition of American naval forces—a small squadron in the Atlantic and a far larger one in the Pacific? And, lastly, what political inference, if any, is to be drawn from the decision to effect the transfer from the one ocean to the other at this particular moment? Does it mean that, from the standpoint of American interests, the Atlantic has descended and the Pacific has risen in the scale of ultimate political and strategical importance? Is the voyage no more than an opportune riveting of the many links of sympathetic cooperation and good-will forged by Mr. Root during his South-American tour? Or is the occasion for it to be sought in the friction that has arisen between the United States and Japan? Or, as the eloquent *communiqués* from Oyster Bay would have the world believe, has it no international significance of any kind whatsoever? May one, in fact, put it down as nothing more than a novel, interesting, but in no sense portentous, experiment in naval manœuvres—an experiment that, if carried out, will overwhelmingly demonstrate the strategical necessity for the Panama Canal and the inadequacy of the present naval forces of the United States for the protection of her two coast lines?

These are all points that the English press, English publicists and English naval men are eagerly canvassing. Their resultant opinion, on the main question at any rate, is definite enough. They agree that the expulsion of Spain from Cuba, the revolution in Anglo-American relations and the constantly diminishing probability of a European war arising out of the Monroe Doctrine, have within the last ten years made it unnecessary for the United States to maintain in the Atlantic much more than a mere police and patrol squadron. At the same time, their interests, commercial, political and territorial, in the Pacific and in the Far East have enormously expanded. If, therefore, it really be the intention of the American Government to transfer the bulk of the fleet from the Atlantic to the Pacific, Englishmen believe that the intention needs no further justification than may be found in these two facts. They look upon it as a re-

arrangement that, in all its essentials, was determined by the results of the war with Spain and their consequences.

But, while approving and defending, on general grounds, the projected move from the New York to the San Francisco side of the continent, English opinion is inclined to question its expediency at this precise juncture, and to think that it is likely to complicate a situation already none too easy. Granting that its necessity arose long before, and was in no way connected with, the trouble between the United States and Japan, it is still held over here that a decision which would inevitably be twisted into looking like a demonstration against Japan, or at least a strong precaution against Japanese "designs," should for the present have remained unannounced. The vast majority of Englishmen have no fear of any serious breach of the excellent relations that have hitherto obtained between America and Japan. But they suspect that those relations, in their popular if not their official form, are not now quite so cordial as they have been; they realize that the question of Japanese coolie immigration is still far from being at an end; and, with Japanese pride on the one side and the yellow press and American "politics" on the other, they think it not impossible that public feeling on both sides of the Pacific may be worked up into a state of irrational but none the less disquieting tension. They regard it, therefore, as of some importance that the San Francisco mob should not be led into thinking that its methods of provocation are not without official endorsement; and it is because the voyage of the American fleet from the Narrows to the Golden Gate might just now appear to convey this endorsement that Englishmen find it in their hearts to wish it had been postponed. I need scarcely add that all this speculation about America's alleged plan of naval redistribution has immensely whetted European interest in the specific question of Japanese immigration into the United States. England's interest in this question is twofold. In the first place, she is the ally of Japan and therefore interested in all that concerns the foreign relations of Tokio, even though the matter at issue may lie, as this one does, wholly outside the scope of the alliance. In the second place, she is watching California for a hint as to how to deal with, or rather how not to deal with, a problem that sooner or later will confront herself in British Columbia, in New Zealand and in Australia. Already the Im-

perial Government has found itself obliged to disallow a law passed by the legislature of British Columbia excluding Japanese coolies. In Australia, the feeling against the yellow man as a competitive settler is perhaps the nearest approach to a really national sentiment that the antipodean continent can boast. With that feeling Great Britain, at whatever jeopardy to the Japanese alliance, must ultimately associate herself. The "Spectator," which to a degree unrivalled by any other journal represents the reflective common sense of England, clearly recognizes this. In an extremely earnest and forcible article that appeared on July 13th, it said:

"We have the highest admiration for the valor, the patriotism, the genius and the great spiritual qualities of the Japanese, and none desire more ardently than we do to live on the friendliest terms with them, and to see them play that great part in the world's history which we believe they are destined to play if they are content to move at first slowly and prudently. At the same time—as they, we are sure, will be the first to admit—be the claims of logic and pure reason what they will, our duty in the last resort is to our own flesh and blood. We must stand by our own people, and by the communities which form part of our Empire. This does not, of course, involve standing by them in outraging any moral or religious or political obligation; but stand by them we must when they are vindicating with reason and moderation and a due regard to justice their instinctive feeling that they can only develop their national life on the highest scale if they remain white men's countries, governed in accordance with the ethical and religious ideals of the Western races."

I have reproduced this somewhat lengthy passage, partly because I know of no one in England who would not subscribe to it, and partly because Americans may derive consolation from studying it. They will realize after reading it that the difficulty which confronts them in California is by no means peculiar to themselves alone. Identical troubles are in store for Great Britain, and may yet profoundly affect the course of British foreign policy and the relations between the Home and Colonial Governments. It is a fact, not without its obvious bearing on the future of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, that the Californians, in their proceedings against the Japanese should have found in Australia, New Zealand and British Columbia the support and approval apparently denied to them by their own fellow countrymen.

While the American Navy Department at Washington seems

to have been coming in for a good deal of criticism from Americans, the British Admiralty has also been subjected to the attacks of its countrymen. Indeed, for the past few months, England has been passing through one of her periodic, healthy and thoroughly commendable scares about the navy. I say "healthy" and "commendable" because, in a country like this, where the impulse toward reform is generated from below and not imposed from above, it is a most encouraging sign that, in the most vital of all national questions—and there is no British question that will begin to compare in importance with that of the navy—the people and the press should take a sustained and vigilant interest. Unquestionably, at this moment, there is a feeling in the public mind that all is not well with the British navy. Ever since Sir John Fisher was appointed First Sea-Lord, the most drastic schemes of naval reorganization have been initiated and enforced. With the pivotal basis of those schemes—the concentration, namely, of British sea-power in home or, at any rate, European waters for the purpose of offsetting the growth of the German high sea fleet—the country is in entire agreement. But with various details of the new *régime*—particularly with the newly devised system of educating officers—and with some of the consequences of the redistribution of the fleets, criticism has been free and even violent. I have in mind especially the question of retrenchment. Within the last three years the naval estimates have been reduced by over \$30,000,000; the personnel of the navy has been cut down by three thousand; the number of workmen in the Royal Dockyards is said to be eight thousand less than it was in 1904; many naval stations all over the world have been abandoned; in the last ten years it is asserted that England has laid down only sixty-four destroyers to Germany's seventy-two; and the present programme of construction is said to have not merely fallen below the two-Power standard but to be on a smaller scale than that of a single European rival. In addition to this, grave allegations are made to the effect that the composition, training, equipment and disposition of the Channel Fleet make it inferior to the force that Germany could at any moment bring against it, while the Home Fleet is roundly declared to be "not a true fleet, but a more or less fortuitous concourse of naval atoms."

I am not a naval expert and dare neither refute these charges

nor endorse them. But, using simply such common sense as an uninstructed layman can bring to the study of the problem, I incline to the opinion that, though they spoil it by needless heat and exaggeration, the critics of the Admiralty have substantially a good case, that the Channel Fleet is below its prescribed strength and not organized with the completeness essential to a force that is supposed to be ready to strike at a moment's notice, that the system of "nucleus crews" is impairing efficiency and discipline, and that the Home Fleet—the second line of defence—is not instantly available for war and, so far as I can gather, will not be so for another fifteen months or two years. I do not, on the other hand, believe for a moment that the charge of sacrificing efficiency to economy—a charge always preferred against Radical governments in this country—is well founded. Moreover, it is, I think, a sound view that the shortcomings, such as they are, in the present state of the British navy are due not to any radical defect, but the temporary confusion inseparable from any great scheme of reorganization. They are not on that account any the less serious or reprehensible, and I am bound to say that a great many people, including officers in the service, believe them to be more widespread and detrimental than the surface indications would lead outsiders to suspect. This view is strongly held by a section of the Navy League, that admirable non-party organization which has done more than any other body to foster popular interest in the navy. The more militant spirits in the League, feeling that the inactivity of the executive committee in the face of the naval reductions amounted to a betrayal both of the country and of the League's *raison d'être*, summoned an extraordinary meeting on July 19th, at which some exceedingly pointed language was used. The executive committee managed to secure the adoption of an amendment in its own favor by a moderate majority, but the views expressed and the feeling engendered during the three hours' debate showed the intensity of doubt, suspicion and perplexity with which those who have most closely studied the subject regard the naval situation.

ST. PETERSBURG, July, 1907.

"THE miserable have no other medicine, but only hope," Shakespeare tells us. That is emphatically the case of the Russian people of to-day, who unfortunately cannot take even that

comforting potion in any but homeopathic doses. In all quarters of the compass, the horizon looks black, the sky lowering, and only the optimistic think they can descry a silver lining to the clouds. Probably no such extraordinary political situation has been known since the dawn of history. It is unique. The nation, or the spokesmen of the nation, refuse to be satisfied to-day with a constitution a mere fraction of which would have contented them two years ago. They ask for a democratic parliamentary *régime* which must spring from the brain of the Premier ready made, as Minerva sprang from the head of Zeus. The Cabinet, falsely suspected of strong leanings towards autocracy, is really moving heaven and earth to get a Parliament accepted and established as part of the machinery of government. Thus the rôles of the two adversaries have been entirely changed: the Tsar's Ministers are now the champions of constitutionalism, while the democratic parties are straining every nerve to oppose it. The latter maintain that half a loaf is not better, but worse, than no bread at all. Hence their motto is, "Everything or nothing." M. Stolypin, on the other hand, entreats them to take what is being offered, and to use that as a stepping-stone to their own goal. "That is the natural course to take; it is the historical method; it is the only safe system." But they refuse. And each party proceeds to put unconstitutional pressure on the Ministers and the Crown: these by means of political assassination, those by systematic attacks on the finances, and a third group by elaborately sowing discord in the field of foreign policy between Russia and her ally. One and all, they seem unable to grasp the fact that, whoever may succeed in sowing the wind, the whole nation will be forced to reap the whirlwind. If France and Russia fall out, the result will inevitably be a close friendship between the Tsardom and the Kaiserthum, to the detriment of representative institutions. In like manner, if Russia's financial credit abroad be seriously impaired and her solvency at home endangered, one of the consequences will be a check to liberal reforms, not one of which can be effected without money.

At present the attitude of the Russian people may be described as that of suspense. The bulk of the nation cannot see clearly through the political tangle, and even most of the political orators are sorely puzzled by the experiences of the last few months. And nobody knows or can guess what is coming next.

The feeling is general that a Duma of the type already tested is unsuited to the nation, but it is equally general that no statesman or politician has as yet learned the magic word, the open sesame, to legality, order, prosperity. None the less, it would be wrong to despair, as so many Russians are prone to do. For the recuperative powers of the nation are extraordinary. Like those curious mosses which, apparently dead and desiccated, yet come to life after many years, increasing and multiplying as in the days when they were young, the Slav people are endowed with uncommon vitality. More than once before, history tells us, they were in quite as sorry a plight as that of the present moment, and yet they somehow went through the ordeal unscathed. Is not the past, in this case, a safe index to the future?

One hundred and forty years ago, the Great Empress Catherine made an experiment in the domain of representative government which bore a striking likeness to the essay which her successor Nicholas II is making in the same sphere to-day. She convoked a parliament which was to act as the intermediary between the nation and the Crown, to share in the responsibility of the monarch and assist the Government to make just laws for the people. The enterprise was well meant, but the masses could not grasp its significance. They lacked moderation; self-mastery and patience were unknown to them; and they set back the reform movement nearly a century and a half. But before they went to their homes, they addressed the Empress in the following words, which were lately laid before Nicholas II by one of his advisers:

“When we look around upon the phenomena of the time in which we live, our soul is thrilled, and the fall of the Empire presents itself in lively colors to our imagination. We behold our religious faith given over to the contempt and mockery of men of other races. We see the operation of our laws arrested: everywhere contradiction and a refusal to execute them prevail. Even Justice itself is enfeebled by the general decay of conscientiousness and morality. Not only are the pillars of the government shaken, but its very foundations are shattered. The imperial revenues are running dry, trust in the Empire is fading, and Russian trade and industry are in consequence depressed. Brigandage, covetousness, self-interest, violence and other vices, awakened by the conduct of outsiders who have settled among us and encouraged by many people, are growing to the ruin of the nation and render the evils that have overtaken our fatherland like unto wounds that cannot be healed.”

Those remarkable words, uttered in the year 1767, describe fairly well the condition of things Russian to-day. Yet the nation extricated itself from the tangle of evils and dangers in which it then seemed hopelessly caught. And the feat achieved then may well be repeated to-day. Whether the third Duma will save the country is a question which all parties now unanimously answer in the negative. The Zemsky Congress, which was held during the second half of June, is looked upon by the Democrats as an indication of what the coming Parliament will be, and on the strength of the proceedings of that body the progressive press has raised a cry of despair. And yet the readers of this REVIEW who are interested in Russian affairs will probably remember that the first Russian Constitutional movement, nay, the preliminary Duma itself, was formed exclusively of members of the Zemstvo, who, risking imprisonment and graver dangers, broke the law and met in secret conclave more than two years ago. One hundred and seventeen members were present at the recent Zemstvo convocation, of whom there were but thirty representing the Extreme Right, all the others belonging to various groups of the Opposition. But most of the Zemstvo workers, being men possessed of a stake in the country and enlightened by the training and experience which they obtained as members of the chief autonomous body in the Empire, gave vent to opinions which differ notably from those of the first and second Dumas.

Many press organs of the Opposition affect to regard the Zemstvo Congress at Moscow as a fair indication of what the third Russian parliament will be: a mockery and a delusion. Several journals declare that, if the third Duma resemble the Zemstvo Congress, there is no hope that the country will be pacified by its legislative activity. Meanwhile, preparations are being made for a brisk fight at the elections; and, on the principle that everything is fair in love and war, the heavy artillery of reckless accusation is being hurriedly brought to the fore.

Very serious is the quarrel between the Cadets and the Right, for it turns upon political murder. Piquancy is imparted to the discussion by the incongruity of the rôles of the actors: the Cadets, who have obstinately refused to condemn political assassination, incendiarism or brigandage, now accuse the conservative League of the Russian people, which has solemnly and

repeatedly stigmatized all three crimes, of having killed two Cadets and twice endeavored to murder Count Witté. The reply is a flat denial of the charge. But, on the other hand, it is a fact that the official press organ of the Russian League has over and over again employed language, when criticising its political opponents, which was calculated to excite the reading public to acts of violence against the persons thus held up to opprobrium. And for that reason it is well to learn the interesting story now told by the revolutionists.

In the beginning of June, in the outskirts of St. Petersburg, beyond the River Okhta, a corpse was found horribly disfigured, the head almost severed from the body. The police ascertained that the victim of the crime was a workman named Kazantseff, whose name had been mentioned in connection with the murder of the Cadet Herzenstein, twelve months ago. But beyond this the police could not penetrate. Very soon afterwards the revolutionists issued a circular informing the world that they had succeeded where the police had failed. The young man who killed Kazantseff had come to them remorsefully and told them the story of his adventures and misdeeds.

Kazantseff was a workman in Tillman's factory at St. Petersburg, where, in 1904-1905, he became intimately acquainted with a fellow operative, who may be called Ivanoff. In December, 1905, when Witté was Premier, Ivanoff was arrested and sent out of the capital. But, as usually happens in such cases, he came back again incognito, and resided on the banks of the Neva as before. That is the rule nowadays. Once more he and Kazantseff met, and the latter took him to Moscow on false pretences, fraternized with him as a brother Socialist, informed him that "the party" had resolved to kill a certain Count and requested Ivanoff to lend a hand and to enlist other helpers as well. Ivanoff thereupon goes straight to one of his friends, whose identity is veiled by the pseudonym of Feodoroff, and asks him to join the circle of voluntary executioners. Feodoroff assents, as a matter of course; and he it is who now tells the story to the revolutionists and makes an act of contrition. But when Ivanoff is about to bring Kazantseff and Feodoroff together, he is arrested. None the less, the interview between the other two takes place, and Kazantseff unfolds his scheme of murdering "the Count." Feodoroff, who seems put out by the arrest of

Ivanoff, is inspirited by Kazantseff, who says: "Don't let that worry you. As soon as we finish our work we shall have money, and then we'll rescue Ivanoff."

Then the tempter continued his easy task, explaining that the Count in question (Witté) had turned traitor to the party and had denounced a number of "comrades," who were now behind bolts and bars, and now it had been decided to execute him. All that was needed was that Feodoroff should set about the business at once and enlist the services of a helper. And Feodoroff assented, went straightway to a fellow workman and asked him to help to kill the traitorous Count. The comrade complied with the request and the pair began to fill two infernal machines. The next morning, at five o'clock, they took a drosky and drove to the street in which Count Witté's house is situated and there Kazantseff showed his assistants what to do and how to do it. At seven o'clock the latter entered the court of a neighboring house, reached the stables, and by means of a ladder climbed up to the laundry of Count Witté's house and thence to the roof. They had first to remove the vanes and then they lowered the infernal machines, one into each of the chimneys. At nine o'clock the machines were timed to explode. But neither then nor later did the catastrophe occur. Kazantseff, discontented and suspicious, met the two mercenaries at noon, and upbraided them with the failure of the plan. There had been some hitch, owing to the careless way in which they did the work. But everything might yet be made good, if they would fetch two pieces of iron weighing from ten to fifteen pounds each and lower them on a string until they struck the infernal machines. The next morning the two came with the pieces of iron, but before they arrived at the house they learned that the machines had been discovered.

Kazantseff, when next he met the amateur executioners, instructed them to write letters to Count Witté demanding money. One day such a threatening letter was received by Count Witté. It called upon him to pay a sum of money under pain of death, and it told him to whom he was to hand over the ransom—naming a petty employee in a certain State institution. That letter was at once forwarded by the Count to the Director of the Police Department. A few days later a second letter was brought to the Count by a public messenger who stated that he had been instructed to wait for an answer. *This public messenger the Count*

handed over to an agent of the secret police. But, so far as I am aware, nothing came of the action taken by Count Witté.

The scene of the next act of this wild drama was Kazantseff's own well-furnished flat in Moscow. Here we see him boasting to Feodoroff that he is living under an assumed name and with a false passport, and explaining the details of the next patriotic work. This time the victim is also a "traitor," who, having taken part in a successful raid, kept eighty thousand roubles (\$40,000) of the spoil for himself and is now condemned to die. Feodoroff undertakes to "do for" this backslider and comrade.

"Just before the fatal moment"—it is Feodoroff himself who is now describing the crime—"Kazantseff called me into an ale-house. 'From here,' he said, 'it is easy to keep a lookout.' I entered and agreed with him. Speaking conscientiously [!] I must say that I was tortured by the forefeeling that I had not at all followed the condemned man. Kazantseff, on the contrary, was watching sharply. The moment the man reached the ale-house, where we were sitting, Kazantseff pointed him out and then we both left. I went after the man, overtook and outran him and then stood inside the court that leads into two streets.

"When the man was drawing near the courtyard I turned sideways towards him and fired at the distance of five paces. I aimed at his chest, but as I afterwards learned from the newspapers, the bullets entered his face. I fired four times. Then I rushed through the courtyard, jumped upon a passing drosky and escaped. Instead of going to meet Kazantseff at the rendezvous he had given me, I made for his flat. He welcomed me and gave me a kiss, like Judas. Impatiently I waited for the evening paper. I buy a copy, and with great emotion I learn that I am the murderer of Yollo, a member of the first Duma. I cannot describe what I then endured. Kazantseff said it did not matter, and that they were always stigmatizing the reactionaries or Black Hundred Men. I then said to myself: 'So I, too, am a Black Hundred Man.' And a suspicion darted through my brain that perhaps Kazantseff was also a member of that gang, but I had no facts to go upon then."

But, despite his suspicions, Feodoroff clung tenaciously to Kazantseff, and together they planned a raid which was to have yielded a million roubles (\$500,000). Only when the scheme was

put off and no money was forthcoming did Feodoroff ask Kazantseff to introduce him to "the party." It was high time. But Kazantseff put it off and finally said that the party still lacked confidence in Feodoroff. This was the turning-point in their relations. Feodoroff was thenceforward on the alert.

The next "stroke of work" mapped out was the murder of Doctor Bielsky, an oculist of Moscow, on the ground that he was a reactionary. Feodoroff temporized first, then he questioned Kazantseff as to the truth of the charge and finally he had the deed postponed. Just then Ivanoff, who had been arrested a second time, reappeared on the scene. Kazantseff told him how he had attempted Witté's life, killed Yollos and planned the death of Bielsky. Ivanoff and Feodoroff agreed that the time had come to "take the measure" of Kazantseff. One day, chance gave them a glimpse into his "double-dealing methods." Ivanoff, waiting in Kazantseff's study for the host to appear, opened a drawer of the writing-table, and found programmes of the Russian League, Conservative leaflets and cartridges, which seemed to show that their owner was a reactionary. That was Kazantseff's trial and condemnation.

A fresh attempt on Count Witté's life was the next "piece of work" awaiting the amateur death-dealers, and it necessitated their return to St. Petersburg. In a lonely spot beyond the Okhta, on the outskirts of St. Petersburg, Feodoroff came by appointment on June 9th to meet Kazantseff and take charge of the bombs which were to blow up Count Witté. When Kazantseff appeared, Feodoroff plunged his dagger into Kazantseff's neck. Kazantseff fell heavily to the ground. Thinking his victim dead, Feodoroff seized his papers, but the wounded man moved. The murderer then rushed at him, hacked his face, cut his throat, slashed his head and finally left him, a loathsome thing. After that he went over to the revolutionists and told them this story.

The insight which this gruesome story gives into the modes of thought and action that prevail in revolutionary Russian circles is most instructive and unedifying. But the conclusion drawn from it, that the League of the Russian people concocts plots against the lives of prominent liberal politicians, will not bear serious examination.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

MONDAY, *August 12.*

Conferring Benefits.

To confer a benefit is far from an easy matter. Neither money nor power endows one with the privilege of benefiting others, for the giving of money is more apt to do harm than good; the conferring of place and position makes a strained relation and often betrays a man to his dearest failings. So over and above being virtuous, which is always an unalloyed blessing in an evil world, there are few things one can do that are unequivocally good for the doer and for those to whom he addresses himself. Perhaps to hand on the name of an author and a book in which one has found great joy is coming as near to conferring a benefit as one may. There has recently appeared in this country a very adequate and beautiful translation of a wonderful Dutch novel, van Eeden's "Quest." The "Quest" is in form an autobiographical romance, and in substance the spiritual adventure, beginning with the child's first acquaintance with nature and the imaginative dream he projects into nature. From the first page to the last there is not a sentence that is unmeaning or superabundant; the book is drenched in beauty and upheld by exalted and noble thinking. Somewhat reminiscent of a Faust-epos, the young Johannes searches the world for that which shall satisfy. Imagination and nature show him beauty and offer him adventures among the elves and fairies and animals. The insight into the life of the childish mind, the mind of a fine and nobly born child, is marvellous and turns one back involuntarily to Andersen's Fairy Tales. So nature and imagination lead and hold the child until he chances on the gnome Wistik, who is, in all probability, the search for truth, or intellect which awakens as childhood vanishes and youth approaches. Somewhere in the world, Wistik tells

him, there is a book and somewhere else is hidden the key which will unlock the book, and he who brings the two together and opens the book will know why the world is as it is, for it is the Book of Truth, and brings such peace and happiness to him who reads it that he never asks again for anything more. But alas! none has ever read the book yet, and it is only dimly and by hearsay that it is known. Wistik leads the youth Johannes to the two great doctors, Pluizer and Cijfer, whom one may, perhaps, guess to be representatives of science and materialism, and with them he lives through the blackest, the most hopeless days of his life and finally turns back to the friend of his childhood, Windekind, child of the wind, that spirit that bloweth where it listeth. But even as he woos his old companion, there appears to him, walking upon the waters, just at sunset, in the middle of a glowing space, surrounded by great fiery clouds, the dark figure of a man; his face is pale, his eyes are dark and there is an infinitely gentle melancholy in his gaze. And when Johannes accosts him and asks:

"Who are you? Are you a man?" He answers: "I am more."

"Art thou Jesus? Art thou God?" asks Johannes.

"Speak not those names!" says the figure. "They were holy and pure as sacerdotal robes, and precious as nourishing corn; yet they have become as husks before swine, and a jester's garb for fools. Name them not, for their meaning has become perverted, their worship a mockery. Let him who would know me cast aside those names and listen to himself."

And here ends the fairy-tale part of Johannes's life, and he begins to live a real life among men and to learn the two vital truths given among men which have played so small a part in so-called Christianity: the Kingdom of Heaven is within you, and if you love not your brother whom you have seen, how can you love God whom you have not seen?

One of the most interesting interludes in the book is Johannes's excursion into Hell with the Real Devil. The Real Devil is not in the least the old familiar Satanic majesty of poetic fame, but is a conventionally garbed nice-looking young fellow with a straw hat, against whose assaults Wistik has cautioned Johannes to hold on to two weapons,—a little flower given him by one he loves and a small mirror. At the worst crises Johannes looks into the mirror and saves himself.

There is one flaw in the book, and that is the Utopian picture of human life which Johannes sees. Who was it who said that William Morris's Utopia was like a perennial afternoon picnic with plenty of cold lemonade and pretty women? For some reason, Utopias never succeed. Remove the elements of danger, struggle, labor and sacrifice, and the best life one can conceive seems tame and boring. It is, however, heartening to realize that the soul's adventure has somewhat widened its scope in the last century. It is no longer the question as to whether wearied learning may seek sensations, betray innocence and yet outwit the devil; it is the much larger question of the whole relation of man to man.

One cannot read van Eeden's great book as a novel or a story any more than one could read "Faust" as a mere story. Van Eeden is not telling a tale, and there is no plot, no structure, no complication and no solution. The book is not in the least in the order of the small, neatly constructed novel. It is a full account of the soul's quest, and the theory of life of a man of a very high order of genius and of a comprehensive mind who writes with compelling magic.

ESPERANTO.*

PART X.

THE correlative words, forty-five in number, consisting of pronouns and adverbs, are of the utmost importance in Esperanto, and should be learned by heart. The tabulated view of them here presented virtually explains itself. The following exercise by Dr. Zamenhof explains the formation of the words:

Vocabulary.

ia , some kind of.	serio , series.
ial , for some cause or reason.	pronomo , pronoun.
iam , at some time, ever.	adverbo , adverb.
ie , somewhere.	litero , letter (of the alphabet).
iel , in some manner, somehow.	rilati , to relate to.
ies , some one's.	prefikso , prefix.
io , something.	ajn , ever.
iom , somewhat, some quantity.	diferenci , to differ, be different from.
iu , some one.	helpi , to help.
konsili , to advise, to counsel.	sufikso , suffix.

Ia, ial, iam, ie, iel, ies, io, iom, iu. La montritajn naŭ vortojn ni konsilas bone ellerni, ĉar el ili ĉiu povas jam fari al si grandan serion da aliaj pronomoj kaj adverboj. Se ni aldonas la literon "t," ni ricevas vortojn montrajn: **tia, tial, tiam, tie, tiel, ties, tio, tiom, tiu.** Se ni aldonas al ili la literon "k," ni ricevas vortojn demandajn aŭ rilatajn: **kia, kial, kiam, kie, kiel, kies, kio, kiom, kiu.** Aldonante la literon "ĉ," ni ricevas vortojn komunajn: **ĉia, ĉial, ĉiam, ĉie, ĉiel, ĉies, ĉio, ĉiom, ĉiu.** Aldonante la prefikson "nen," ni ricevas vortojn neajn: **nenia, nenial, neniam, nenie, neniel, nenies, nenio, neniom, neniu.** Aldonante al la vortoj montraj la vorton "ĉi," ni ricevas montron pli proksiman; ekzemple: **tiu** (pli malproksima), **tiu ĉi** (aŭ **ĉi tiu**) (pli proksima); **tie** (malproksime), **tie ĉi** aŭ **ĉi tie** (proksime). Aldonante al la vortoj demandaj la vorton "ajn," ni ricevas vortojn sendiferencajn: **kia ajn, kial ajn, kiam ajn, kie ajn, kiel ajn, kies ajn, kio ajn, kiom ajn, kiu ajn.** Ekster tio, el la diritaj vortoj ni povas ankoraŭ fari aliajn vortojn, per helpo de gramatikaj finiĝoj kaj aliaj vortoj (sufiksoj); ekzemple: **tiam, ĉiam, kioma, tiea, ĉi-tiea, tieulo, tiamulo, k. t. p. (=kaj tiel plu).**

* The first instalment of these lessons appeared in the December 21st issue.—Ed.

TABLE OF CORRELATIVE WORDS.

	Indefinite.	Distributive, General or Collective.	Interrogative and Relative.	Negative.	Demonstrative.
Quality Kind of (adjectival)	IA some { kind of (any) } some (any)	ĠIA every kind of each, every (any sort of)	KIA what kind of? of what kind? what a! ... as	NENIA no kind of no, no such of no kind (not any kind of)	TIA such kind of such a of that kind
Motive Reason for (adverbial)	IAL for { some } reason { (any) } or cause	ĠIAL for every reason for all reasons	KIAL for what reason why? wherefore	NENIAL for no { reason for no { cause	TIAL for that reason for such a reason therefore
Time (adverbial)	IAM at { some } time { (any) } ever	ĠIAM always every time for all time ever (at any time)	KIAM at what time? when	NENIAM at no time never	TIAM at that time at such time then
Place (adverbial)	IE in { some } place { (any) } somewhere (anywhere)	ĠIE everywhere in every place (anywhere)	KIE in what place where	NENIE in no place nowhere (not anywhere)	TIE in that place there yonder

Manner (adverbial)	IEL in some way (in any manner) somehow (anyhow)	ĈIEL (in) every manner (in) every way all ways	KIEL in what manner how? as like	NENIEL in no { manner way nolow by no means not at all	TIEL in that manner thus, so, like (that) as in such a manner
Possession (pronominal)	IES somebody's (anybody's) (any one's)	ĈIES every one's each one's	KIES whose	NENIES no one's nobody's	TIES that one's such a one's
Thing (not specified) (substantival or pronominal)	IO something (anything)	ĈIO everything all things all	KIO what (thing) which that which	NENIO nothing not anything	TIO that (thing)
Quantity (adverbial)	IOM some quantity somewhat rather, some a little (any)	ĈIOM every quantity all, the whole all of it	KIOM what quantity how much how many	NENIOM no quanti none none at all	TIOM that quantity so { much as { many
Individuality Person or thing (pronominal)	IU some one (any one)	ĈIU each one each ĉiuj=all, all the... everybody	KIU who, he who which, that what one	NENIU no one nobody	TIU that one the former

The regular grammatical terminations and suffixes may be added to these correlatives, thus converting them into nouns, adjectives, adverbs, etc. Thus: **Ĉiame**=everlasting. **Tiea**=of there, of that place. **Tieulo**=a man of that place. **Tiama**=of then, of that time.

By adding the word **ĉi** to the demonstratives, we obtain the sense of proximity. For example: **tie**=there; **tie ĉi**=here. **Tiu**=that one; **tiu ĉi**=this one.

By adding the word "**ajn**" to interrogatives we get indefinite expressions. For example: **Kia ajn**=whatever kind of; **kie ajn**=wherever; **kiu ajn**=whoever.

NOTE.—Those who wish to become members of the REVIEW's Esperanto Society, see advertising pages for membership application form.

ESPERANTO.*

PART XI.

(Eltiro el privata letero de L. Zamenhof al N. Borovko. Tradukis el la lingvo rusa V. G.†)

. . . Vi demandas min, kiel aperis ĉe mi la ideo krei lingvon internacian kaj kia estis la historio de la lingvo Esperanto de l' momento de ĝia naskiĝo ĝis tiu ĉi tago? La tuta publika historio de la lingvo, t. e. komencante de la tago, kiam mi malkaŝe eliris kun ĝi, estas al vi plimalpli konata; cetere tiun ĉi periodon de la lingvo estas nun, pro multaj kaŭzoj, ankoraŭ neoportune tuŝadi; mi rakontos al vi tial en ĝeneralaj trajtoj sole la historion de la naskiĝo de la lingvo.

Estos por mi malfacile rakonti al vi ĉion tion ĉi detale, ĉar multon mi mem jam forgesis. La ideo, al kies efektivigo mi dediĉis mian tutan vivon, aperis ĉe min—estas ridinde ĝin diri—en la plej frua infaneco kaj de tiu ĉi tempo neniam min forlasadis; mi vivis kun ĝi kaj eĉ ne povas imagi min sen ĝi. Tiu ĉi cirkonstanco parte klarigos al vi, kial mi kun tiom da obstineco laboris super ĝi kaj kial mi, malgraŭ ĉiuj malfacilaĵoj kaj maldolĉaĵoj, ne forlasadis tiun ĉi ideon, kiel ĝin faris multaj aliaj, laborintaj sur la sama kampo.

Mi naskiĝis en Bjelostoko, gubernio de Grodno. Tiu ĉi loko de mia naskiĝo kaj de miaj infanaj jaroj donis la direkton al ĉiuj miaj estontaj celadoj. En Bjelostoko la loĝantaro konsistas el kvar diversaj elementoj: Rusoj, Poloj, Germanoj kaj Hebreoj; ĉiu el tiuj ĉi elementoj parolas apartan lingvon kaj neamike rilatas la aliajn elementojn. En tia urbo pli ol ie la impresema naturo sentas la multepezan malfeliĉon de diverslingveco kaj

* The first instalment of these lessons appeared in the December 21st issue.—Ed.

† *Lingvo internacia*, 1896, 6-7.

konvinkiĝas ĉe ĉiu paŝo, ke la diverseco de lingvoj estas la sola, aŭ almenaŭ la ĉefa kaŭzo, kiu disigas la homan familion kaj dividas, ĝin en malamikajn partojn. Oni edukadis min kiel idealiston; oni min instruis, ke ĉiuj homoj estas fratoj, kaj dume sur la strato kaj sur la korto, ĉio ĉe ĉiu paŝo igis min senti, ke homoj ne ekzistas: ekzistas sole Rusoj, Poloj, Germanoj, Hebreoj k. t. p. Tio ĉi ĉiam forte turmentis mian infanan animon, kvankam multaj eble ridetos pri tiu ĉi “doloro pro la mondo” ĉe la infano. Ĉar al mi tiam ŝajnis, ke la “grandaĝaj” posedas ian ĉiopovan forton, mi ripetadis al mi, ke kiam mi estos grandaĝa, mi nepre forigos tiun ĉi malbonon.

Iom post iom mi konvinkiĝis, kompreneble, ke ĉio ne fariĝas tiel facile, kiel ĝi prezentiĝas al la infano; unu post la alia mi forĵetadis diversajn infanajn utopiojn, kaj nur la revon pri unu homa lingvo mi neniam povis forĵeti. Malklare mi iel min tiris al ĝi kvankam, kompreneble, sen iaj difinitaj planoj. Mi ne memoras kiam, sed en ĉiu okazo sufiĉe frue, ĉe mi formiĝis la konscio, ke la sola lingvo internacia povas esti nur ia neŭtrala, apartenanta al neniuj el la nun vivantaj nacioj. Kiam el la Bjelostoka reala lernejo (tiam ĝi estis ankoraŭ gimnazio) mi transiris en la Varsovian duan klasikan gimnazion, mi dum kelka tempo estis forlogata de la lingvoj antikvaj kaj revis pri tio, ke mi iam veturados en la tuta mondo kaj per flamaj paroloj inklindos la homojn revivigi unu el tiuj ĉi lingvoj por komuna uzado. Poste, mi ne memoras jam kiamaniere, mi venis al firma konvinko, ke tio ĉi estas neebla, kaj mi komencis malklare revi pri nova, arta lingvo. Mi ofte tiam komencadis iajn provojn, elpensadis riĉegajn deklinaciojn kaj konjugaciojn k. t. p. Sed homa lingvo kun sia, kiel ŝajnis al mi, senfina amaso da gramatikaj formoj, kun siaj centoj da miloj da vortoj, per kiuj min timigis la dikaj vortaroj, ŝajnis al mi tiel artifika kaj kolosa maŝino, ke mi ne unufoje diradis al mi: “for la revojn! tiu ĉi laboro ne estas laŭ homaj fortoj,”—kaj tamen mi ĉiam revenadis al mia revo.

Germanan kaj francan lingvojn mi ellernadis en la infaneco, kiam oni ne povas ankoraŭ kompari kaj fari konkludojn; sed kiam, estante en la 5-a klaso de l' gimnazio, mi komencis ellernadi la lingvon anglan, la simpleco de la gramatiko ĵetiĝis en miajn okulojn, precipe dank' al la kruta transiro al ĝi de la gramatikoj latina kaj greka. Mi rimarkis tiam, ke la riĉeco de

gramatikaj formoj estas nur blinda historia okazo, sed ne estas necesa por la lingvo. Sub tia influo mi komencis serĉi en la lingvo kaj forĵetadi la senbezonaĵajn formojn, kaj mi rimarkis, ke la gramatiko ĉiam pli kaj pli degelas en miaj manoj, kaj baldaŭ mi venis al la gramatiko malgranda, kiu okupis sen malutilo por la lingvo ne pli ol kelkajn paĝojn. Tiam mi komencis pli serioze fordonigi al mia revo. Sed la grandegulaj vortaroj ne lasadis min trankvila.

Unu fojon, kiam mi estis en la 6-a aŭ 7-a klaso de la gimnazio, mi okaze turnis la atenton al la surskribo “*Ŝvejcarskaja*” (*Drinkejo*), kiun mi jam multajn fojojn vidis, kaj poste al la elpendaĵo “*Konditorskaja*” (*Sukeraĵejo*). Tiu ĉi “*skaja*” ekinteresis min kaj montris al mi, ke la sufiksoj donas la eblon el unu vorto fari aliajn vortojn, kiujn oni ne devas aparte ellernadi. Tiu ĉi penso ekposedis min tute, kaj mi subite eksentis la teron sub la piedoj. Sur la terurajn grandegulajn vortarojn falis radio de lumo, kaj ili komencis rapide malgrandiĝadi antaŭ miaj okuloj.

“La problemo estas solvita!” diris mi tiam. Mi kaptis la ideon pri sufiksoj kaj komencis multe laboradi en tiu ĉi direkto. Mi komprenis, kian grandan signifon povas havi por la lingvo konscie kreata la plena uzado de tiu forto, kiu en lingvoj naturaj efikis nur parte, blinde, neregule kaj neplene. Mi komencis komparadi vortojn, serĉadi inter ili konstantajn, difinitajn, rilatojn, kaj ĉiutage mi forĵetadis el la vortaro novan grandegan serion da vortoj, anstataŭante tiun ĉi grandegan per unu sufikso, kiu signifis certan rilaton. Mi rimarkis tiam, ke tre granda amaso da vortoj pure “*radikaj*” (ekz. “*patrino*,” “*mallarĝa*,” “*tranĉilo*” k. t. p.) povas esti facile transformitaj en vortojn “*formitajn*” kaj malaperi el la vortaro. La meĥaniko de la lingvo estis antaŭ mi kvazaŭ sur la manplato, kaj mi nun komencis jam laboradi regule, kun amo kaj espero. Baldaŭ post tio mi jam havis skribitan la tutan gramatikon kaj malgrandan vortaron.

Tie ĉi mi diros ĝustatempe kelkajn vortojn pri la materialo por la vortaro. Multe pli frue, kiam mi serĉis kaj elĵetadis ĉion senbezonan el la gramatiko, mi deziris uzi la principojn de la ekonomio ankaŭ por la vortoj kaj, konvinkita, ke estas tute egale, kian formon havos tiu aŭ alia vorto, se ni nur “*konsentos*” ke ĝi esprimas la donitan ideon, mi simple “*elpensadis*” vortojn,

penante, ke ili estu kiel eble plej mallongaj kaj ne havu senbezonan nombron da literoj. Mi diris al mi, ke anstataŭ ia 11-litera "interparoli" ni tute bone povas esprimi la saman ideon per ia ekz. 2-litera "pa." Tial mi simple skribis la matematikan serion da plej mallongaj, sed facile elparoleblaj kunigoj de literoj kaj al ĉiu el ili mi donis la signifon de difinita vorto (ekz. *a, ab, ac, ad, . . . ba, ca, da, . . . e, eb, ec, . . . be, ce, . . . aba, aca, . . . k. t. p.*). Sed tiun ĉi penson mi tuj forĵetis, ĉar la provoj kun mi mem montris al mi, ke tiaj elpensitaj vortoj estas tre malfacile ellerneblaj kaj ankoraŭ pli malfacile memoreblaj. Jam tiam mi konvinkiĝis, ke la materialo por la vortaro devas esti romana-germana, ŝanĝita nur tiom, kiom ĝin postulas la reguleco kaj aliaj gravaj kondiĉoj de la lingvo. Estante jam sur tiu ĉi tero, mi baldaŭ rimarkis, ke la nunaj lingvoj posedas grandegan provizon da pretaj vortoj jam internaciaj, kiuj estas konataj al ĉiuj popoloj kaj faras trezoron por estonta lingvo internacia,—kaj mi kompreneble utiligis tiun ĉi trezoron.

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ESPERANTO.*

PART XII.

(Eltiro el privata letero de L. Zamenhof al N. Borovko. Tradukis el la lingvo rusa V. G.†)

[FINO.]

EN la jaro 1878 la lingvo estis jam pli-malpli preta, kvankam inter la tiama "lingwe uniwersala" kaj la nuna Esperanto estis ankoraŭ granda diferenco. Mi komunikis pri ĝi al miaj kolegoj (mi estis tiam en la 8-a klaso de la gimnazio). La plimulto da ili estis forlogitaj de la ideo kaj de la frapinta ilin neordinara facileco de la lingvo, kaj komencis ĝin ellernadi. La 5-an de decembro, 1878, ni ĉiuj kune solene festis la ekvivigon de la lingvo. Dum tiu ĉi festo estis paroloj en la nova lingvo, kaj ni entuziasme kantis la himnon, kies komencaj vortoj estis la sekvantaj:

Malamikete de las nacjes
Kadó, kadó, jam temp' está!
La tot' homoze in familje
Konunigare so debá

(En la nuna Esperanto tio ĉi signifas: "Malamikeco de la nacioj falu, falu, jam tempo estas! La tuta homaro en familion unuiĝi devas.")

Sur la tablo, krom la gramatiko kaj vortaro, kuŝis kelkaj tradukoj en la nova lingvo.

Tiel finiĝis la unua periodo de la lingvo. Mi estis tiam ankoraŭ tro juna por eliri publike kun mia laboro, kaj mi decidis atendi ankoraŭ 5-6 jarojn kaj dum tiu ĉi tempo zorgeme elprovi la

* The first instalment of these lessons appeared in the December 21st issue.—Ed.

† *Lingvo internacia*, 1896, 6-7.

lingvon kaj plene prilabori ĝin praktike. Post duonjaro post la festo de la 5/17-a de decembro ni finis la gimnazian kurson kaj disiris. La estontaj apostoloj de la lingvo provis paroleti pri “nova lingvo” kaj, renkontinte la mokojn de homoj maturaj, ili tuj rapidis malkonfesi la lingvon, kaj mi restis tute sola. Antaŭvidante nur mokojn kaj persekutojn, mi decidis kaŝi antaŭ ĉiuj mian laboron. Dum 5½ jaroj de mia estado en la universitato, mi neniam parolis kun iu pri mia afero. Tiu ĉi tempo estis por mi tre malfacila. La kaŝeco turmentis min; devigita zergeme kaŝadi miajn pensojn kaj planojn mi preskaŭ nenie estadis, en nenio partoprenadis, kaj la plej bela tempo de la vivo—la jaroj de studento—pasis por mi plej malgaje. Mi provis iafoje min distri en la societo, sed sentis min ia fremdulo kaj foriradis, kaj de tempo al tempo faciligadis mian koron per ia versaĵo en la lingvo prilaborata de mi. Unu el tiuj ĉi versaĵoj “Mia penso” mi metis poste en la unuan broŝuron eldonitan de mi; sed al la legantoj, kiuj ne sciis, en kiaj cirkonstancoj tiu ĉi versaĵo estis skribita, ĝi ekŝajnis, stranga kaj nekomprenebla.

Dum ses jaroj mi laboris perfektigante kaj provante la lingvon,—kaj mi havis sufiĉe da laboro, kvankam en la jaro 1878 al mi jam ŝajnis, ke la lingvo, estas tute preta. Mi multe tradukadis en mian lingvon, skribis en ĝi verkojn originalajn, kaj vastaj provoj montris al mi, ke tio, kio ŝajnis al mi tute preta teorie, estas ankoraŭ ne preta praktike. Multon mi devis ĉirkaŭhaki, anstataŭi, korekti kaj radike transformi. Vortoj kaj formoj, principoj kaj postuloj puŝis kaj malhelpis unu la alian, dume en la teorio, ĉio aparte kaj en mallongaj provoj, ili ŝajnis al mi tute bonaj. Tiaj objektoj, kiel ekz. la universala prepozicio “je,” la elasta verbo “meti,” la neŭtrala, sed difinita finiĝo “aŭ” k. t. p. kredeble neniam enfalus en mian kapon teorie. Kelkaj formoj, kiuj ŝajnis al mi riĉaĵo, montriĝis nun en la praktiko senbezona balasto; tiel ekz. mi devis forĵeti kelkajn nebezonaĵajn sufiksojn. En la jaro 1878 al mi ŝajnis, ke estas por la lingvo sufiĉe havi gramatikon kaj vortaron; la multpezecon kaj malgraciecon de la lingvo mi alskribadis nur al tio, ke mi ankoraŭ ne sufiĉe bone ĝin posedas; sed la praktiko ĉiam pli kaj pli konvinkadis min, ke la lingvo bezonas ankoraŭ ian nekapteblan *ion*, la kunligantan elementon, donatan al la lingvo vivon kaj difinitan, tute formitan *spiriton*. (La nesciado de la spirito de la lingvo estas la kaŭzo, kial kelkaj esperantistoj, tre malmulte legintaj en la lingvo

Esperanto, skribas senerare, sed per multepeza, malagrabla stilo,—dume la esperantistoj pli spertaj skribas per stilo bona kaj tute *egala*, al kiu ajn nacio ili apartenas. La spirito de la lingvo sendube kun la tempo multe, kvankam iom post iom kaj neri-markite, ŝanĝigos; sed se la unuaj esperantistoj, homoj de diversaj nacioj, ne renkontus en la lingvo tute difinitan *fundamentan* spiriton, ĉiu komencus tiri en sian flankon kaj la lingvo restus eterne, aŭ almenaŭ dum tre longa tempo, malgracia kaj senviva kolekto da vortoj.)—Mi komencis tiam evitadi laŭvortajn tradukojn el tiu aŭ alia lingvo kaj penis rekte *pensi* en la lingvo neŭtrala. Poste mi rimarkis, ke la lingvo en miaj manoj ĉesas jam esti senfundamenta ombro de tiu aŭ alia lingvo, kun kiu mi havas la aferon en tiu aŭ alia minuto, kaj ricevas sian propran spiriton, sian propran vivon, la propran difinitan kaj klare esprimitan fizionomion, ne dependantan jam de iaj influoj. La parolo finis jam mem, flekseble, gracie kaj tute libere, kiel la viva patra lingvo.

Ankoraŭ unu cirkonstanco igis min por longa tempo prokrasti mian publikan eliron kun la lingvo: dum longa tempo restis nesolvita unu problemo, kiu havas grandegan signifon por neŭtrala lingvo. Mi sciis, ke ĉiu diros al mi: “Via lingvo estos por mi utila nur tiam, kiam la tuta mondo ĝin akceptos; tial mi ne povas ĝin akcepti ĝis tiam, kiam ĝin akceptos la tuta mondo,” Sed ĉar la “mondo” ne estas ebla sen antaŭaj apartaj “unuoj,” la neŭtrala lingvo ne povis havi estontecon ĝis tiam, kiam ĝia utileco fariĝos por ĉiu aparta persono sendependa de tio, ĉu la lingvo jam estas akceptita de la mondo aŭ ne. Pri tiu ĉi problemo mi longe pensadis. Fine la tiel nomataj sekretaj alfabetoj, kiuj ne postulas, ke la mondo antaŭe ilin akceptu, kaj donas al tute nedediĉita adresato la eblon kompreni ĉion skribitan de vi, se vi nur transdonas al la adresato la ŝlosilon,—alkondukis min al la penso aranĝi, ankaŭ la lingvon en la maniero de tia “ŝlosilo,” kiu, enhavante en si ne sole la tutan vortaron, sed ankaŭ la tutan gramatikon en la formo de apartaj, tute memstaraj kaj alfabeto ordigitaj elementoj, donus la eblon al la tute nedediĉita adresato de kia ajn nacio tuj kompreni vian leteron.

Mi finis la universitaton kaj komencis mian medicinan praktikon. Nun mi ekpensadis jam pri la publika eliro kun mia laboro. Mi pretigis la manuskripton de mia unua broŝuro (“D-ro Esperanto. Lingvo internacia. Antaŭparolo kaj plena lernolibro”)

kaj komencis serĉadi eldonanton. Sed tie ĉi mi la unuan fojon renkontis la maldolĉan praktikon de la vivo, la fincan demandon, kun kiu mi poste ankoraŭ multe devis kaj devas forte batali. Dum du jaroj mi vane serĉis eldonanton. Kiam mi jam trovis unu, li dum duonjaro pretigis mian broŝuron por eldono kaj laste—rifuzis. Fine, post longaj klopodoj, mi prosperis mem eldoni mian unuan broŝuron en julio de la jaro 1887. Mi estis tre ekscitita antaŭ tio ĉi; mi sentis, ke mi staras antaŭ Rubikono kaj ke de la tago, kiam aperos mia broŝuro, mi ne havos plu la eblon reiri; mi sciis, kia sorto atendas kuraciston, kiu dependas de la publiko, se tiu ĉi publiko vidas en li fantaziulon, homon, kiu sin okupas je “flankaj aferoj”; mi sentis, ke mi metas sur la karton la tutan estontan trankvilecon kaj ekzistadon mian kaj de mia familio; sed mi ne povis forlasi la ideon, kiu eniris mian korpon kaj sangon kaj...mi transiris Rubikonon.

LAZARO LUDOVIKO ZAMENHOF.

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ESPERANTO.

PART XIII.

COMMERCIAL LETTERS.

PETO PRI SCIIGOJ.

Al Soj Hubert kaj kio, Bankieroj en Berlino.

Nov-JORKO, 23^{an} de aprilo 19..

ESTIMATAJ SINJOROJ:

Mi prenas la liberecon min turni al vi por ricevi sciigojn pri la firmo Kolb Gefratoj en via urbo.

Antaŭ ol komenci interrilatojn komercajn kun tiuj ĉi sinjoroj, mi volus koni la garantion de pagokapableco, kiun ili povas prezenti kaj proksimume la sumon de la aferoj, kiujn ili faras ĉiujare. Volu do diri al mi ĉu la ĵusnomita firmo estas grava kaj ĉu mi povas fari kontraktojn kun ĝi tute sendanĝere kaj kun konfido.

Mi atendas vian respondon por gvidi min ĉe la komuniko, kiun mi promesis sendi al la suprecitita firmo.

Konfidante al vi en tiu okazo, kiel vi povus en simila aŭ alia cirkonstanco, mi petas vin ricevi antaŭe, miajn sincerajn dankojn.

Mi estas, Sinjoroj, Via tute sindona servanto,

MASSIN.

RESPONDO FAVORA AL DEMANDO PRI INFORMOJ.

Al Soj Jenkinson kaj Kio, en Leeds.

LILLE, 18^{an} de majo 19..

KARAJ SINJOROJ:

Respondante al via estimata letero de l'12^a de tiu ĉi monato, mi havas la honoron sciigi vin ke la Sinjoroj Cornel kaj Clément

pri kiuj vi petis de mi informojn, direktas en mia urbo, firmon de unua vico.

Ili disponas grandegan kapitalon kaj ĝuas senliman krediton. La antaŭnomitaj sinjoroj estas komercistoj indegaj, kaj nedube havas grandan honestecon en siaj rilatoj kun siaj korespondantoj.

Sekv, vi povas, sen la malplejmulta risko, eniri en rilatojn kun Sinjoroj Cornel kaj Clément, kaj vi estos, mi ne dubas, kontentaj pri ilia maniero agi kun vi.

Kompreneble, tiuj informoj, kvankam honegaj, ne ligas mian respondecon.

Mi estas, kun estimo.

DESMOND.

LETERO DE REKOMENDADO.

Al S^o Webster, en Bradford.

Nov-Jorko, 4^{an} de februaro 19..

ESTIMATAJ SINJOROJ:

Ni havas la honoron prezenti al vi, per ĉi tiu letero, S^{on} Henricon Durand de la Firmo Durand Gefratoj de tiu ĉi urbo, kiu intencas vojaĝi en via lando por kutimiĝi al la ĉefaj fakoj de la angla industrio kaj speciale al la fabrikado de la lanaj ŝtofoj.

Ni prenas la liberecon rekomendi nian amikon al via bona akcepto, kaj ĉar li estas tute fremda en via lando, ni esperas ke vi havos la bonecon helpi lin en liaj klopodoj kaj faciligi por li la celon, kjon li deziras atingi.

Cia atento de vi donita al S^o H. Durand estos konsiderata kiel servo farita al ni mem. Ni certigas al vi, kun plezuro, ke vi povas konfidi al ni en kia ajn okazo.

Ni estas, estimata Sinjoroj,

Viaj sindonemaj servantoj,

ROBINSON kaj FILOJ.

El Cours Commercial.

LA FREMDA JUNULINO

De Schiller.

En valo, ĉe simplaj, modestaj paŝtistoj,
Aperis komence de ĉiu printempo,
Tuj kiam alaŭdoj pepante flirtadis,
Mirinda fraŭlino majesta kaj ĉarma.

Ĉar ne en la valo ŝi estis naskita,
Neniu ja sciis, el kie ŝi venis,
Kaj ŝia postsigno rapide perdiĝis,
Tuj kiam foriris l' enigma knabino.

Apud ŝi la homoj sin sentis feliĉaj,
Kaj ĉiuj la koroj fariĝis facilaj;
Sed ia indeco kaj io majesta
Familiarecon senĝenan forigis.

Ŝi multon alportis da floroj kaj fruktoj
Mature kreskintaj sur varma kamparo,
En landoj aliaj, pli belaj, pli sudaj,
De kiuj naturon favoras la suno.

Ŝi tiam disdonis al ĉiuj donacojn,
Al unu jen fruktojn, al tiu jen florojn,
Kaj knabo plej juna kaj viro kaduka,
Nun ĉiuj al domo reiris kontentaj.

Bonvenon ricevis la ĉiuj venintoj,
Sed se proksimiĝis jen du geamantoj,
Al ili ŝi donis la fruktojn plej bonajn,
Al paro amanta la florojn plej belajn.

El germana lingvo tradukis.

H. BOUCON.

El la Revuo.

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ESPERANTO.

PART XIV.

MANY students of Esperanto, and particularly beginners, see defects in the language, and are free with suggestions of changes and "reforms." From this tendency arose a rumor that Dr. Zamenhof intends to "reform" Esperanto. Dr. Zamenhof's reply, published in that admirable journal, *La Revuo*, in lucid Esperanto, should be read by every student of the language. We quote it here:

PRI REFORMOJ EN ESPERANTO.

EN la lasta tempo inter la Esperantistoj kuris la famo, ke mi intencas "reformi Esperanton." Tiu ĉi famo, kiu povas fariĝi tre danĝera, estas absolute malvera. Mi neniam intencis arbitre reformi la lingvon, ĉar tio ĉi ne sole estus pereiga por nia afero, sed mi havas por tio ĉi eĉ nenian moralan rajton. De la tempo, kiam mi, antaŭ 18 jaroj, publikigis la "Aldonon al la Dua Libro," Esperanto ĉesis aparteni al mi,—ĝi apartenas de tiam al la tuta mondo esperantista, kaj mi neniam intencis malsaĝe repostuli por mi ian rajton de mastreco, kiun mi nun jam repostuli *ne povas*, ĉar sur la fundamento, kiun mi donis, multaj aliaj homoj jam tre multe konstruis kaj laboris. Oni scias, ke de la momento, kiam mi en la jaro 1889 fordonis mian mastrecon, mi neniam permesis al mi fari propravole en la lingvo ian eĉ plej malgrandan ŝanĝon. Se mi ne faris tion ĉi *ĝis* nun, tiom pli mi ja certe neniam ekdezirus fari tion ĉi *nun*, post la Bulonja Deklaracio (kiun mi ja donis *propravole*), post miaj longatempe pripensitaj klarigoj en la Antaŭparolo al la "Fundamento de Esperanto" kaj post la fando de la "Lingva Komitato," al kiu mi propravole fordonis ĉiun aŭtoritatecon en la aferoj de la lingvo. Sekve, konante mian agadon kaj mian rilaton al Esperanto en la daŭro de 20 jaroj, la Esperantistoj povas esti *tute trankvilaj*: mi neniam surprizos ilin per ia arbitra ŝanĝo en la lingvo, por kiu mi, simile al ĉia alia Esperantisto, jam de

longe havas nenian rajton; neniam mi altrudos al ili mian personan deziron; kaj se eĉ mi volus iam freneze fari tian senrajtan kaj pereigan faron, ĉiuj Esperantistoj povas kontraŭmeti al mi la Bulonjan Deklaracion kaj diri: “ni ne permesas.”

Ne! Neniam mi havis kaj neniam mi havos la intencon propaŭĝe reformi Esperanton. La kaŭzo de la malĝusta famo pri la “reformoj” estis jena:

Jam antaŭ longe mi trovis, ke oni povus enkonduki en Esperanton kelkajn plibonigojn per vojo *natura, sen reformoj, sen ia rompado de la lingvo*. Tiu ĉi sendanĝera kaj natura vojo estas la vojo de “neologismoj kaj arĥaismoj,” pri kiu mi parolis en la Antaŭparolo al la “Fundamento de Esperanto.” Mi ellaboris en la lastaj jaroj tabelon da neologismoj, kiun mi intencis prezenti al la esploro de la Lingva Komitato.

Sed antaŭ ol prezenti mian projekton al la Lingva Komitato, mi ĝin prezentis private al kelkaj Esperantistoj, kaj tiam mi baldaŭ konvinkiĝis, ke la malsameco de la opinioj estas tiel grandega kaj interkonsentigi inter si la diversajn opiniojn estas tiel malfacilege, ke eĉ la plej senkulpa vojo de neologismoj povus nin enmiti en tre grandan danĝeron. Tial post tre longa korespondado kaj priparolado (por kiu mi eĉ speciale veturis Parizon kaj Bruselon) mi fine decidis *forĵeti* mian projekton. Sekve mia projekto de neologismoj, pri kiuj multaj Esperantistoj aŭdis sub la tute malĝusta nomo de “reformoj,” nun *ne* estos prezentita al la Lingva Komitato. Mi atendos kun ĝi, ĝis venos tempo pli oportuna kaj ĝis ni havos plenan certecon, ke parolado pri neologismoj jam ne povas kaŭzi inter la Esperantistoj ian konfuzon aŭ malpacon.

Sed se pri *neologismoj*, kiuj, nenion ŝanĝante nek rompante, prezentas por la lingvo nenian danĝeron, mi pli aŭ malpli frue eble ankoraŭ reparolos,—pri *reformoj* ni absolute *neniam* devas paroli (almenaŭ ĝis la tempo, kiam nia lingvo havos plenan leĝdonan sankcion de la registaroj). Dudek jaroj de nia praktika laborado montris, ke Esperanto tre bone taŭgas por ĉio, kion ni bezonas, kaj ke la vojo, kiun ni iras, estas bona; ni gardu do nin de ĉia tro frutempa deflankiĝo, antaŭ ol Esperanto atingis tute plenan venkon! Ĉar per serĉado de plibono, pri kiu ni fantazias, ni povus facile perdi la bonon, kiun ni posedas.

Nia ŝipo estas nun en la mezo de la maro! Ĝi iras bone kaj ĝi naĝas bonorde al sia celo. Tial ni gardu nin fari kun ĝi iajn

eksperimentojn kaj elvoki malpacon inter la ŝipanoj en la mezo de la maro! Ni atendu, ĝis la ŝipo venos al la haveno!

Ne pro obstineco, ne pro malamo al progreso kaj ne pro aŭtora amo al mia verko mi tion ĉi parolas. Mi esperas, ke la amantoj de reformoj tion ĉi komprenos kaj ili oferos siajn personajn gustojn kaj opiniojn por la bono de nia afero. Se troviĝos tiaj malkontentuloj, kiuj ne volas tion ĉi fari aŭ kiuj obstine restas ĉe sia opinio, ke mi eraras, ke mi estas tro malkuraĝa kaj ke la bono de Esperanto nepre postulas reformojn, mi petas ilin, ke ili prezentu sian proponon ne al mi, sed al la Lingva Komitato. De mia flanko mi promesas, ke, kvankam mi ĉiam dirados al la Lingva Komitato mian opinion kaj ĉiam penados per admonoj deteni ĝin de ĉiu danĝera aŭ neĝustatempa paŝo, mi tamen ĉiun bonorde ekzamenitan kaj leĝe voĉdonitan decidon de la Komitato ĉiam akceptos sen protesto.

LAZARO LUDOVIKO ZAMENHOF.

SONORILOJ DE VESPERO.

(El T. Moore.)

SONORILOJ de vespero,
 Sonoriloj de vespero!
 Kiom ili rakontadas
 Pri juneco kaj espero,
 Pri la domo de gepatroj,
 Pri la dolĉa, kora ĝojo,
 Kiam mi ilian sonon
 Aŭdis je la lasta fojo!

Longe, longe jam forpasis
 Tiuj de l' ĝojeco horoj!
 Ekdorminte je eterne,
 Jam ne batas multaj koroj....
 En la tomboj ili loĝas
 Post la ĝojo kaj sufero:
 Ne por ili la muziko,
 Sonoriloj de vespero!

Ankaŭ kiam mi ripozos
Je eterne en trankvilo,
Ne ekhaltos la batado
De vespera sonorilo,
Dum kun kanto novaj bardoj
Paŝos jam sur nia tero,
Kaj vin aŭdos, kaj vin laŭdos,
Sonoriloj de vespero!

El "Kondukanto" de Grabowski.

NOTE.—Those who wish to become members of the REVIEW'S Esperanto Society, see advertising pages for membership application form.

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WESBY

